GUIDE TO THE OG6 MAKASSAR FILE

/As it presently stands the Makassar file is based entirely on one source, which is a translation from the Dutch (1: Chabot). This source presents a functional study of the social organization of the kingdom of Goa near Macassar with special emphasis on the organization of the adat community of Borongloe. The source is limited to a study of kinship, status and sex, and all other ethnographic features of the culture are treated in terms of these three elements. It should be noted, however, that the treatment given to kinship, the household, kin and class relationships, marriage and marriage relationships, religious communities, cultural norms and questions of status in general (all of which are derivatives of or related to the three elements above), is extremely thorough. However, there is a good deal of material from sources processed for other files in the area.

It should be obvious, then, that a file based mainly on a single source, and that highly skewed in its treatment of a few basic ethnographic aspects, is going to have extremely limited use to the researcher unless of course, he also entertains comparable ethnographic interests with Chabot. The file needs the addition of more source materials which should include some general ethnographies of the area, and then further supplemented with other community studies which could be used for comparative research in terms of the study listed above./

Processed in 1961

[94 cont.]

A 583 marriage, the obligation was exclusively on the man to support his wife, and thus his influence might become too dominant. Another explanation might be that the so-called bride price served to identify ancestry not only in the male line but also in the female. That the bride price was ever regarded by the Atjehnese as a purchase price for the woman is difficult to assume when one considers the dominant matriarchal elements in connection with marriage.

A 562 In harmony with the marriage and kinship rules, the position of women in Atjeh is fairly high. This can be inferred from the fact, among others, that the ta' lik (1), a general

A [586]

1. See Chap. 5, "Islam."

custom on Java, which strengthens the position of the woman in the case of divorce, is not necessary in Atjeh. The laws of

A 428 inheritance are, in general, based on Mohammedan law, but there are some deviations based on the adat.

A 421 422 In Atjehnese marriage, goods are not held in common; the man and wife keep the possessions they brought into the marriage strictly separated. Those possessions that are earned by their common efforts during the course of the marriage (for instance, work in the fields) are, however, regarded as common property in the lowlands. In the highlands, everything amassed during the marriage, whether through the efforts of both or of only one of them, is considered common property.

A 586 In the case of divorce the common property is divided in two; that brought into the marriage goes back to where it came from, but in some cases even what has been earned by the man alone is regarded as common property.

M 101 174 c. Buginese and Makassarese (South Celebes). These two peoples, in many respects similar to each other and differing primarily only in language, long ago reached a stage of political development where clan division has no influence. Their

M 631 society is based completely on territorial units, but the origin

MK [374 cont.]
642 in arriere fee, and Tanette with Lipoekasi in arriere fee.
I 2. Allied states. The basis of our relationship with these states
MK is the peace and alliance treaty concluded in 1667 by Speelman,
[648] known under the name of Buginese contract, which was renewed in 1824 by Van der Capellen. Their sovereigns are allies of the Government and have certain obligations to fulfill, such as the
MK protection of trade, guarding against piracy, assistance in case
[636] of war, etc. They are free in the administration of the internal affairs of their state, but when ascending the throne, they must pay a visit to Makassar to be installed by the Government and to renew the contract.

MK These states can be divided by population into Makassa-
101 rese and Buginese states. The most important Makassarese states are Gowa, and Laïkang; the Buginese states are Baróe, Soppeng, Adjatapparang, Mandar (at least in part), Loewoé, Wadjó,
T Tanette, and Boni. A third tribe that inhabits Celebes is the
101 To-radja = mountain-dwellers. Among the principal Toradja states are Masinrimpoeloe and Laiwoei in particular.

MK The main features of the government are similar in all
642 the states. The feudal system exists everywhere on southern
423 Celebes. We have encountered this feudal system in the Malay states on Sumatra and Borneo, but not to the extent that it occurs here. In the first place the feudal system also arose here out of the sovereigns' practice of granting part of the land in fee to their children or relatives to provide for their support or to reward faithful servants. These feudal tenants are called paseadjingang = blood relatives, from the [375] word seadjing = brother. Another way that the feudal system arose was through war, when a weaker prince was conquered by a more powerful one. In the latter case the vanquished was allowed to govern his own land, but he was in the same position as the other feudal tenants. This kind of feudal tenant is called palili. The obligations of these feudal
MK tenants to their liege lord are: to assist him in war, to appear
[211] at his court for ceremonial occasions, festivities, etc., and the

Now regarding the kampong itself: the name of the kampong is Bukaka and it is located in the wanua Tanette Riattang, which is under the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang. The Sulewatang Tanette Riattang lives in Watampone. He is different from the Aru Tanette Riattang, who has no wanua, but who is one of the central seven princes. The head of the kampong has the title Mado Bukaka. He is a fine fellow and seems like a better character than most of the bangsawan. His father and his father's father and so on back have headed the kampong for countless generations. He is not a noble, says the Sulewatang. The Sulewatang also says that his ramp is not "genuine". Council is held in neither kampong nor wanua. If there are legal proceedings in the kampong the Kepala kampong may call in a notable or two to help. If there is a legal case in the wanua, the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang will call in maybe three or four (never all) Kepala kampongs to help. If there is really a big legal case, it goes to the Hadat Tinggi in Watampone. There are fifteen Kepala kampongs in the wanua. In most of the kampongs there are several smaller kampongs (two, three, or more), somewhat like hamlets. The Sulewatang used the term lingkongan [circle]. 361 622 632 623 632 692 621 632

The next day we got down to the work involving a rough map and a ground plan. The kampong abuts on Watampone, indeed it is actually a continuation of it. Thus one side of the market street is Watampone and the other is the kampong. There are several stores on the kampong side. I asked if the Chinese there would say that they were living in the kampong. The answer was no, but that they would say they lived in Watampone. Thus it is a kind of false border. Also, the big, beautiful, new mosque of Watampone is within the kampong borders. But the kampong is evidently not too important and Watampone is in the same wanua, that is, in wanua Tanette Riattang. The kampong itself is the western-most of the kampongs in this wanua, and the western border goes along with the eastern border of wanua Palaka (kampong Tjabalu). On the north is wanua Awampone (kampong Tjelapa). On the east is another kampong, Ta, of wanua Tanette Riattang. And, of course, Watampone is to the south. As one enters the kampong of Bukaka coming from the main center of Watampone, one goes along the main street for four kilometers from south to north, from the Watampone border to Tjelapa. On entering Bukaka one sees the great mosque and the large house of an Arab, both structures being white and blue, an ironic combination. It is a great misfortune that Mohammedanism got in here. From the main road (the Kepala kampong's house is not far from the Watampone border) to 126 621 632 101 131 102

621 the border of wanua Palaka, kampong Tjabalu on the west,
it is four kilometers also. This western part is thus a
632 square. On the east side of the road, along the Watampone
● 101 border, it is only six hundred meters along the street to
131 the Ta border. But then the east border sweeps eastward in
102 a long curve so that on the northern side along the border of
Tjelapa, the northern border runs two kilometers from the
main road. (See rough map, page 46, field notes)[P.266 here]

871 There are two schools in Bukaka, one a religious school
435 and the other a village school. They are near the Watampone
556 border on the main road, or just off it. There are also ten
private Koran schools. There are about six hundred hadjis
here. I met one, a smug young man. And I teased him about
being one of the few rich men in town, but he said that it was
perhaps, if the family resources were pooled, six thousand
guilders. He remarked that ten thousand guilders was really
a great fortune here. Incidentally, the Sulewatang said that
the high figures given for the old days were somewhat off.
Prices were overvalued.

131 In the wanua, running eastward to the sea from Bukaka, are
361 the kampongs Penyula and Ta side by side; then Paopao,
Tibodjong (very small) and Tamaüsing, side by side; then
Toro, Tjelu, Lapobatua, Biru, and Palingorung, all side by
side (the latter two jut out to the south); then Badjoë and Maloi,
side by side (the former on the sea, the latter juts out to the
south); and finally, along the curve of the sea, Rompe. I for-
got to say that these really do not jut out, as Watampone is
also part of the wanua and it is to the south of Bukaka, Ta,
Tamaüsing. Thus the appearance seems to be roughly that
621 of a triangle. Aside from Watampone, each of the fifteen
kampongs has a kepala kampong. And within each of the kam-
pongs there are varying numbers of hamlets. Thus Bukaka
has three, Penyula has one, Ta three, Paopao two, Tibodjong
one, Tamaüsing one, Lapobatua one. I could not get any
information on the other kampongs, but will find out later. The
biggest kampongs, in order, are: Tjelu, Bukaka, Badjoë.
Others are small. Bukaka is the oldest.

368 The big misigit [mesjid, mosque] is used by Bukaka, Ta,
and Watampone. Other kampongs having misigit are: Penyula,
Badjoë, Paopao, Lapobatua, and Palingorung, thus there are
six in all.

632 In Bone, Andi says, there are twenty-one wanua. Seven
565 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, how-
ever, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua
there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

Celebes OG1 Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

C 101
M 101
S 101

ETHNOGRAPHIC, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS OF THE THREE VILLAGE COMMUNITIES STUDIED BY RAYMOND KENNEDY IN SOUTH CELEBES

	Communities Studied	Location	Ethnic Subgroup	Main Ethnic Group
Celebes (Sulawesi) [South Celebes]	1. Bafombaru	Karawisi	Makassarese	Makassarese-Buginese
	2. Bukaka	Tanette Riattang	Buginese (Bone, Watampone)	Makassarese-Buginese
	3. Marante	Kessu	Rantepao	Sadang

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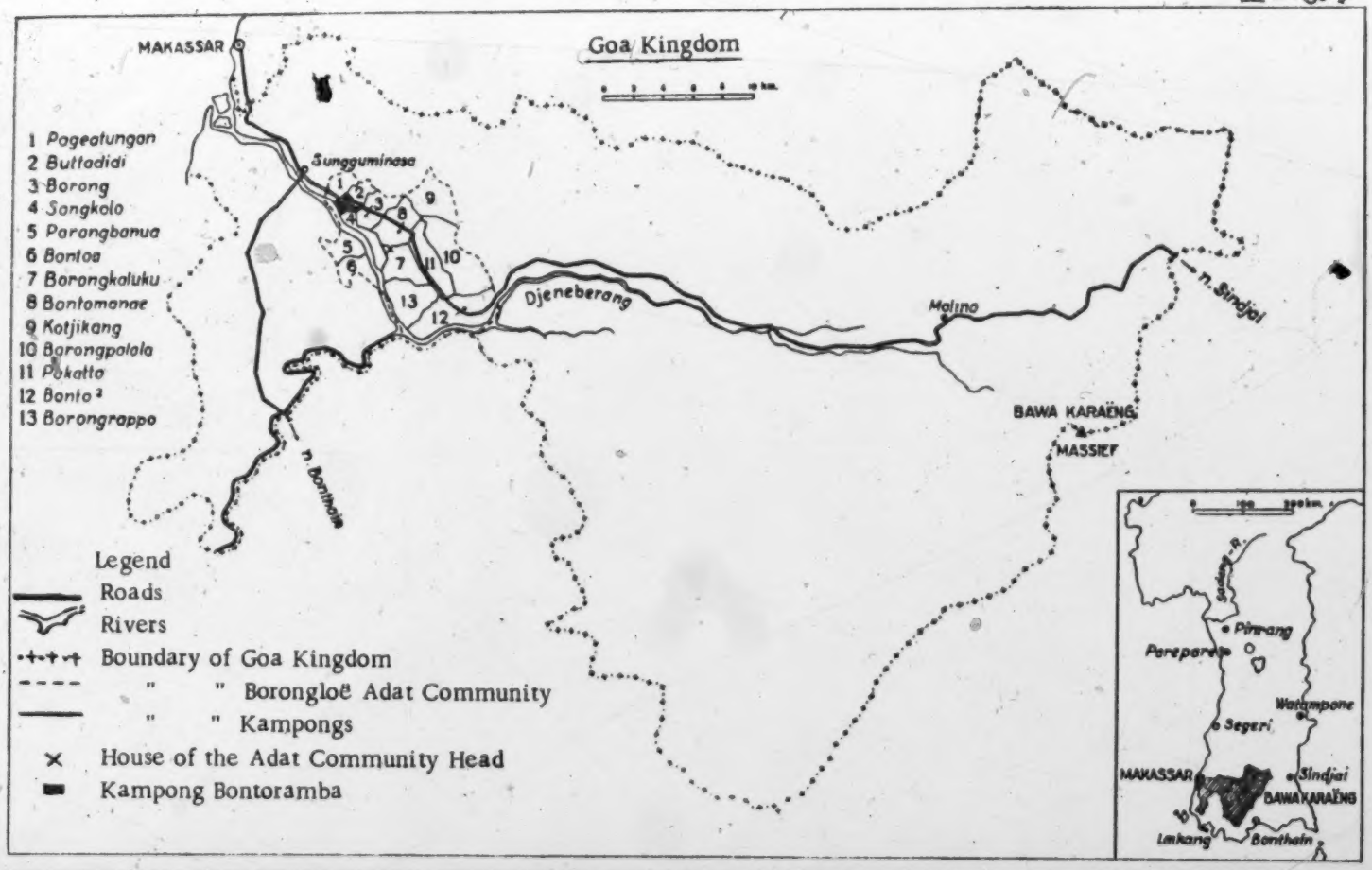
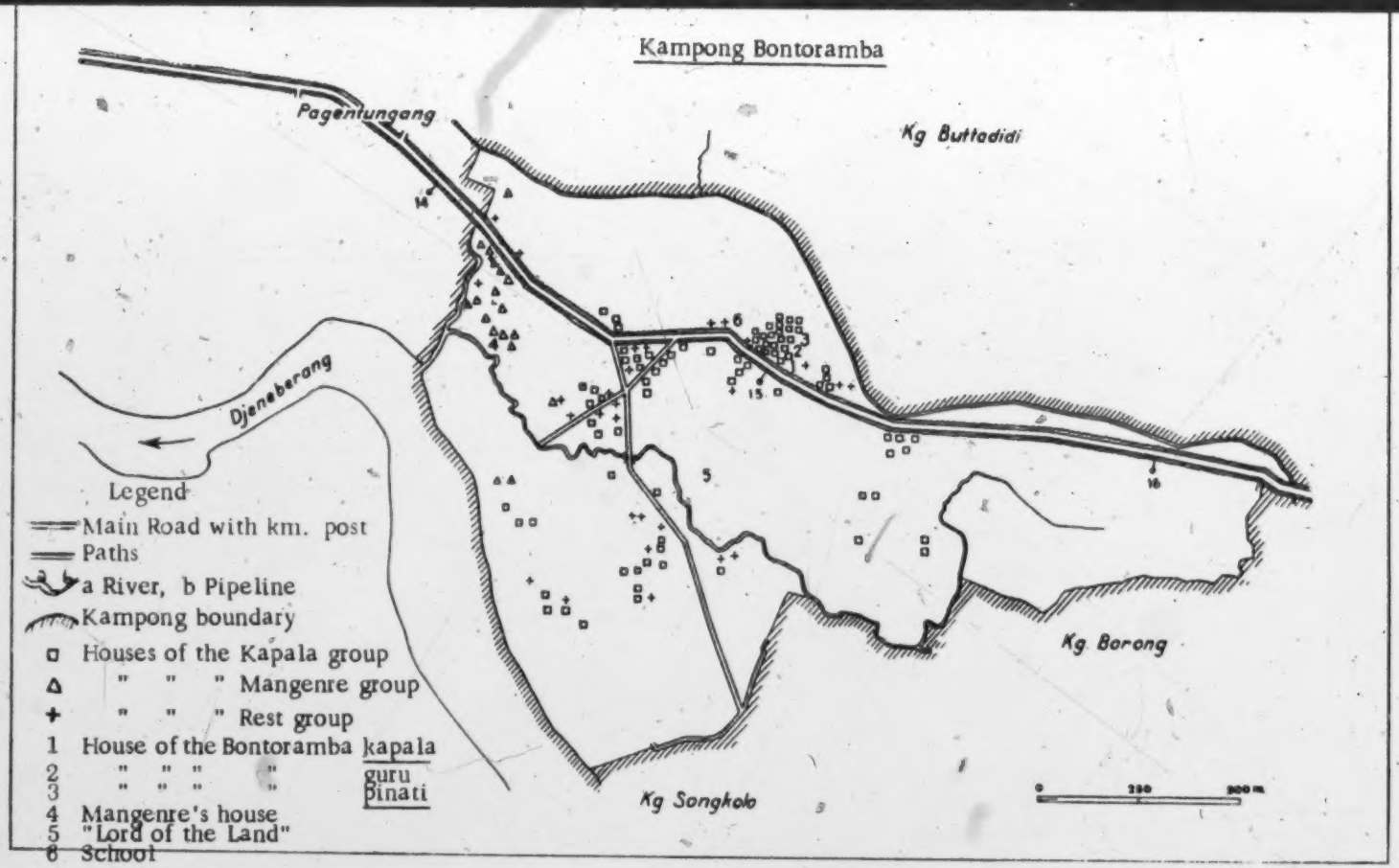
1:Chabot--vi E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6



1:Chabot--vii E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6



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565 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, how-
ever, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua
there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
764 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always re-
513 moved. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

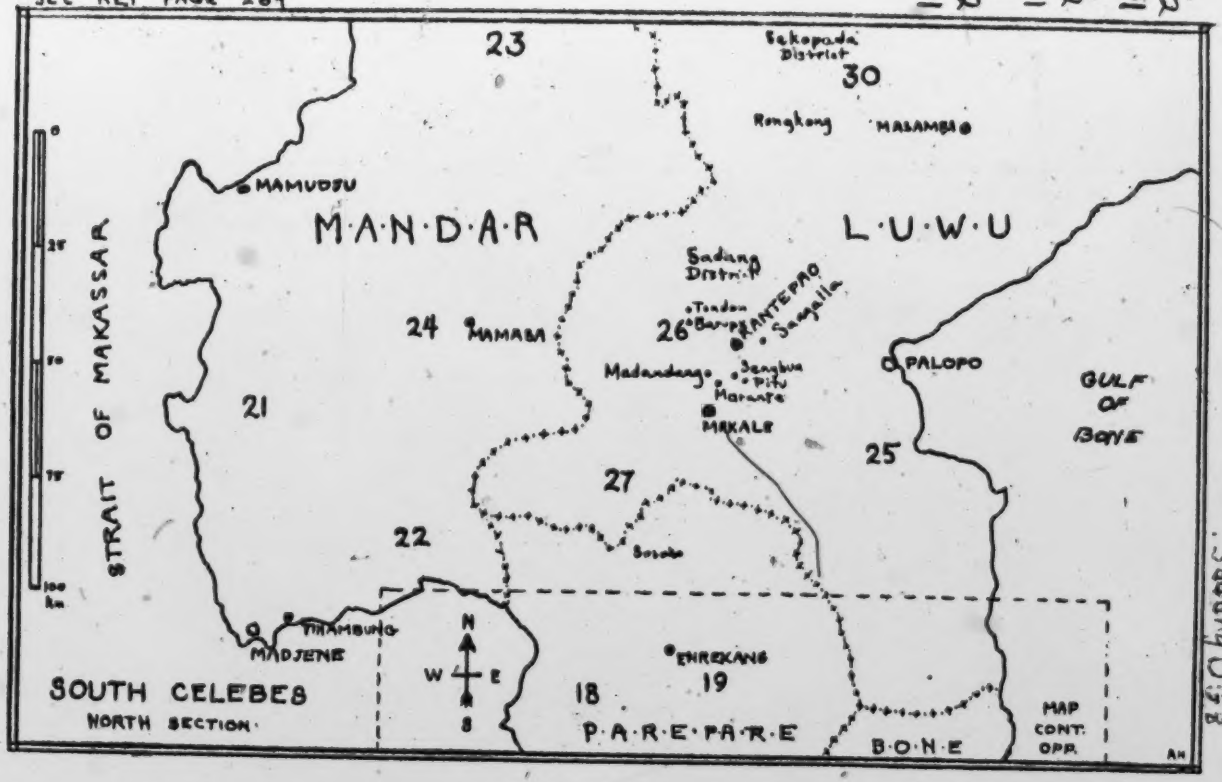
632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs
625 proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate. The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well
● 102 things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaeng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]

368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

C 102 631 M 102 631 S 102 631

Celebes 061 Makassar Date Sadang 078

SEE KEY PAGE 269



3: Kennedy E-5 (1949-50) 1953 OB1 Indonesia
Celebes OG1 Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

C
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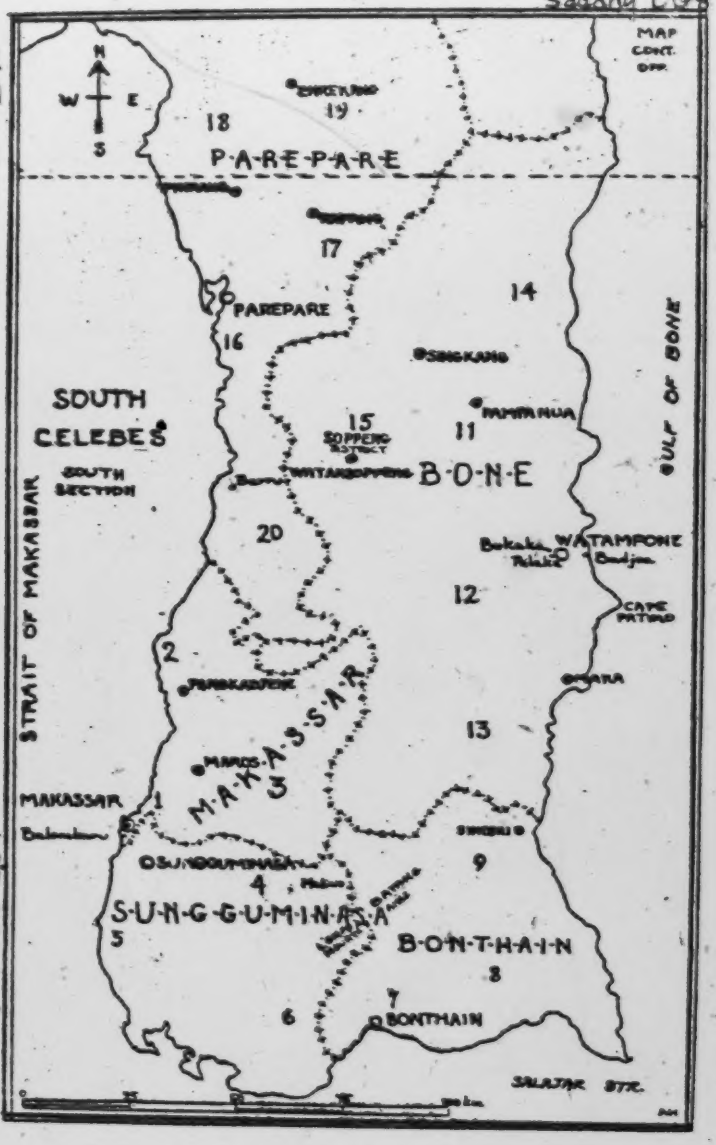

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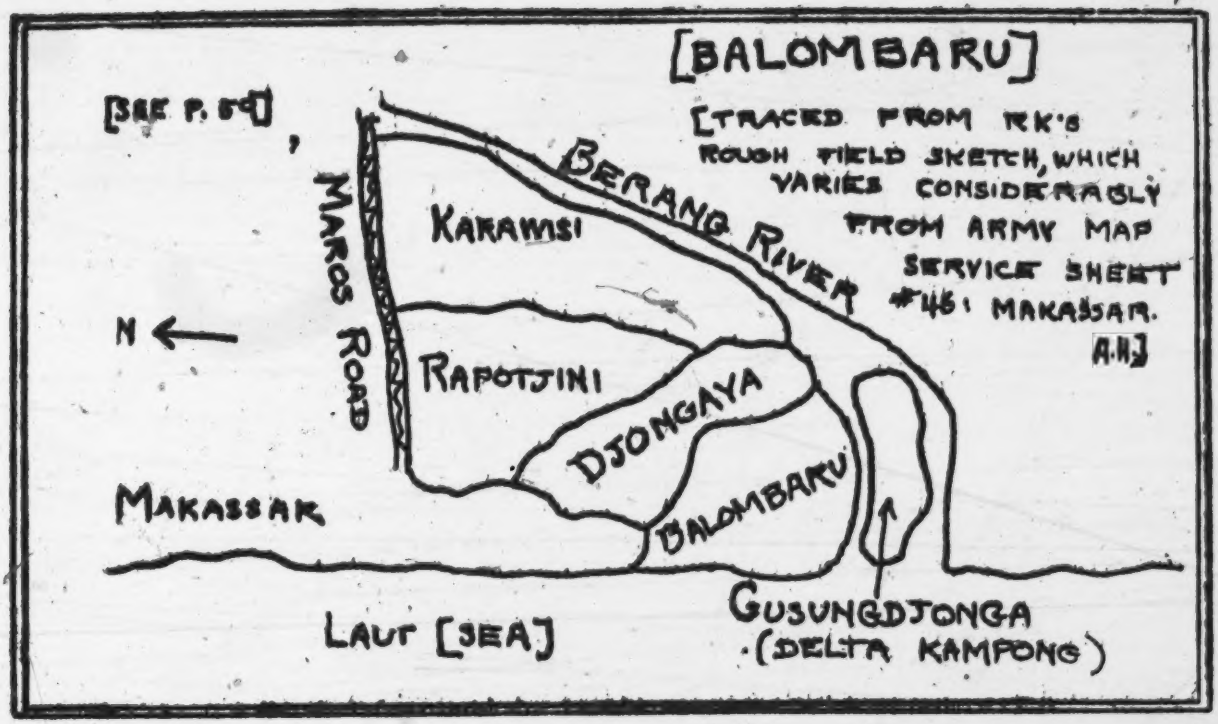
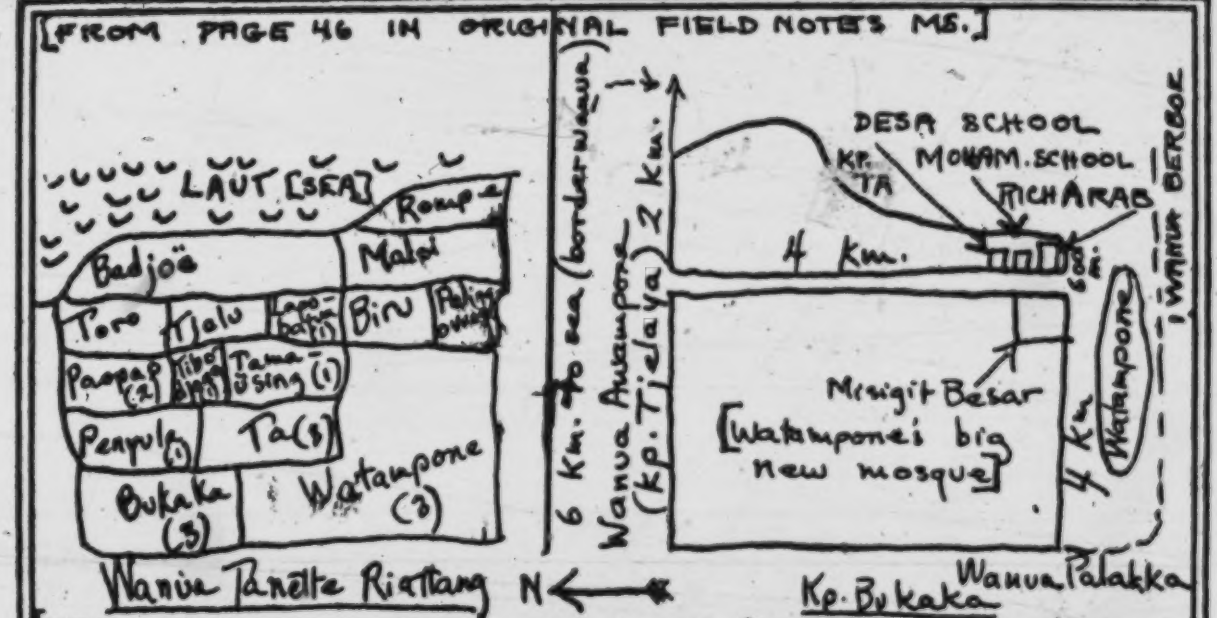

[BALOMBARU]
[SEE P. 59]
[TRACED FROM RK'S ROUGH FIELD SKETCH, WHICH VARIES CONSIDERABLY FROM ARMY MAP SERVICE SHEET #461 MAKASSAR. A.H.]
BERANG RIVER
MAROS ROAD
KARAWISI
RAPOTJINI
DJONGAYA
BALOMBARU
N
MAKASSAR
LAUT [SEA]
GUSUNGDJONGA
(DELTA KAMPONG)

265

102
126
361

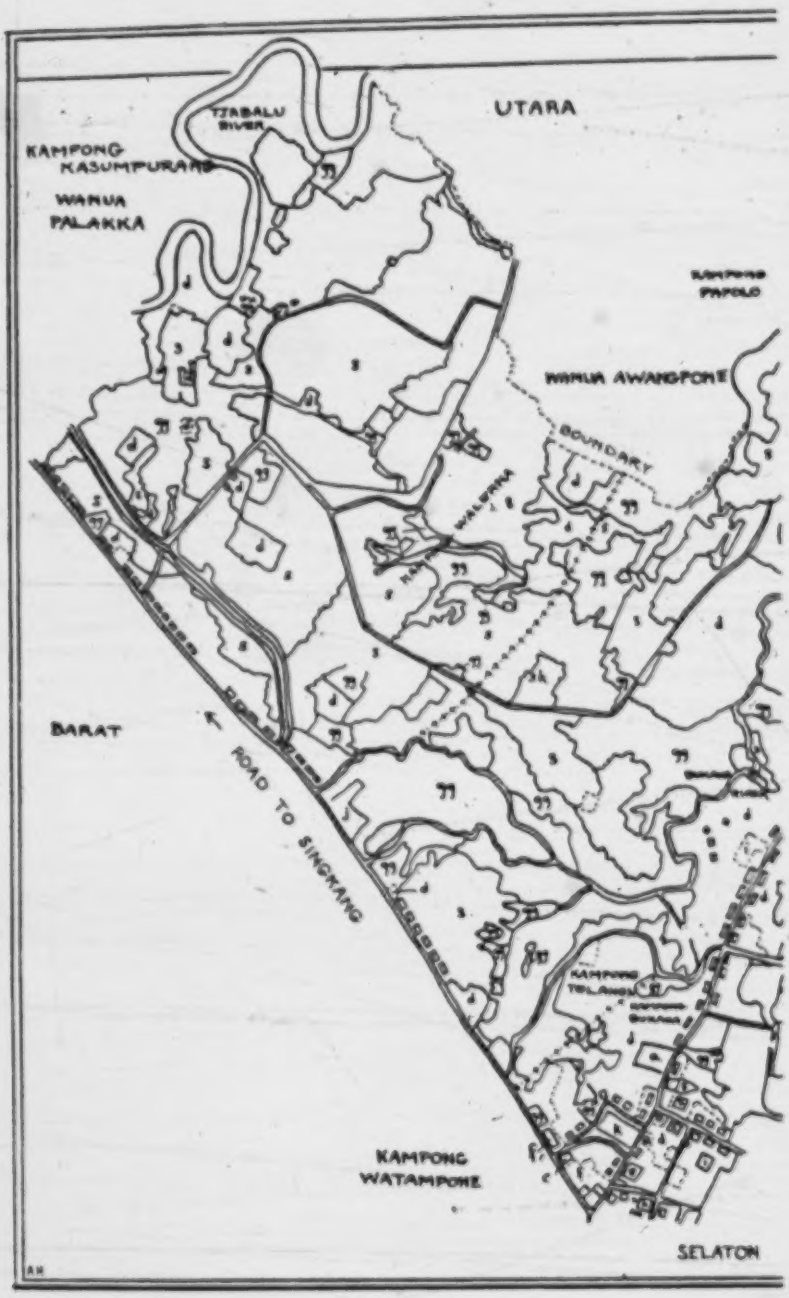
[FROM PAGE 46 IN ORIGINAL FIELD NOTES MS.]



ROUGH SCHEMATIC PLAN OF BUKAKA (RIGHT) AND SURROUNDINGS (LEFT) TRACED FROM AK'S FIELD NOTES. SEE P. 55.]

3: Kennedy E-5 (1949-50) OB1 Indonesia
Makassar OG6

102
126
361



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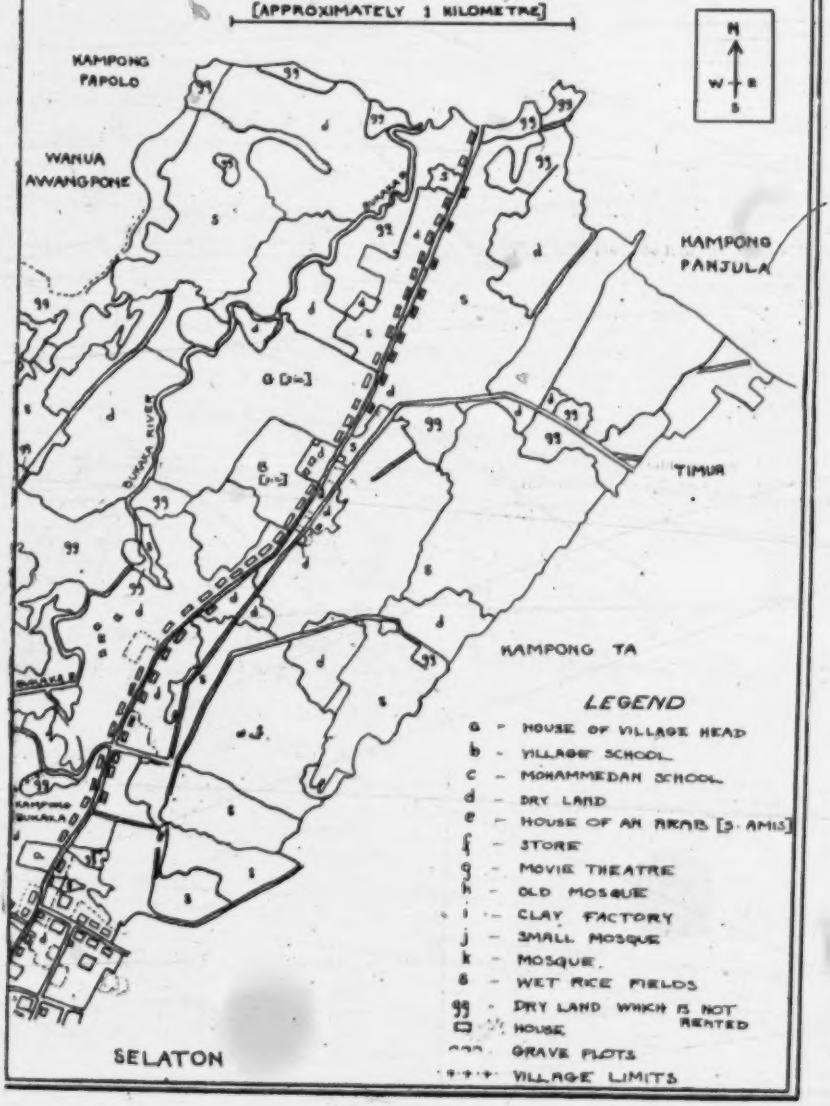
KAMPONG BUKAKA

WANUA TANETE RIATTANG

LANDSCHAP BONE

[APPROXIMATELY 1 KILOMETRE]



3: Kennedy E-5 (1949-50) 1953 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Makassar OG6 Celebes CG1
Sadang OG8

NOTES ON THE MAPS AND PLANS

M 102 126 S 102 126 I 102 126 C 102 126

The plans on pages 265 and 266 were traced from Kennedy's sketches, and the spelling of place names follows the originals. A few terms he gave in Dutch and Indonesian have been translated. The plan on pages 267-8 was traced from a very large tracing supplied to Kennedy by his informant, and the spelling of place names follows that given by the informant, but here again, some terms have been translated in the course of editing.

A consistant orthography has been difficult, sometimes impossible to follow. In the maps on pages 261-2; and 263-4 the editors have attempted to follow the spelling of the latest gazetteers. In preparing the map of South Celebes itself, much trouble was encountered in locating the correct villages, as mentioned in Kennedy's notes. His spelling was inconsistant, at times differs from both the old, and such new spellings as have been adopted under the Republic of Indonesia, and often the same names are used again and again, even for villages which are quite close together. Some villages do not appear on any maps or lists.

As is the Indonesian custom, u has been substituted for the Dutch oe. In the maps, as in the field notes, j is substituted for y, in accordance with modern usage. A few exceptions have been noted above, where Kennedy's own sketches were traced.

For more precise study, reference may be made to the detailed sheets published by the U.S. Army Map Service, in a scale of 1:125 000. These were made during World War II from Netherlands topographic and hydrographic maps and charts of recent date. Sheets numbered 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 23, 24, 25, 26, 33, 34, 39, 40, 46, 47, 48, 54, 55, and 56 will be found useful in following Kennedy's work in South Celebes.

On his trip through Borneo, Kennedy lost a container of village maps prepared for him by his assistants in the field. Among the lost were those for South Celebes, except Bukaka, which appears on pages 267-8.

C [631]

Key to Political Divisions of South Celebes (pp. 263-4) [Dutch "Onderafdelingen"; translated "Subdivisions" by U.S. Army Map Service]

1	Makassar	12	Bone	23	Mamudju
2	Pangkadjene	13	South Bone	24	Boven Binurang- en Pituulama-salo
3	Maros	14	Wadjo	25	Palopo
4	Goa	15	Soppeng	26	Rantepao
5	Takalar	16	Parepare	27	Makale
6	Djeneponto	17	Sidenrang Rapang	28	Malili
7	Bonthain	18	Pinrang	29	Kolaka
8	Bulukumba	19	Enrekang	30	Masamba
9	Sindjai	20	Barru		
10	Salajar	21	Madjene		
11	North Bone	22	Balangnipasche en Binuangsche Benedenlanden		

1:Chabot--vi E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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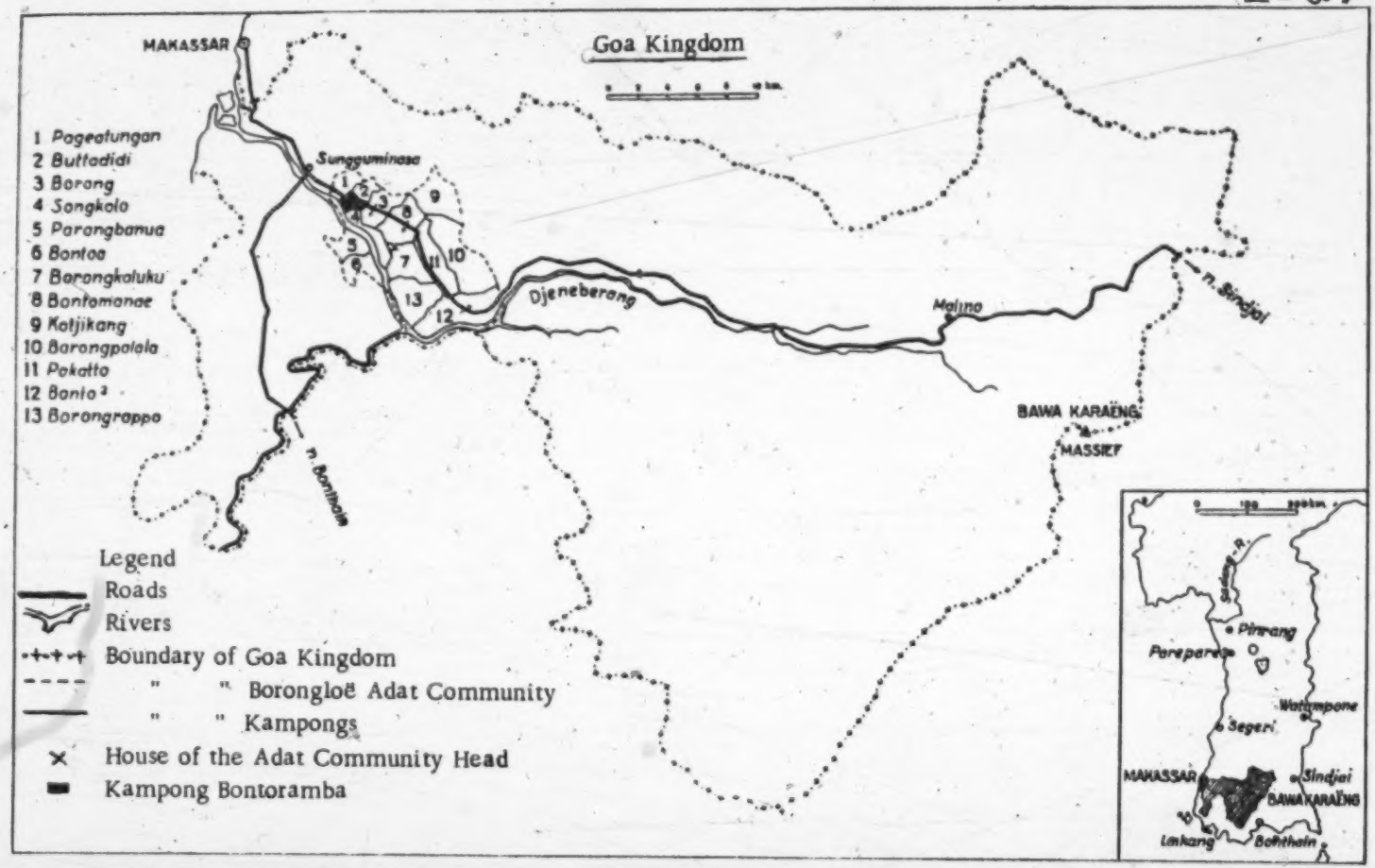
103
131
491



612 /70 cont./ subordination of the latter with respect to that of
778 Borongloë was expressed in the ritual. These festivities
796 strengthened the sense of solidarity within the adat community, and by the wealth displayed on these occasions, they raised the standing of Borongloë both in its own, as well as in others', eyes.

2. A few days before the inauguration of the new prince of Goa in 1947, the ornaments of Goa and of Borongloë encountered each other at a certain place located in Borongloë
[103] by the name of Tamarunang. The following myth is connected
539 with this place.

1. Pau-pauanna Tamarunang.	The story of Tamarunang.
2. Riolo, riwattu erona appare' kota Karaëngnga ri Goa,	A long time ago, when the Prince of Goa wanted to build a fort,
3. nanrai' assuro angngalle batu ri binangaja ri Songkolo.	he commanded his people to enter the interior in order to get rocks in the river near Songkolo. /71/
4. Naandjo tau angngallea batu narasai naalle batu aganna Barugaja ri Songkolo.	And the people who got the rocks at that time, accidentally brought back a rock such as lies near the Baruga of Songkolo (1).

[344]

1. A baruga (see Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 195) is a festival shed. At the spot designated as "the baruga of Songkolo," no festival shed is in existence, however. The rock which lies there today is the investiture rock of Borongloë.

532 /74 cont./ After the subjection of the princes of South
778 Celebes in 1905, this period of the tomanurung had passed,
612 however. Tomanurung were thought to deceive and to disturb
669 the peace. They were no longer given an opportunity to create a federation. In spite of this, however, the belief in the tomanurung did not disappear.

It may be that the Kapala of Bontoramba counts on the possibility of a tomanurung appearing who will unite his presently well-integrated group with a number of neighboring groups into a federation. The group from which the ornament of the federation is derived will, as a matter of course, have the leadership. The Kapala is prepared for this. The image is, as it were, an ornament in statu nascendi /in the nascent state/.

The Sacred Spot of Borongloë

778 A five-minute walk from the head's house leads to a
773 grove, the so-called "Flat Rock," (batu lappara') of Borongloë (3). On it /75/ stood, according to the myth, the

[103]

3. Many call the rock batu napara', which according to Matthes' dictionary (p. 635) means "a smooth rock with the bottom part in the water; a rock that is stretched out flat."

ancestral couple of the present-day head's group of relatives, at the moment when they made their final statements to the people prior to ascending to heaven (1).

1. Friedericy relates this myth in his own words in his dissertation. See there, pp. 506 ff.

104

●Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

/For a glossary of the terms used in the Celebes area, see 3: Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, category 104./

593 /237 cont./ In yet another case the brothers and cousins of
588 the woman tacitly agreed with the declaration uttered by
684 their father. In this case she had fled to a lower man, and
627 therefore the tumasiri', as they asserted, could not act as is otherwise customary after silariang.

Frequently, a special reason can be given for the deposition of such a declaration of death. The fact that a man regularly walked past the house of his wife's father in an insolent manner before the reconciliation, when he should have kept himself outside the view of his tumasiri' as much as possible was a reason for the latter to feel extra siri'. Another man whose daughter had gone to live with a distant
593 kinsman at the pasar of Borongloë and who was there receiving
684 various men saw in this a reason to repudiate her.

The declaration of death seems to be a new institution.
684 It relieves the tumasiri' of their duty to stab. On the other
627 hand, it makes a reconciliation difficult. The fact that
[177] existing ties are considered to be completely broken diminishes both the chance of stabbing as well as of reconciliation.

If siri' feelings, which in affairs concerning women can only be reconciled by death, could in future increasingly be satisfied by a declaration of death, we would have here an opportunity of solving the conflict in a manner less harmful to the many men who at present now realize that the honor of their related group is too dearly paid for by a jail sentence of an average of eight years. /238/

SUMMARY

● 105 In Makassarese culture four different forms of grouping can be distinguished, each with its own function.

105 /238 cont./ With reference to the /nuclear/ family, the sexual and pedagogical function can be named. The household has an economic function. It provides for the daily necessities of life of its members in the field of food supply and lodging. The kin group has a political function. It carries the idea of power formation. The worship community, finally, has a religious function. At the same time, the communities with an ornament seem to be more strongly integrated than those without an ornament.

The /nuclear/ family displays the tendency toward living /with other families/ in a single house, a tendency which is always interrupted by a tendency to split off. This brings with it a great mobility within the kin group. The tendency to split off seems, like the adjallo' phenomenon, to be a form of maladjustment.

The territorial unit, the kampong, served as the starting point for the investigation.

In a single territory, a strongly integrated, a weakly integrated, and a nonintegrated kin group were found to exist. The members of the first group appeared to be highest in standing, the most numerous, and the wealthiest. From their midst came the village functionaries.

The members of the second group seemed to be lower in standing and to be less numerous and less rich than the first. Among them there was only a single functionary, a gurukampong, who, moreover, needed the help of a functionary from the first group in order to be effective outside his group.

The members of the third group as a whole were lower in standing than those of the second. Their number, however, was greater than -- and in wealth they were about equal to -- those of the second group. Among them there was only a single village functionary, who had been elected to this

105 /238 cont./ post on the basis of his personal qualities. The low standing of the members of this group is the result of the absence of integration, which prevents this group from participating as a group in the striving for power formation.

/239/ The striving for power formation on the part of a kin group is aimed at filling a single territory under a head of its own. The largest imaginable territory is, ideally, the world; realistically it is at present at the most South Celebes.

Each kin group, even the smallest imaginable, that is, a /nuclear/ family living separately, has the possibility of extending the number of its members and of occupying a strong position of power through attracting relatives and helpers and through contracting marriages.

Provided he possesses the required qualities, each individual has the opportunity of acquiring the highest imaginable standing as the head of a powerful kin group. In practice this opportunity is only rarely realized, however, and even then only partially.

The striving on the part of individuals to rise is limited by the idea that descent determines a person's qualities, so that the member of a high group is thought to possess, at least potentially, desirable qualities to a high degree and the member of a lower group is believed to possess them to a lesser degree.

The vertical tendency expresses itself in the relations between the kin groups through the conduct of opposition. Each group on the one hand tries to dominate a higher group and, on the other hand, to keep as subordinates those groups regarded as lower. Each individual who shows that he possesses the qualities required for this can assume leadership in this attempt.

In the highest groups the vertical tendency is weakest and integration is to be found most strongly present. In the groups that have the lowest standing, thus in the Rest groups,

105 /239 cont./ the vertical tendency is strong, and integration is either not present at all or else in a very weak form. In kin groups like that of the adat community head, that of the kapala and that of Mangenre, the striving for integration is time and again interrupted through oppositional striving. The vertical tendency and thus, at the same time, the disintegration of the group can best be observed among the prominent members.

In a kin group where an ornament is present, integration can always be more clearly shown than in one where the ornament is absent. Kin groups lacking an ornament seem incapable of forming a power center of significance. Stability, on the other hand, is found only where the vertical articulation is fixed. The vertical tendency inherent in the /240/ kin groups constantly has as a consequence the renewed disintegration of these groups.

262 South Celebes is a land with a large surface, in relation to its population, suited to wet rice cultivation. If the rice harvest has failed, maize is available to take its place. There seems to be no fear of a threatening food shortage among the Makassarese and Buginese.

855 Small children are well cared for over a long period of time by their mothers and female housemates. By the same token, there seems to be no fear of receiving insufficient care.

867 One of the first things a young person learns is the fact that he is restricted in his movements and that he must be
155 quiet when a man, even his father, is present in the house. Upon the arrival of a male guest the women and children withdraw from the front room, and the children are reprimanded if they make noise. This happens to a greater degree when a higher person comes to the house. Here are the first frustrations for the children (1).

1: Chabot, H. Th. Verwantschap, Stand en Sexe in Zuid-Celebes (Kinship, Status, and Sex in South Celebes). Groningen-Djakarta: J. B. Wolters' Uitgeversmaatschappij N. V., 1950.

Pp. xi, 277; 11 plates; 1 chart; 2 maps (HRAF manuscript pp. viii, 359; 11 end plates)

Yale: Nkd72 I61 950C

[Translated from the Dutch for the Human Relations Area Files by Richard Neuse.]

[This source is a functional study of the social organization of the kingdom of Goa, near Macassar, with special emphasis on the organization of the adat community of Borongloë. It is divided into three main sections, as indicated in the title, and treats of the interpenetrations of these three aspects in the social life of the community. Material on other features of the culture are treated only as they relate to these three main aspects. Thus, for instance, there is no treatment of farming methods, detailed content of the religion, cooking, or material culture in general. However, the treatment of kinship, the household, kin relationships, marriage, religious communities, class relationships, norms,

1: Chabot, H. Th.

marriage relationships, and questions of status in general is quite thorough. -- Analyst]

Field date: 1940-1949
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1961

006

/1 cont./ The latter put together his remarks under the attractive title, "The Ethnographer's Laboratory."

In this introduction only an attempt can be made to present the author's own difficulties and experiences.

121 The object of the investigation was the rural community of the Makassarese and Buginese.

Initially, before the Second World War, the task was to give an account of the adat law of South Celebes. It has been impossible to carry out this instruction. The material gathered was lost during the war. Only parts of chapters that were ready and had been sent to Jakarta were rescued. The plan concerning adat law, nevertheless, still finds expression in the paragraphs about large landownership, polygamous marriage, and, in the third section of the last chapter, that about marriage by flight. This plan therefore determined the manner in which this investigation was begun.

/2/ It very soon became apparent that a choice would have 114 to be made with respect to the kind of description of adat law that was to be achieved. Two very different types of publication are to be found in the literature dealing with adat law. Both types are designed to support the judge in his task of administering justice according to adat law. In the first category, which is most clearly represented in the work of Vergouwen (1), the

[113]

1. J.C. Vergouwen, Het rechtsleven der Toba-Bataks /The Legal Usage of the Toba-Batak/, 1933.

investigator starts out from the idea that the judge is not acquainted with the community in which he has to administer justice. Accordingly, the author first tries to give information about the community's structure and then to describe the content of the

212 For hundreds of years they have
/4 cont./ had their own script and their own literature. The
181 element of strong seclusion is absent in their rural communities, with the exception, perhaps, of a number of thinly populated mountain regions.

114 In the fairly extensive literature one finds a great number of topics dealt with separately, but no comprehensive treatment. The best insight is still given by Kooreman (2). A more recent

[113] 2. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden /The Actual State of Affairs in the Government Region of Celebes and Its Dependencies/" Indische Gids, 1883.

important study is that by Friedericy (3).

[113] 3. H.J. Friedericy, "De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren /Status among the Buginese and Makassarese/" Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. IV, pp. 447-602.

[602] 121 With several authors one repeatedly finds the statement that kinship is regarded as of great importance by Buginese and Makassarese without any further elaboration of this point. The approximation of a community by way of kinship relationships has generally been accepted as correct by ethnologists since Rivers (4). Therefore, my attention first turned to this

4. W.H.R. Rivers, "The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry," The Sociological Review, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff., 1910.

Accordingly, a man prefers not

593 /26 cont./ to go alone with his grown-up daughter to a kampong
574 where they are unknown, for instance, so that there they will not be regarded as a married couple and addressed as such.

593 The reason for this latter form of incest (salimara') occurring with
835 more or less regularity and that of mother and son so rarely was explained by an informant who said that in general the lower generation must obey the higher one, a son his mother and a daughter her father. So it seems generally assumed that
[833] initiative to a sexual relationship (in this case evil) originates with the man.

A sexual relationship between a man and his sister practically does not occur. I do not recall having encountered a single instance of this in the registers of the native courts. /27/

538 The brother-sister relationship is one of the leitmotivs in the La Galigo epic. The relationship of Sawerigading to his twin sister Tenriabeng is one of great intimacy (1). In the

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1. R. A. Kern, Catalogus van de Boegineesche tot den I Galigo cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek, alsmede van die in andere Europeesche biblioteken /Catalog of the Buginese Manuscripts belonging to the I Galigo Cycle in the University of Leiden Library, as well as of Those in Other European Libraries, Leiden, 1939/, Leiden, 1939.

heroic poem Datu Museng, the hero's wife I Maipa is likewise described as his twin sister. They were separated shortly after birth and did not meet again, ignorant of each other's past, until they were grown up. Datu Museng became enamored of her, and they married. So the poem is recited (2) by several

2. In the Makassaarsche Chrestomathie one finds another version. There it is

538 /27 cont./ related that I Maipa was the daughter of the Sultan of Sumbawa. As such, however, she was of nobler blood than Datu Museng, and their marriage was thus likewise a forbidden tie. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomathie /Makassarese Chrestomathy/, 1883: "Aanteekeningen," p. 88.

[113]

singers (pakeso'keso') (3).

[533 534] 3. A singer who accompanies himself on a two-stringed violin (keso'keso').

593 In daily life the brother is, in the very first instance, the protector of his sister as a young girl. He is for her the "strong wall," as the verse says (4). He likes to accompany

4. See Chapter III, p. 297.

her and the older women when they pay visits to kinsmen living elsewhere. He is the one who reacts first in case she is siri'; this is as much as to say that he immediately starts the pursuit and stabs if she should want to flee. He carries her [585] as a bride out of the back rooms where she was dressed to the bridal bed in the front room. He is proud of her and of the fact that he may protect her.

601 The /nuclear/ family is clearly reflected in the kinship terminology (see list). It is apparent that only the members of the /nuclear/ family are indicated by individual terms and that for the rest the terminology makes distinctions only between generations. The distinctions made in ego's own generation,

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of
554 relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is con-
602 centrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one
612 hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the
769 other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other.
182 The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

794 The Ornament-Worship Community
114 Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

[113]

1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

[113]

2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

114 /67 cont./ In 1940 I thought I was able to indicate the con-
794 nection between ornament and ancestors by assuming that ancestor worship frequently attached itself to an ornament (3).

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3. H. Th. Chabot, "Over the Makassaarsche samenleving en een erfrechtelijke kwestie /Concerning Makassarese Society and a Question of Inheritance/," T.B.G. /Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, erroneously cited; see Bibliography, p. 347. -- Tr./, 1940, pp. 325 ff.

I considered at that time Nooteboom's "certain community" to be the kin group. At present an attempt will be made to determine more closely the relationship between ornament and ancestor worship.

778 The ornament of Borongloë is kept in the attic of the
794 dwelling belonging to the head of the adat community. It is an old flag on which a cock is pictured. Wrapped in a white cloth, the flag is kept in a closed basket in the ancestral house (pantasa').

The worship taking place at this ornament corresponds in
[769] all important points to the ancestor worship described above. The elements and the course of the ritual are the same. The parappo has the same task and a similar composition in this case. The rojong song and ritual objects here find a similar application. Here, too, the entire preparation lies in the hands of the women, and the pinati appears where the ritual concerns the whole group and not just a few relatives. The
[773] tomanurung myth of Borongloë, reproduced by Friedericy in his own words, corresponds in important respects with that of Bontoramba. At the sacred spot of Borongloë, where the ritual takes place on the most important occasions for the group, the stone, the saukang (little offering house), and the trees are again to be found together.

1:Chabot--343 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

114 /258 cont./ that he enjoys and which places him in a position
to realize certain aspirations with respect to these registers,
217 and finally upon the orders and the control of their execution
that proceeds centrally from the Kali to the imams, and from
the administrative officials, now the Self-government members,
to the adat community head.

/259/ Bibliography

113 As a starting point for this bibliography, I used the
114 Bibliography of Indonesian Peoples and Cultures by Raymond
Kennedy (1). A number of gaps were filled, and the list was

1. Yale University Press,
New Haven, 1945.

brought up to date to January, 1950.

For practical reasons, Kennedy's division into "Celebes General" and "Makassarese-Buginese" was not followed, nor was the distinction between publications in Dutch and other languages used.

Not all the works cited by Kennedy could be consulted. It is possible, therefore, that a number of works were included which relate to North or Central, and not to South Celebes.

With a few exceptions, the publications that have appeared in the Adatrechtbundels have not been cited again separately under the name of the author.

1: Chabot--344 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

/259 cont. / Bibliography (Continued)

113

List of Abbreviations

Lijst van afkortingen.

AEO	Annales de l'Extrême-Orient. Paris.
AHV	De Aarde en Haar Volken. Haarlem.
AO	Acta Orientalia. Leiden.
BCI	Bulletin of the Colonial Institute. Amsterdam.
Bijd.	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië. Den Haag.
CI	Cultureel Indië. Leiden.
D	Djåwå. Weltevreden.
G.	De Gids. Amsterdam.
GTNI	Geneeskundig Tijdschrift van Nederlandsch-Indië.
IAE	Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Leiden.
IG	De Indische Gids. Amsterdam.
Ind. Gen.	Indisch Genootschap. Den Haag.
ITR	Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht. Batavia.
JIAEA	Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia. Singapore.
KS	Koloniale Studiën. Weltevreden.
KT	Koloniaal Tijdschrift.
MNZ	Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap. Rotterdam.
MVGNI	Mededeelingen der Vereeniging der Gezaghebbers in Nederlandsch-Indië.

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NBGKW	Notulen van de Algemeene en Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Batavia.
NGM	National Geographic Magazine. Washington.
NH	Natural History. New York.
NIOIN	Nederlandsch-Indië Oud en Nieuw. Amsterdam, Den Haag.
NTNI	Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië. Batavia.
Opw	De Opwekker.
PM	Petermanns Mitteilungen. Gotha.
PRGS	Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London. London.
TEG	Tijdschrift voor Economische Geographie. Den Haag.
Tijd.	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Batavia.
Tijd. BB	Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur. Batavia.
TN	Tropisch Nederland.
TNAG	Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap. Amsterdam, Utrecht, Leiden.
TNI	Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië. Zalt-Bommel, Nijmegen, Bussum, Den Haag, Amsterdam.
VBGKW	Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Batavia.
VMKAW	Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Amsterdam.
WH	Wolandia Hindia.
ZE	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin.
ZGEB	Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin. Berlin.

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Foreword

The completion of this book signifies for me the end of a period that had actually ended earlier. The Second World War prevented the normal publication of the data gathered before 1942, and after the war I did not think I should continue before a study of Makassarese-Buginese culture had appeared.

In looking back over the past years, I am gratefully indebted to all those who have been ready to give me their friendship and help in the most varied forms.

In the first instance, my gratitude goes to the late Professor B. ter Haar, who furnished me with the instruction to investigate adat law in South Celebes. His letters with constantly stimulating questions and comments will always remain a pleasant memory to me.

I am grateful to Professor C. T. Bertling, Chairman of the District Courts of Macassar in 1937, under whom it was possible to consolidate my uncertain position as an unemployed official without a degree, and who later gave constant evidence of his genuine interest in my work.

Furthermore, I am indebted to Professor A. A. Cense, linguist in the service of the government at Macassar until 1941, at whose office I was able to work all those years, and who was always prepared to give me the benefit of his extensive knowledge of the language, country, and people of South Celebes.

In 1948 Professor Rd. Soepomo was able to return to me parts of chapters that had been sent to Jakarta in 1941 and kept there by him. I should like to extend my gratitude to him for this here.

114 My fondest memories will be of my field work in the kingdom of Goa, more particularly in the adat community of Borongloë, both before as well as after the war. To the Prince of Goa and to the head of the adat community, Hamzah Daëng Tompo, I herewith express my very special thanks for the hospitality that

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/1 cont./ The latter put together his remarks under the attractive title, "The Ethnographer's Laboratory."

In this introduction only an attempt can be made to present the author's own difficulties and experiences.

121 The object of the investigation was the rural community of the Makassarese and Buginese.

Initially, before the Second World War, the task was to give an account of the adat law of South Celebes. It has been impossible to carry out this instruction. The material gathered was lost during the war. Only parts of chapters that were ready and had been sent to Jakarta were rescued. The plan concerning adat law, nevertheless, still finds expression in the paragraphs about large landownership, polygamous marriage, and, in the third section of the last chapter, that about marriage by flight. This plan therefore determined the manner in which this investigation was begun.

/2/ It very soon became apparent that a choice would have 114 to be made with respect to the kind of description of adat law that was to be achieved. Two very different types of publication are to be found in the literature dealing with adat law. Both types are designed to support the judge in his task of administering justice according to adat law. In the first category, which is most clearly represented in the work of Vergouwen (1), the

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1. J.C. Vergouwen, Het rechtsleven der Toba-Bataks /The Legal Usage of the Toba-Batak/, 1933.

investigator starts out from the idea that the judge is not acquainted with the community in which he has to administer justice. Accordingly, the author first tries to give information about the community's structure and then to describe the content of the

114 /2 cont./ norms existing in this community in such a manner that these will become comprehensible to the judge who is a stranger.

In the second type of publication, the investigator is not concerned with the structure of the community. He assumes this to be essentially known and concentrates on presenting, "in the form of judicial rules deductions that in his opinion are justified by the available material of facts." This material consists primarily of cases that occurred in the desa /native term for "village community." -- Tr./ and of jurisprudence. Soepomo was the promotor of this type of publication (2).

2. R. Soepomo, a) "Verslag omtrent het onderzoek naar het adatgrondenerfrecht in het gewest Jogjakarta buiten de hoofdplaats /Report on the Investigation of Adat Land Inheritance Right in the Jogjakarta District Outside the City/" Mededeelingen van de Afdeeling Adatrecht, 1930, b) Het Adatprivaatrecht van West Java /The Adat Private Law of West Java/, 1933. For the quotations in this paragraph, see the introduction to this book by B. ter Harr, p. iv.

The simultaneous occurrence, of these two types can only be understood historically. For a number of decades van Vollenhoven left his mark on the work of investigators and their publications. He produced the system in which all data concerning the community could be placed; but this system was juridical in its structure. Van Vollenhoven particularly directed attention to legal usage; he forged the necessary juridical terms. At the same time all data regarding the community were of concern since they served as materials for the juridical structure.

114 /2 cont./ The conception was as strange as it was grand. It was, however, only imaginable in a period when juridical and judicial work had to be carried out in a community completely unknown to the judges. Ethnographic material was therefore gathered by jurists or by juridically schooled officials of the Inland Administration /3/ and incorporated into the given juridical system. In view of the fact that this system was given and the ethnographic material lay at hand, it speaks for itself that their publications were always constructed on this combination. They remained, however, primarily descriptions of milieu providing a welcome prop for the strange judge in his task of administering justice in a community unknown to him. But they were not ethnological studies satisfying the demands of the profession, nor sociological legal studies, nor normative legal ones.

The prop appeared to be insufficient for the judges, however. The norms according to which the judge had to pass judgment appeared not to be clearly discernible in these descriptions. Another mode of presentation was accordingly looked for. In this, Soepomo led the field. He recorded various legal cases which had taken place in the kampongs with their solutions, and on this he based his conclusions, which he presented in the form of legal rules easily manipulated by the judge. In these publications, therefore, an acquaintance with the community's structure on the part of the judges was assumed, however unconscious it might be. Here the objection is that the interaction of conflicting norms, to be found in every community but especially in those where a great number of changes take place within a short period of time, does not become clearly apparent. The judge lacks the data to assess what this interaction is. The latter can be demonstrated to him only by an analysis of the community's structure.

121 At the outset of my investigation of adat law, I chose the Vergouwen type /of approach/, and I did so more unconsciously than on the basis of an analysis of the two methods. The notion

121 /3 cont./ of an investigation into the driving forces of Makassarese-Buginese culture was always present as a companion motivation for the work on adat law, because, as it was then formulated, the law cannot be understood without a knowledge of the society in which it operates.

After the war, in 1948, when the problem of how the latent knowledge of this culture could be made productive was considered, the decision was made to give a description of its structure. To this end an investigation of an area already [114] familiar to me from before the war was carried out for six weeks during June and July of both 1948 and 1949.

If the presentation of a structural description is regarded as the task /4/ of the investigator, then it is necessary to give his theoretical schooling. The latter was determined by the lectures of de Josselin de Jong at Leiden and was later developed further by studying Linton's work.

121 It appears impossible to treat as a separate factor the third 114 aspect, namely the investigator's personal attitude. This would amount to an analysis of his personality. However, the disadvantage that personal attitude inevitably entails so long as just one investigator is describing a community was always strongly felt by me. I gladly give support to Wagley when he agrees with the Chinese sociologist Li An-Che, who declares that an area study of China "must be executed with the cooperation of Western and Chinese scholars, and that for an understanding of American society we should call upon non-American -- even non-Western -- students as well as upon our own" (1) /cited in

1. Pamphlet No. 6 published by the Social Science Research Council, New York, 1948, p. 7.

English/.

161 The Makassarese and the Buginese at the present time number almost four million people. For hundreds of years they have

212 For hundreds of years they have
/4 cont./ had their own script and their own literature. The
181 element of strong seclusion is absent in their rural communities, with the exception, perhaps, of a number of thinly populated mountain regions.

114 In the fairly extensive literature one finds a great number of topics dealt with separately, but no comprehensive treatment. The best insight is still given by Kooreman (2). A more recent

[113] 2. P. J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden /The Actual State of Affairs in the Government Region of Celebes and Its Dependencies/" Indische Gids, 1883.

important study is that by Friedericy (3).

[113] 3. H. J. Friedericy, "De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren /Status among the Buginese and Makassarese/" Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. IV, pp. 447-602.

[602] 121 With several authors one repeatedly finds the statement that kinship is regarded as of great importance by Buginese and Makassarese without any further elaboration of this point. The approximation of a community by way of kinship relationships has generally been accepted as correct by ethnologists since Rivers (4). Therefore, my attention first turned to this

4. W. H. R. Rivers, "The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry," The Sociological Review, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff., 1910.

612 /16 cont. / living together in the same territory (pa'rasangang),
621 whose members till the soil. Two pairs of opposing tendencies are observable here. In contrast to a striving toward endogamy, a much weaker striving to enter into marriage with non-kinsmen can be observed. In contrast to a striving to live together in the same territory, there exists an urge to disperse.

631 The Makassarese-Buginese section of the daërah /district/ of South Celebes is at present divided into provinces. Each /landsdrap/ consists of a number of territorial units, frequently called adat communities /adatgemeenschappen/. Each adat community in turn consists of a number of territorial units frequently called kampongs. The boundaries between provinces, between adat communities, and between kampongs are fixed on maps. This is a situation which anyone can immediately notice.

114 In addition it repeatedly appears in the literature that
602 the writers are conscious of the fact that kin relationship plays a very important role among the Makassarese. The foreigner observes that a Makassarese not only lives with kinsmen in one house, but also that he has kinsmen scattered throughout the country./17/ But no statements can be found in the literature with regard to the precise nature of kin relationship and its relation to the clearly discernible territorial division, and there exist only vague notions among foreigners who have become thoroughly acquainted with South Celebes, as well as among the Makassarese themselves.

124 Therefore, in carrying out this investigation, it was not possible to isolate a certain group of relatives as an object of observation; the boundary lines were always vague. The only form of grouping which was clearly outlined and which could therefore better serve as a starting point was the territorial one (1).

●114 /17 cont./ 1. It is therefore not surprising that in the summary chapter on social organization in his book Beginselen en Stelsel van het Adatrecht. /Principles and System of Adat Law/ Ter Haar assigns "the village and district communities of South Celebes" to the "communities in which the genealogical factor...has no significance" (p. 15). Using the available literature, his conclusion could not be different. Here it will become apparent how incorrect this interpretation is.

124 Hence kin relationships of the residents of a kampong territory were recorded. For this purpose the names of all kampong residents were taken down from house to house, and at the same time kinship connections of the occupants were collected for each house. The kinship connections between the occupants of various houses were then traced. In so doing it appeared simplest to ask everyone whether he was related to the Kapala or his wife, and if so, in what degree. The fact [592] that, aside from a few exceptions, members of a household always turned out to be kinsmen facilitated the investigation because it was possible to indicate precisely which houses belonged to the Kapala's group of relatives and which did not.

124 612 Everyone was counted of the Kapala's group of relatives who believed himself to be related to him or his wife and of whom this was not denied. The latter happened once. It concerned a kampong functionary who had few kinsmen in Bontoramba but who had obtained influence through his personal qualities (his organizational ability, his eloquence) and

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865 /55 cont./ he seems completely normal again. Such attacks were observed by me only with children. In both cases they were children spoiled by their environment. Everything they did was admired in an exaggerated fashion. They were allowed to do much more than other children; nobody forbade them anything. When the girl spilled a whole pile of paddy, the owner merely laughed good-naturedly. When the boy playfully broke a plate, this was excused and made out to be of absolutely no consequence. Only their own parents grumbled at them. But even this /56/ indulgence and interest came to an end. That is the moment when the child may have such a fit of temper (1).

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1. Matthes (see Woordenboek, p. 420) translates adjallo' as "running amuck." Adjallo', in my opinion, is a designation for a certain mental condition which in effect does have a number of external characteristics in common with amuck, but so long as the internal impulses are not better known than at present, it seems to me incorrect to accept his translation. Matthes also gives as an example "tau andjalloki sarenna"; he translates this by "one who runs amuck with his lot" and makes this clear by adding, "that is, one who is always dissatisfied with his lot, for instance, he who demands today this, tomorrow that, position, and so on."

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

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Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is concentrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other. The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

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The Ornament-Worship Community

Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

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1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

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2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

114 /67 cont./ In 1940 I thought I was able to indicate the con-
794 nection between ornament and ancestors by assuming that ancestor worship frequently attached itself to an ornament (3).

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3. H. Th. Chabot, "Over the Makassaarsche samenleving en een erfrechtelijke kwestie /Concerning Makassarese Society and a Question of Inheritance/," T. B. G. /Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, erroneously cited; see Bibliography, p. 347. -- Tr./, 1940, pp. 325 ff.

I considered at that time Nooteboom's "certain community" to be the kin group. At present an attempt will be made to determine more closely the relationship between ornament and ancestor worship.

778 The ornament of Borongloë is kept in the attic of the
794 dwelling belonging to the head of the adat community. It is an old flag on which a cock is pictured. Wrapped in a white cloth, the flag is kept in a closed basket in the ancestral house (pantasa').

The worship taking place at this ornament corresponds in
[769] all important points to the ancestor worship described above. The elements and the course of the ritual are the same. The parappo has the same task and a similar composition in this case. The rojong song and ritual objects here find a similar application. Here, too, the entire preparation lies in the hands of the women, and the pinati appears where the ritual concerns the whole group and not just a few relatives. The
[773] tomanurung myth of Borongloë, reproduced by Friedericy in his own words, corresponds in important respects with that of Bontoramba. At the sacred spot of Borongloë, where the ritual takes place on the most important occasions for the group, the stone, the saukang (little offering house), and the trees are again to be found together.

571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
764 to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

532 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth
612 in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
669 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past," he wrote in 1883 (2).

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

/77 cont./ 1. Ibid.

644 778 182 descent would dominate completely, and that is not the case.

An ornament is supposed to be in the hands of the group member with the purest blood and the best personal qualities. The individual who has the ornament in his possession is therefore believed to have these qualities until it turns out to be otherwise.

One who shows that he possesses the best personal qualities is therefore, according to the Makassarese idea, of high blood.

A prince is regarded as possessing these personal qualities to the greatest degree. However, they do not always find expression.

182 An ornament strengthens the unity of the group. At the same time it furthers the continuity of this unity. But a breakthrough on the basis of personal qualities must always be considered a possibility, in the light of what has been said above.

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Chapter II

Social Status

114 565 In the ethnological literature Makassarese-Buginese society is known as a hierarchical society. Friedericy (1) decided

1. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlands-Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. 4, p. 582.

114 /78 cont./ upon a division into two classes /standen/, the
565 nobility and the people. In addition he reported the existence of intermediary classes, that of headmen and slaves. The groups of relatives from which this society is constructed remain in the background with Friedericy. Proceeding from what is already known here, the relationship of kinship and class will first be indicated at this point. A few introductory comments will precede this.

635 All Makassarese-Buginese land, as has been mentioned,
565 is divided into provinces. The prince who stands at the head of a province belongs to a bilateral group of relatives which constitutes a class /stand/ apart, the nobility. The members of this group are called karaëng. They primarily live together in a few kampongs bordering on each other and constitute a well-integrated group. They are distinguished from the other groups of relatives residing in their province by virtue of the fact that their common descent is, according to general opinion, higher than that of the other groups. Among other things, this opinion finds expression in the forms of social intercourse with those lower, the people, which is indicated by the term tau samara' (literally, "ordinary people").

565 It is not possible to say that the nobility is distinguished from the lower groups of relatives through a certain ritual or through any other special characteristic (2), for all groups

2. For the term "specialities" /cited in English/, see R. Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 272 ff.

of relatives distinguish themselves from others around them through such a specialty. Each group of relatives is quite conscious of this, and the members actually boast of it. One can state that the karaëng group possesses more of these special characteristics than the other groups, that in some cases it forbids the use of these special characteristics to members of

565 /78 cont./ the other groups, and that it has the power to enforce this prohibition./79/ The special characteristics of the nobility serve as class prerogatives.

Among the lower /people/, this rarely gives rise to difficulties because in the majority of cases no one values the idea of taking over a special characteristic from just any other group.

565 582 The noble groups of relatives which live in the respective provinces are, like the nonnoble ones, not completely endogamous. Marriages between members of these groups who therefore live in two or more different provinces occur regularly. In this respect the noble related group acts like the lower ones.

114 565 The prince's group of relatives constitutes a well-integrated group whose efforts within the province is directed at maintaining the existing balance of power. Friedericy gathered his material among the nobility. His description of the organization of the classes is in many respects the picture which one obtains of the society if one views it through the eyes of the nobility. He thus places great emphasis upon the characteristics which distinguish the nobility from the other groups, and upon the "intermediary classes" with terms applying to them. One of these terms is ana' tjera'. Among the nobility this designates a child of the marriage between a man of the nobility and a woman from the people.

565 602 Among the nobility class and kinship coincide to a great extent. A commoner can only be admitted into the nobility by way of kinship, that is to say, by marrying into the nobility. Such a marriage, however, does not immediately lead to complete admittance. Terms such as ana' tjera' regulate this. Admittance is accomplished only after several generations. These terms are therefore only in use among the highest class. They have a negative emotional quality. These terms are never heard among the people. To them a child of a mixed marriage is someone of noble blood, even after two or three generations. Such a person has standing just through "blood" alone.

565 /80 cont. / to his group of relatives. In so doing, however,
554 nothing has as yet been said about the possibility of a future marriage. This depends further on his personal qualities and finally on the evaluation of his position at a certain moment. A person's /social/ class is no more than the possibility of contracting a certain marriage at a certain moment.

114 Friedericy has added an explanation of their origin to his
174 description of the social classes and their mutual relationships.
565 He thought that it was possible to indicate that the class organization arose from an exogamous fraternal grouping. His theory was first presented by de Josselin de Jong. The latter was able to indicate such a structural change among the
000 Natchez; classes there developed out of clans (2).

2. J. P. B. Josselin de Jong, "The Natchez Social System" /cited in English/, Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, September, 1928, pp. 553 ff.

Ideas concerning the origin of social classes have changed little since then./81/ Van Heek (1), as the last one, in

1. F. van Heek, Klassen- en standenstructuur als sociologische begrippen /Class and Status Structure as Sociological Concepts/, Inaugural Address, Leiden, 1948, p. 7.

1948 states concerning this: "To the extent that in primitive societies the groups increase in size, come into greater contact

/81 cont./ with each other, become more complicated in their organizational forms, and their accumulated stores of goods become larger, their internal hierarchic articulation begins to stand out more clearly."

Larger numbers in themselves do not necessarily bring about structural changes, however, and it is just these that interest us. The problem of the formation of a class structure in essence remains untouched here.

114 174 565 The arguments adopted by Friedericy for his theory from an analysis of Makassarese culture do not appear convincing to me. His theory and my objections to it will therefore be briefly taken up at this point (2).

2. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen, 1933, Vol. IV, p. 90.

On the basis of an analysis of the creation myth, Friedericy assumed that at an earlier stage in the development of society a fraternal division must have existed. Now, in order to make the idea of the origin of the present-day society from the mythical organization acceptable, he mentions a number of characteristics which both have in common: "A bipartite structure, superiority of one group over the other, patrilocality after marriage, the nonlocalized character of the groups -- all these things the two organizations have in common. Moreover, where initially we believed a great difference to exist, we have found upon closer examination clear indications in the present society of former exogamy of the two groups as well as of matrilineal descent" (3).

3. H. J. Friedericy, Ibid., p. 599.

114 174 565 586 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba, and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana [567] (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." Before the war the government linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves. As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement loses its force.

114 174 565 582 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes. Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that, simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 174 565 [591] Of the four common characteristics, the mention of patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding. My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).

1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure, superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

114 /82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from
174 an exogamous kinship grouping.
565 The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articulation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came into existence, is not clear.

128 The connection established by Friedericy between class and
565 kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As
554 much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used

2. F. van Heek, op. cit., p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing" /aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be feasible.

182 It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes
554 signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage
582 is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment. Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two elements which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

554 The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's
[581] children because this establishes the standing gained by one personally, within the bounds set by descent.

571 /102 cont./ 1. Ana' ana'na literally signifys "his children," here, therefore, "as if his children."

awareness that a relationship of authority of high over low, accepted by the latter, exists and likewise the realization that high and low need each other in their striving for higher standing. This relationship is based upon cooperation. The relationship between (almost) equal groups, on the other hand, is best described as opposition. The next paragraph will deal with this point.

156 554 571 In addition to descent, the personal qualities of the individual are of importance in his striving to rise. The importance of these qualities is reflected in the saying that a good karaëng has good followers and a bad karaëng bad ones. Qualities required for a higher person to be a good one are: courage in fighting and skill in debate. He must have the courage to undertake risks; he must be active and at the same time able to stimulate activity in others. In addition, a certain generosity toward those lower is indispensable. Such a dynamic character attracts those who are lower; They like to work for such a person. Qualities appreciated in a lower person worthy of mention are: faithfulness to the master; courage, in the sense of readiness to assist his master and to avenge insults inflicted upon the master; and furthermore, a certain initiative within the bounds of freedom permitted him.

114 Four essays written by the government official, Kooreman, which dealt with his experiences during a stay of almost ten years in South Celebes appeared in the Indische Gids of 1883. He also described the system of followers (1). Kooreman was

1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 375 ff.

114 /102 cont./ able to describe his impressions in a clear and lively manner. The conditions he sketches can still be recognized as typical of South Celebes, but at the same time it is apparent that much has changed. His description will first be reproduced here. Then my own data will follow, /103/ and in the process we will be able to point out a number of times what has remained and what has changed.

554 "...the higher the nobility to which one belonged, the
565 more did one possess the privilege of impunity. The little
571 man almost completely lacked protection against the presumptions and vexations of the Anakaraeng. As a result he was forced to look for protection from those who caused the evil condition, namely, the nobility. The latter undertook the protection, but conditionally, that is, the Anakaraeng demanded a certain measure of subjection of his protégé. From this a relationship developed to which we refer as "being a follower," but which is described more characteristically and accurately by the Makassarese word for follower, Ana ana. (Ana signifies "child," Ana ana, "little child.") Between the Anakaraeng and his protégé there existed, therefore, the relationship of a great and powerful man and a little child.

571 The follower was obliged to recognize the Anakaraeng as
675 his master (karaeng). He was forced to accompany him while hunting and on his travels, to help him in various agricultural activities, to bring his small presents, and to perform services at his festivals. He was obligated to assist him if he was threatened or attacked, or if he had to avenge an insult. In a word, he had to follow his master (minawang) and carry out whatever he was enjoined to do. The Anakaraeng, on the other hand, assumed the responsibility of guarding his ana ana against any arbitrary treatment, and if they suffered alleged or actual injustice, he took their side. The relationship was so close that to insult a follower was equal to insulting his

178 /116 cont./ 1. Legally, of course, such a declaration of emancipation has not the slightest significance since the official emancipation of all slaves by the government.
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cases, however, the emancipation was brought about by the fact that children of slaves moved to other regions and there obtained the same opportunities as other independent individuals in their striving to rise. A family can be said to be still regarded as slaves in the kampong only if it is generally known that the respective parents were slaves, that at their marriage the slaves' sunrang was paid, and that the marriage was entirely regulated and provided for by the master, and if this couple has then continued to live in the same kampong, does not own any land there but works the land of the master, and further performs the customary tasks for him.

Put in general terms, this implies that in Borongloë, at [582] present, contempt is expressed only when marriage possibilities are discussed. Then it appears that ordinary people (tau samara') prefer not to enter into marriage ties with such people. Their marrying chances -- and this applies particularly to the young men -- are limited. Further, I noticed a certain contempt only when, as an investigator, I made inquiries concerning their official position. The work that the slaves perform is the same as the work performed by many others who are regarded as followers.

114 In 1883, Kooreman did not mention slaves in his definition of the concept of followers. For him, slaves form a group apart.
567 Friedericy (2) in his analysis of Makassarese-Buginese

2. See Friedericy, idem., p. 582.

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/118 cont./ This boastful tone also comes to the fore in the loyalty oath (aru) made to the prince by lower chieftains or prominent followers at the inauguration of a new prince or at other very important happenings such as war. It is a combination of expressions of the greatest self-glorification and words expressing the most abject subjection to the superior. It is the same kind of self-abasement which in the end is nothing but a self-elevation, as has already been noted in cases where men of standing call themselves the slaves of the prince.

This oath is uttered with a drawn kris and amidst signs of the strongest emotion. Sentence after sentence is shouted rather than spoken. The oath following here belongs to the former adat community head of Borongloë. Among other occasions, he uttered it at the inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1937. The recording of the text took place in 1948 (1).

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1. This translation has already appeared in the monthly magazine Oriëntatie for February, 1949. A number of improvements were made in it. The original text became mutilated and could therefore not be reprinted here.

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Listen to me,
the most miserable servant of God,
the least among the warriors of the Prophet.
Where there is nobody, there am I
and where there is somebody, there am I
as his twin brother.
I am the man of the women,
the lover of the girls,
the man who is unshakably faithful to the adat,
who holds fast to the adat,

114 /116 cont./ society declares that the class of slaves is "really
567 secondary" and that it had "no appreciable task in the life of the society." Consequently, he eliminates slaves from his further discussion. From his data, however, it must be con-
565 cluded that slaves stood in a special relationship to the karaëng
567 and that in Goa they had no other ties among each other than the awareness that they all belonged to members of one and the same related group. The above-mentioned sunrang regulation in which the Prince establishes a special sunrang only for his
554 slaves favors this point. To mention another example in
567 support of this interpretation, the adat community head of
634 Borongloë does not speak to a karaëng about his ata, but about /117/ his people (taunna), because speaking of his ata would be an expression of haughtiness. In so doing he would place himself on a level with a karaëng and thereby make himself ridiculous. Toward his subjects he does speak of his ata, but even then he does so much less openly than the Prince (1).

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1. In 1949 slaves in Borongloë had the active right to vote. In point of fact they participated in the election. Before the war I made no inquiries into this matter. On page 552 of his dissertation (1933), Friedericy reports that slaves were barred from the right to vote with respect to the heads placed over them. Here he is referring to the slaves belonging to the karaëng.

178 It seems that the possession of slaves is something that be-
565 longs to the karaëng group like a certain ritual or a certain
567 color, and that it is something which has been successively

643 /121 cont./ The prince is regarded as the person of
669 purest blood and as the possessor, to the highest degree, of the personal qualities which the Makassarese expect from a leader. If a prince satisfies both these requirements, he would seem to be in a position to conduct a policy directed at increasing his territory and the number of his subjects.

If a prince does not satisfy these requirements, there frequently occurs a schism within the realm which begins in the royal family. The conflict between the person who formally is the rightful heir because he is the oldest son or because he is considered to be of the purest blood and, on the other hand, the person who possesses the best personal qualities is frequently already present at a succession to the throne. Such a schism constitutes a threat to the prince. The power that his kingdom can exert outwardly remains small. For in that case, his efforts are still merely directed at maintaining his position within his realm. A classic example of this is the fraternal war in Sidenreng in 1831 and the succeeding years.

Eerdmans (1) clearly indicates the reasons that led to the

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1. The quotation which follows here is taken from an important unpublished note concerning the history of the government of Celebes and the dependencies from the pen of the retired Assistant Resident, A. L. A. F. Eerdmans, who died shortly before the Japanese invasion. Other quotations from the same note, following below, will be indicated by "Eerdmans." It is hoped, that it will still be possible to publish the part of this work that was spared

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/121 cont./ in the war. Publication of the work had been decided upon before the war, but had not been carried out.

battle: "From the preceding it appears that La Pawawooi Mohamad Ali, Prince of Sidenreng, a very old man, had always faithfully upheld Dutch interests and had performed many and important services for the government. When his son, Petta Tjambange, married the Wadjo princess, Mapalakae Aroe Maenge, it was decreed that the son that might be born from this marriage would be successor to the throne of Sidenreng.

175 "From this union was born La Patongai, Datoe Lampoele, who accordingly was presented to the administration at
643 Macassar as successor to the throne, and recognized by decree.
669 Datoe Lampoele, however, was a restless, adventurous person, whose actions and conduct caused offense in many respects. Moreover, he was greatly attached to Bone. /122/ One thing and another led to the fact that his grandfather, the old Prince of Sidenreng, became more and more estranged from him. The latter developed an increasing affection for a son of Petta Tjambange from a second marriage to We Nomba Daroe /sic/ Pamana, called the La Pangorisang, whom he decided upon as successor to the throne. Datoe Lampoele did not want to relinquish his claims to Sidenreng's throne and began to court the support of the Princess and prominent persons inside and outside of Sidenreng even during the final years of Mohamad Ali's life. Furthermore, he was able to count definitely upon the support of his father-in-law, Datoe Mario-ri-awa, and a number of prominent people from Wadjo and Bone. On the other hand, La Pangorisang had many followers of his cause among the great of Sidenreng, the Wadjo kinsmen of his mother, Datoe Pamana. Furthermore, he received support from the Prince of Barroe (Topatarai Soemagaroeka), his later father-in-law, as well as from the Princess of Sawitto and Rappang.

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793/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance
178 of the bissu institution, however, At present, insofar as they
838 did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as
548 prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

114 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and
589 women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated
885 who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

1. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 54.

114 /159 cont./ on one reads that "if sexual maturity of the girls
589 is regarded as the criterion of marriageability and thus also of
885 adulthood" they would be adults at the age of about fourteen or fifteen years (2). In South Celebes the tendency exists to

2. Ibid., p. 55.

regard boys as adults if they have their own kampong pass (soera' kampong). This implies that they are also called for community labor. At that time they are approximately eighteen to nineteen years old. As a result of these criteria, which differ according to sex, the men are regarded as adults at a later age than women.

114 In the 1930 census report a high percentage of unmarried
589 men and women is registered for the province of Goa (28.2 per cent and 28.8 per cent respectively). It is explained that the average age at which marriages are contracted is higher than elsewhere (3). This age, however, is not known.

3. Ibid., p. 66.

So long as the birth registers do not make possible a check of the age at which people are married, an explanation like this is premature.

The high percentage mentioned is, in my opinion, rather
589 to be explained by the fact that a large number of men and women never marry.

In order to ascertain this number, I asked two informants /160/ at different points in time, with respect to each unmarried person, one by one, whether according to them they still had chances to marry. The result was that for 15 men and 24 women, it was assumed by both informants that they would never marry. Their opinions were divided on 4 men. These 15 men were all approximately thirty-five to forty years or older. The 24 women were thirty to thirty-five years or older.

589 /161 cont./ In the 1930 census report, the suggestion is
114 made with respect to the "East of the Archipelago, " "that the continued unmarried state of a woman in the native society is regarded as more or less undesirable or dishonorable" (3). I

3. Volkstelling 1930,
Part 5, p. 66.

have been unable to find a single indication in South Celebes pointing to the correctness of this last qualification. For the
581 woman concerned it is regarded as "undesirable" that she does
589 not marry. It is believed that only through marriage does one become a "complete person." Attempting to bring about someone's marriage signifies that one means well for this person. But one prefers to see a young woman unmarried rather than to see her marry a man who is not regarded as suitable.
[554] Suitability is judged almost entirely on the basis of his social standing.

By the same token people prefer to see their son unmarried than to see him contract a marriage contrary to parental wishes. Not to marry may be undesirable for an individual, but it is always regarded more highly than to marry an undesirable partner.

114 "Among the Makassarese, " the report goes on (4), "who
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4. Ibid., p. 67.

565 have strict difference between the social classes, the number of unmarried women /162/ among the higher classes is great because there the bride price and the "balandja" (the expenses of the wedding feast) are so high. " Now this "bride price" among the kinsmen of the Prince of Goa amounts to 28 reals or 56. -- guldens, and that of the small man to 20 reals or 40. -- guldens. The difference of 16. -- guldens does not

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583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
589 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
[582] in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary argument to explain the fact that a large number of women remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also used as an "explanation" for the existence of marriage by flight. It is safer to assume that in times like those after 1929, the number of marriages by flight increased somewhat through a gradual adjustment toward new relationships with regard to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance, cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts, and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
178 previous one.
435 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
583 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
585 same amount as a number of years before. The members of

[162] /163 cont./
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[587]

to be remarried widowers and widows respectively. It is possible that these latter figures are in reality somewhat larger. For the investigation of this problem was made difficult by the fact that generally one finds it unpleasant to be reminded of an earlier marriage. At present, this result proves no more than that few widows and widowers remarry. The possibility is taken into account that the decease of the marriage partner is a consequence of a bad personal quality on the part of the survivor, without the latter having to be conscious of it. One is afraid that this quality will stay with him, and for that reason one regards a marriage to a widow or to a widower as a less desirable marriage. In the rare cases that such a marriage was contracted, a special ritual was performed. By this it is hoped that the bad qualities will disappear, but the chance of this happening is not considered very good.

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The census report of 1930 (Part 5, p. 58) gives as the reason for the infrequent remarriage of widowers the high bride price and wedding expenses. This argument is even less valid since the widower can, if he wants to, be satisfied with a "small feast" (nikka' tja'di).

/177 cont./
Water Sprinkling (appasili)

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Appasili (1) is the name of the ritual in which water is

1. See B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 597.

sprinkled over the object of the ritual, a thing or a person, by means of a number of leafy twigs which have been tied together. It is done at various moments of the wedding festival. Thus, water is sprinkled on the vessels that will be used during the festive meals and during the /178/ setting up of the chief pole of the pannjambungi (1). It occurs also at preparations that

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1. The pannjambungi is the extension which is built onto the front part of the actual house on the occasion of a wedding festival. During this time it serves as the men's quarters and as a place where the male guests are received. At such a time the house proper, including the front room (kale balla'), is reserved for the women. I hope to be able to describe this part of the house in greater detail later. W.H. Rassers has already repeatedly pointed out the great interest attaching to this part, the last time in his study, "Inleiding tot de bestudeering van de Javaansche kris /Introduction to a Study of the Javanese Kris/," Mededeeling der Kon/inklijke/ Ned/erlandsche/ Akad/emie/

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585 /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen,
788 Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde,
[114] N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/
/New Series/, Vol. I,
no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 The person who performs this ritual is frequently the
[593] "bride's mother, " (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven
824 different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but some-
[801] times variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 1. These names are rapidly
824 recited, one after the other,
789 when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaëng related group, that only a small number are contracted in that of the adat community heads, and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives.
582 The marriage registers are particularly useless for this purpose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling out the marriage registers know that the administration does not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this girl, a very special figure ahead of his time, had recorded the birth dates of his children in a notebook, and therefore a check was possible in this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

554 /210 cont./ latter case, a marriage may still take place.
684 Then there arises a relationship between "the people who feel siri'" and "the fleers," a relationship which opens up the /211/ possibility of circumventing the killing that is also prescribed in this case. Ultimately, though only after years, a reconciliation can come about. This entire complex will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

Third Part

The Siri' Phenomenon

554 Vertical mobility occurs by means of opposition relation-
571 ships. Men between fifteen and forty years, and especially the younger ones among them, must face each other in a lasting relationship of challenge and outdoing. Each challenge and outdoing demands a reaction. The person who does not react, that is to say, the one who does not participate in what is regarded as important in this culture, has little social standing. The feeling of someone who is outdone is indicated by siri' (1). Someone is siri' when his social standing is

[14 196]

1. Matthes (Woordenboek, p. 583) translates the word siri' by "ashamed, diffident, shy, shame, sense of honor, disgrace." But to a Makassarese, siri' has an entirely different meaning than these words have for a Dutchman. The meaning fits equally little that of the

554 /211 cont./ Indonesian word malu.
571 An attempt at definition
[114 will be made below. For
196] the sake of clarity, however, I have left the term untranslated in a number of cases.

impaired and when another person knows this.

A man is inclined to regard immediately as outdoing any accidental event at an encounter, or a lucky word on his part, by which he raises himself above the other person, at least in his own eyes. The other, when he hears this, is also siri'.

The reaction may consist of a counterchallenge, a returned insult, by which the original challenger in his turn becomes siri'. It is never possible to determine precisely who "began." The mutual opposition is sometimes explained by an event from the past that is regarded as of great importance, for instance, a murder. But with that the question concerning the origin of the mutual opposition is merely put off.

There exists the possibility that the outdone person will [578] respond by stabbing. The consequence of outdoing can therefore never be foreseen. It remains charged with real danger. Many stabbing brawls in South Celebes are proof of that.

/212/ One of the most spectacular challenges is the theft 554 of cattle, horses, or buffalo. Its purpose is, in the first instance, 571 to show one's courage (kaporeanna); only in a few cases are 685 economic motives at the bottom of this. Sometimes a warning is uttered beforehand: "I am coming" (that is to say, "to [578] steal your buffalo"). Stealing cattle is done to find a reason for a brawl. A successful buffalo theft is considered a triumph and at the same time a challenge. A cattle theft at the expense of the prince is therefore a great insult.

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602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
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3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/," Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri'. /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status,
114 nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

588 /217 cont./ 1. The suggestion I made
684 in 1938 to the effect that a
[114] deeper knowledge of the
Makassarese marriage arrangement would clarify the reasons that lead to a silariang marriage has therefore proved incorrect. See /Ibid./ Vol. 149, p. 334.

Silariang is inevitably preceded by a violation of rules concerning social intercourse between the sexes, regardless of whether this was intentional or not. Only when one continues to search for the reasons leading to the transgression of these social rules, does one find the desire on the part of the individuals whose marriage is prevented by social or economic factors and who therefore resort to silariang.

521 Even if nobody else knows of this transgression but the
684 man and the woman, the latter can still not be sure that he will not boast of it in order to appear as a "ladies' man" among his companions. Boasting of success with women is typical of young men (tau rungka). They like to suggest extensive successes, even though actually little more has happened than that a number of significant glances were exchanged, and a few remarks of a general nature but, in his opinion, cleverly stated were made in her presence. At the same time, a young man has a valid reason for remaining vague when he makes such boasts, for if he were to be too explicit, so that another could understand to whom he is referring, his bragging immediately imperils the girl. Then
[626] her brother might hear of it. The fact that people "talk about her" is one of the worst things that can happen to a young woman. In that case she must certainly flee because
[558] her brother or cousin can do nothing but stab unless he wants

156 /242 cont./ Among the men who possess to a low degree
833 the qualities established as a norm for them, there are to be
838 found the "kawe kawe," the unmarried men, the married men who refuse to have sexual intercourse with their wives, and possibly the koro patients. It is impossible for me to indicate the boundary between a lack of the qualities demanded by the culture and a supposed lack.

156 Among the women who possess the qualities ascribed to
[548] them to a small degree, one finds the prostitutes and also matrons and bride's mothers, and those who perform the ancestral ritual, all of whom owe their standing to their work, which serves to raise the standing of the community. Among these there are also the princesses, who in these countries frequently played a dominant role. Among females in this
[562] position there is none of the docility left, which is expected in women.

/248/ Appendix

114 Figures drawn from registers constitute a welcome addition
127 to the data that could not have been obtained otherwise, or only with great difficulty through verbal information. However, in making use of register material, there is a danger that the degree of its reliability will not be sufficiently realized.

Data based on registers always make a precise impression. The collector is inclined to believe in their reliability himself. But the reliability can only be judged through an acquaintance with the culture in which they are used. A number of "mistakes" in the registers can be immediately understood as a result of ideas present in that culture. They raise the demand for care in the comparison of figures with other regions.

128 /248 cont./ At this point we shall examine a number of registers to see for what purposes it is possible to use figures taken from them and for what purposes they cannot be used; if possible we shall at the same time give the reasons for our opinion.

The following registers were found in the adat community:

1. birth registers
2. death registers
3. marriage registers
4. divorce registers
5. land-tax registers
6. Indonesian notary registers
7. registers of reported misdemeanors
8. sentences handed down by courts of law
9. community labor registers
10. overnight registers
11. registration registers
12. school registers

Birth Registers

[193] 217 163 114 The imam of the adat community maintains the birth registers according to instructions passed on to him by the Kali of Goa. In the columns appear next to each other the names of the father, the mother, and the child; the kampong where the birth took place; a record of the fact whether the birth took place at night or during the day, the date of birth, and the sex of the child.

/249/ Notification is made when the child is a few weeks old. If the child dies before registration, the latter ordinarily does not take place, therefore. During a stay of six weeks I observed two such cases. These registers therefore cannot supply any reliable figures concerning infant mortality.

114 /249 cont./ There is no punishment for failure to register.
163 The reason that people do not like to register a child that has
217 just been born is the belief that this would bring about misfortune
because it is conceived as an expression of arrogance or pride.
[777 For the same reason a newborn child is wrapped in old rags.
751] There is no certainty that the births recorded in a year represent
the correct number.

A woman by preference has her first child in the house of her
[844] parents, especially if she herself was also born there. Many
children are therefore registered in a kampong where their parents
no longer live and from which it again "moves" a few months
after birth.

A child does not receive a name directly at birth for the
[553] same reason that a child's birth is not directly reported. All boys
are referred to as Baso or Batjo, all girls as Basse or Batje. In
this semianonymity the child is considered safe. Only years
later does it receive a name of its own, which, however, is not
recorded in the register. A certificate of birth is not submitted.

Death Registers

114
217 In the death registers that are likewise maintained by the
165 imam for the entire adat community (around 14, 000 inhabitants),
the following data are found reported in parallel columns: the
[793] name of the deceased, his sex, his age; the kampong in which
he died, whether he died during the night or during the day, the
date of his death, the final illness, and sometimes a few remarks
concerning heirs and estate.

The reasons indicated for the death are very much those of
[961] a layman; the imam bases them upon complaints uttered during
the final illness; stomach-ache, coughing, sometimes old age,
are found recorded in this category. /250/

Thus, these registers must also be handled with care.
Neither age nor reason for death can be regarded as reliable.

/250 cont./
Marriage Registers

114
217
585

In the columns of the marriage registers are found in order: the bridegroom's name, his estimated age, the kampong of his residence; his father's and mother's name, their place of residence, or else the fact that they are deceased. The same is entered for the bride. Then follows the name and place of residence of the wali and his kin relationship to the wife, or else the fact that the wali haking functioned; the date of the marriage ceremony, the formula of the talak al takli' (Makassarese: djandji tala'); the amount of the bride price (sunrang); the fact that the sunrang was paid or else borrowed, what part was paid in money and what part in exactly defined goods; a fingerprint of the bride's thumb or of her father's in case the latter is still alive; the name of the marriage official and of the witnesses, and finally a column of remarks.

In Borongloë, marriages by flight are registered along with the ordinary, or festive marriages. This is to say, therefore, that in general marriages of fleeing couples from elsewhere are registered in Borongloë, and that marriages of fleeing couples native to Borongloë are recorded elsewhere. The tendency to flee to Macassar seems to be greater than the other way around. In Macassar, some imams have special registers to record marriages by flight. Only after a certain length of time has elapsed does the couple return home. The total number of marriages registered in Borongloë is therefore not the same as the number of married couples.

In the case of marriage by flight, the sunrang always amounts to 20 reals. In view of the fact that otherwise the sunrang is an index, the number of marriages with 20 reals is in itself not indicative of status conditions.

The age of the marrying couples must be treated with caution, as was already remarked in the discussion of child marriage.

/250 cont./
Divorce Registers

114 217 586 The divorce registers are kept by the Kali of Goa for a part of the province of Goa that comprises several adat communities. /251/ This is an administrative problem which is regulated differently according to locality. During the Japanese occupation, when it was considered unsafe to travel, the Imam of Borongloë temporarily was also authorized to register divorces.

The maintenance of these four types of personal registers was poor. Registers of a few years back were in such a deplorable state that it was no longer fruitful to consult them. Before these registers can develop into a Registrar's Office, a good many improvements will first have to be made.

Land-tax Registers

114 217 651 423 In the land-tax registers each plot of land whose boundaries are very precisely indicated is to be found with the name of the person who pays the tax on it. This may be the Indonesian owner. A woman's plots are regularly recorded in the name of her husband or, if she is unmarried, in the name of her oldest brother. Younger brother's plots are frequently entered in the name of the oldest.

Registration of land is done by kampong territory. It is possible to calculate the average landownership per head and per house. It is impossible to say how many are "large landowners" -- assuming that one would want to consider someone who possesses more than five hectares as such, for instance, for by entering a part of his land in the name of his wife or children, the total ownership of one man can no longer be traced through these land registers.

The land-tax service places the taxpayer and the Indonesian owner practically on a par. Jurisprudence, however, does not simply connect with Indonesian property rights the fact that someone is entered in the land-tax registers.

114 217 423 651 /251 cont./ The land-tax registers make a distinction between lands in Indonesian possession and lands that have been taken in pawn. In a calculation of the averages of the sawah areas, these two types of land must be added together. The land-tax registers are in excellent condition.

The Indonesian Notary

114 217 675 425 The so-called Inland Notary, kept in the adat community office, which before the war began to assume an increasingly important task, was still not up to prewar /252/ standards in mid-1949. In 1940, 318 transactions were registered in Borongloë, in 1946 and 1947, 36 and 56 respectively.

The purpose of this institution is to further legal certainty. Parties which enter into a transaction, can report this to the head concerned, and the latter is then obligated to enter this transaction in the register, and at the same time to give to both parties a summary of what was recorded by him.

In the columns are recorded in order: name and place of residence of the purchaser; name and place of residence of the seller; a description of the article; then its boundaries are indicated if it is land, and its characteristics if it concerns a buffalo; the sum that is paid or -- in case of an exchange -- the article with a similar description; and finally, the further agreements that are made subsequent to this transfer.

The adat community head makes an entry of the transaction if the local well-informed head of the kampong where the land is situated or from which the buffalo comes tells him that he has heard no objections against the transaction. The institution was popular because the native courts of law especially attached much value to the summaries produced by purchasers or pawnees at their sessions.

The personal care and interest for this institution on the part of the local heads varies greatly, and it is upon this that the number of transactions recorded appears to be directly

114 217 675 425 /252 cont./ dependent. Comparison of the figures accordingly indicates little concerning the actual number of transactions carried out in the respective territorial sections. A general impression can be derived from this register of what is transacted in a certain region. But no conclusions can be drawn with respect to the number of transactions.

Of the 31 transactions recorded in 1948, 6 concern the transfer of a sawah; 5 the transfer of a piece of dry land; 16 the sale of buffaloes, and 2 the transfer of a sewing machine.

The number of buffalo sales probably approaches the actual number most closely, since in the case of transportation -- which is necessary in the sale to one residing outside the seller's adat community -- a buffalo pass is necessary, and some heads exercise a certain pressure for registration in the registry /253/ of the Indonesian Notary when such a pass is issued. The land transactions do not approximate the actual number by an estimated tenth part.

Misdemeanor Registers

114 217 674 In the register of misdemeanors (Rappor Kedjahatan), which is also kept in the adat community office, the violations and misdemeanors that are reported there are entered, and at the same time those against whom the evidence is reported. In the first six months of 1948, 15 were reported there, that is: 9 buffalo thefts, 2 maltreatments, 1 threat with the badik, 2 minor thefts, and 1 assault on a woman. Eight of the 9 buffalo thefts remained unsolved. This register was not introduced [177] until 1948; little can as yet be said about its effect.

Registers of Legal Matters

114 217 671 The registers of legal matters which are divided into civil and criminal, are kept in the adat community office of Borongloë when they concern "minor" matters that come up before the

114 /253 cont./ Minor Native Law Court (Hadat Ketjil) of
217 Borongloë. The registers of "major" matters handled by the
671 Native Law Court (Hadat Besar) of Goa are to be found in the provincial office in Sungguminasa. In the civil registers are listed name and place of residence of the parties; the demand and the answer; the statements by the witnesses, the decision of the judge, and a single consideration in which is stated how the judge arrived at his decision. Relatively the same applies to criminal matters. These considerations are not directly comparable to those found in the registers of government judges.

Community-Labor Register

114 The kampong head has a register with the names of the
217 men in his kampong who are subject to government corvée,
651 nowadays community labor. This, however, does not list the total number of men able to work because a few kinsmen of the head and a few kampong functionaries are exempted from such labor, and because many heads are inclined to extend the number of exemptions according to their own judgment in order to strengthen their position in the kampong. This register is poorly kept. Old registers are not preserved.

/254/ Overnight Register

114 The kampong head keeps an overnight register (buku
217 bermalan) in which the person who spends the night in a kampong
486 is recorded by his name, his place of residence, the duration of his stay, and name of his host. Its purpose during the turbulent years of 1946 and 1947 was to exercise a certain control over strangers who came into the kampong. Now that this control is no longer so important, a name is entered only now and then so that the book will not be completely blank when a checkup is made. More than 90 per cent of overnight stays were not noted, so far as I was able to observe. The register therefore is of no use in measuring a certain horizontal mobility.

/254 cont./ Registration Register

114 217 161 [65] The Registration Register is, in view of its makeup, probably designed to give a picture of the number of able-bodied men and the tax to be rendered by them in each kampong territory.

Next to the column in which the name of the man is recorded, there is one showing the number of his wives, his children, buffaloes, and horses; his profession, his age, the amount he must pay in income tax, and so forth. Unmarried and able-bodied young men have their own place in the register. The youngest of these was nineteen years old.

This register cannot serve to indicate the total number of residents because houses in which a widow lives with children are not recorded. If a young man is around nineteen years of age, he receives a place in the register, but not his mother and younger brothers and sisters. Houses without a male head of the family are therefore not included in it.

The register apparently was not kept up regularly. Some newborn children were not entered, and some deceased were not written off. I was told by the administration that the total number of those entered increased by 10 per cent after the distribution of kain was done on the basis of this register. This 10 per cent appeared to consist mainly of unmarried women and girls.

Compared to my own card system of the residents of /255/ Bontoramba, 17 men (or boys) and 104 women (or girls) were not registered, altogether 121, or around 15 per cent, for a total of 803 residents. The increase of 10 per cent just mentioned had already taken place then.

The estimated age is recorded only for the men entered in the register. The observation made in the 1930 Census Report, that age estimates are unreliable was here confirmed. A man of 47 years appeared to have a son of 38. Several men would have been fathers in their twelfth year. The oldest man of the kampong was estimated at 66 years of age. In these

114 /255 cont./ estimates there appeared to be a clear preference
217 for certain numbers which, in my opinion, make it risky to
161 draw further conclusions from this. Eleven men were estimated as 40 years of age, 10 as 50, and 9 as 52; but according to this estimate, only 2 men were 39 years old, only one 41 or 42 years old, while there were supposedly no men of 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, and 59 years of age residing in the kampong.

School Registers

114 The school registers, which are kept very accurately by the
217 head of the school and checked by inspectors of the Department,
871 are in very good condition.

Each child is entered in the register according to name, sex, name of the father, and name of the person paying the tuition; date of entrance, grade promotions, date of leaving school, and reason for leaving school. The children's place of residence is not entered in the register.

Up to 1945 the public school in Bontomanai was the only school in the adat community of Borongloë with its more than 14,000 inhabitants. This school was established in 1923 but led a rather precarious existence until 1936. The number of pupils was small. In the second half of 1935 a new director of the school was appointed, and the number of pupils immediately soared steeply. The number of newly enrolled pupils numbered:

1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
12	70	37	78	64	17

Altogether, therefore, 278 children were enrolled, of whom 197 (72 per cent) were boys, and 81 (28 per cent) girls. The decrease in 1940 is due to the circumstance that the Inspector believed /256/ that there were too many pupils at the school and that the instruction was suffering from this.

For the instruction at this three-year public school there was, in addition to the school director mentioned, a single assistant instructor. The two men divided up the three classes in such a way that one class in turn was free or else worked by itself.

114 /256 cont./ Of these 278 children, 60 received a graduating
217 diploma. The rest left school for various reasons which are
871 recorded in the school's register. For 95 the reason given was laziness; for 49, their own request; for 29 illness; for 23, transfer to another school, for instance in connection with the parents moving; for 14, lack of money; and for 8, the fact that they were too small.

Laziness has reference not only to the achievements at school, but also to attendance at school, and children who live as far as two kilometers or more are with greater difficulty induced to cover this great distance every day, than those who live near by in the vicinity.

Under "own request" many girls are included who are regarded by their parents or other kinsmen as too big to walk on the street. Girls above twelve years of age, but frequently even those over ten, are preferably kept at home.

The poor payment of tuition was a reason for removing a child from school, particularly during the last two years. At that time the school had sufficient pupils. One does not need to jump to the conclusion that poor people's children were here especially prejudiced in the opportunities for development. Frequently, these parents are no poorer or richer than others, they just won't spare the tuition money.

The fact that pupils were too small was only given as a reason for leaving school in 1939. This must be regarded as due to the fact that the number of pupils was considered to be too large and because the Inspector believed that instruction was suffering from this.

125 In 1949 an attempt was made to discover the residence of the 278 pupils enrolled from 1935 through 1940. This attempt must be regarded as a failure. In 1949, 104 children were still living in the same kampong; 12 had moved to a kampong outside Borongloë, 1 to a kampong outside Goa, and 7 were dead. Of the great majority (154) the place of residence was /257/
[115] unknown. I assume that by far the greatest part of these no longer

871 /257 cont./ The children who come from there must walk over muddy footpaths. Parang Banua and Bontoa are cut off from the other kampongs by a large river, the Djeneberang. The large number of children from Parang Banua is therefore striking. Here live many kinsmen of the adat community head who, as he said, always urged his kin group to send their children to school.

The total number of residents of a kampong, the communication routes, /258/ and the example set by a head thus constitute the less important factors influencing school attendance, aside from the distance that has to be covered. A new school provides direct proof of this.

In 1945 a new school was opened in Bontoramba. In July, 1949 it had an enrollment of 226 pupils, of whom a small number at that time already had left school again. Of these 226, there came:

from Bontoramba	60 (26 boys and 34 girls)
from Pagentungang	61 (40 boys and 21 girls)
from Buttadidi	53 (36 boys and 17 girls)
from Songkolo	35 (20 boys and 15 girls)

All three of the last-named kampongs border directly on Bontoramba. The new school director did not know the place of residence for 17 pupils. It is not recorded in the registers.

114 217 Herewith, the most important registers have been discussed. The most reliable and at the same time the ones that were best kept appear to be those registers for which a special service is responsible (school and land-tax registers). The least reliable and the ones that were most poorly maintained were those that had been put in the hands of the kampong head (overnight and community-labor registers). The condition of those in the hands of the religious officials (imams) or of the adat community heads is dependent upon the sense of neatness and order of the keeper concerned, upon the standing

1:Chabot--343 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

114 /258 cont./ that he enjoys and which places him in a position to realize certain aspirations with respect to these registers, 217 and finally upon the orders and the control of their execution that proceeds centrally from the Kali to the imams, and from the administrative officials, now the Self-government members, to the adat community head.

/259/ Bibliography

113 As a starting point for this bibliography, I used the 114 Bibliography of Indonesian Peoples and Cultures by Raymond Kennedy (1). A number of gaps were filled, and the list was

1. Yale University Press,
New Haven, 1945.

brought up to date to January, 1950.

For practical reasons, Kennedy's division into "Celebes General" and "Makassarese-Buginese" was not followed, nor was the distinction between publications in Dutch and other languages used.

Not all the works cited by Kennedy could be consulted. It is possible, therefore, that a number of works were included which relate to North or Central, and not to South Celebes.

With a few exceptions, the publications that have appeared in the Adatrechtbundels have not been cited again separately under the name of the author.

Gorontalo OG4 Batak OD5
Ambon OH4 Makassar OG6
Ngadja OC9
Sundanese OE7

[182 cont.]

d. General Remarks about the Batak, Lampong, Redjang, Makassarese, and Buginese Literature

I 538 Finally, we shall give some general remarks about the literature of the other peoples of the archipelago. First, however, we shall briefly discuss the present state of our knowledge of their languages and the way we learned about them. We need not waste many words in pointing out that especially during recent years great progress has been made. One only has to look at the literature on the Indies of 30 years ago to learn that practically nothing was known on the subject. For that matter, as we learned above, not much more was known of Javanese.

S N M B I

We owe thanks for this knowledge, first, to the efforts of the Netherlands Bible Society of Amsterdam and to the various missionary societies active in the Indies. The first-mentioned society in particular has sent many a scholar to the Indies to study the as yet inaccessible languages. For example, Dr. van der Tuuk worked on the Batak language and has published a grammar, four volumes of chrestomathy, and a dictionary of it. Dr. B. F. Matthes has performed a similar service for the languages of southern Celebes and has prepared Makassarese and Buginese dictionaries, grammars, and anthologies. Likewise, Dr. Hardeland studied Dajak [Dyak], especially the language of the Olo Ngadju, which gave us a Grammatik and Wörterbuch [dictionary]. The study of Sundanese [183] was undertaken by the Bible Society, but the results were less satisfactory because their representative, Dr. Engelmann, died before his task was completed.

114 19

G 114 19 No less commendable in this respect were the efforts of the Netherlands Missionary Society of Rotterdam. Their missionaries on northern Celebes among the Minahasa made the languages of the Alfoer accessible. (Among these missionaries, the name of N. Ph. Wilken, the father of the late Professor Wilken, must not go unmentioned.) No less valuable were their services with regard to the languages of the Ambon Islands, particularly the study of the various dialects, the so-called bĕhasa

A 114 19

MK [186 cont.]
538 principally bänni = cracked rice, which sounds like mabanni =
[574] spend the night. The Buginese simply wanted to say "remain overnight." One can see that the play on words is farfetched.
MK The elong in the basa Bakkä cannot be understood without ex-
[539] planation. Here is another example. "Do not try to satisfy your passion, because then you always would have only bale ta-kesässi = fish without scales at home. This bale ta-kesässi in the basa to-Bakkä makes one think specifically of a fish awu-awu. This word also means "oh! alas!" The words "then you would only 'have scaleless fish at home'" are meant to express [187] then you would have only 'oh,' 'alas,' that is, distress and misery, in your house. Before taking leave of the elong, we must mention a particular kind, the so-called elong osong, war songs.

B Besides these shorter poems with four verses, the literature
RL of the peoples named has longer poems. Among the Batak,
538 Lampong, and Redjang, these are romantic or historical poems, which, however, are still not very well known. We are better
MK informed about those of the Makassarese and Buginese, called,
538 respectively, tolo and sinrili, which can best be compared with the Malayan sjair. The parallelism mentioned above is very much in evidence in them. Among these poems there are often very beautiful ones, especially among the Makassarese, which excel in bold images and striking contrasts. As an example, one
MK should read the sinrili No. 83 of Dr. Matthes' Makassaarsche
[764 Chrestomatie, a funeral song by a wife for her husband.
114]

Some sinrili or tolo are heroic lays, of which a few deal with subjects from modern times. For instance, a Buginese epic deals with the Boni war. There are some older ones, however, such as La Galigo, which is written in old, obsolete Buginese
MK and understood by only a few. The content is of a mythological
[773 nature and deals with the adventures of Batara Goeroe (the
776] supreme deity) and his descendants on earth, among whom is La Galigo (1). As a poetical product La Galigo is of little value

1. Wilken, Animisme, Part 2, pp. 232-233.

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 562
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197] words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaëng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaëng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaeng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favorably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when [114] ● in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo killings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been
771 at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
184 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imam of the latter is the 368
father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in
later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong [623]
council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone.

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in 622
legal cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after 692
the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he
couldn't the case went to the karaëng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village 623
is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of 203
an election when a great drum is beaten.

In addition to mosques, there are many surau, that is [346]
prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaëng is
not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is 565
only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high 368
noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaëng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank.

We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of 632
Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [run- 565
ning east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the terri- 114●
tory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangan. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallarang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e.,literally, electoral college--Analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaëng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan.

Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred 175
years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. 565
(See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the

M tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at
175 large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the
565 people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]

[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and
793 their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession
838 of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles.--Analyst]
231 This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any
881 bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati.
304 But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there
574 for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the
182 Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I re-
771 minded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own
181 idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 1140 829

[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friedericy). This
565 fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to
582 another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded.
829 But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman.
I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States, something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indonesian man in the United States could marry an American woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed. Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the
567 Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I des-
427 cribed the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?) The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens, and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food. When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that formerly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they were.

000 One thing about education: the business man asked if I could take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told him to write the Institute for International Education in New York.

769 Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of the old belief in present practice, including information concerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the countryside people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a sense, were ancestors.

126 I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in
124 the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the women were very proud. Also the children remained pests.

Again I had several men at the house, including a fairly high turunan radja. We went through about one half of the notes. I asked about the high percentage of unmarried women here and told them that the census reported that this was caused by the high prices. Saleh said no, the price was only f.88 for upper classes and f.20 for a slave. But I noted that he couldn't go to normal school because of the f.65. But, he said, there are ways of getting around this price. For example, one might give a rice field or something in kind rather than money. He said the trouble was mainly in the higher class, as it was hard to find suitable mates. But if it is too difficult one can move down a peg for a mate, but the result then is that the children are of lower status or class. The upper class man said that Fredericy's [i.e., H.J. Friedericy, De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren--Analyst] estimate of 40 pure ana' patola in Goa was rather high. He said that now there is only one, a woman. I think he said that she is not married, but I am not sure. Saleh agreed that it is also possible to run off and thus have a lower price. He also said that there is no real marriage unless the price is paid. All the fussy details apply mainly to the upper classes. And there again I see the fault in the Dutch material. They write of the uppers mostly. There is an absolute rule, a taboo, on a lower man marrying an upper woman [hypergamy]. Punishment for this was formerly death, by drowning. They agreed that this was looked upon as incest and as being sufficient cause of disaster for all. Such results as failure of the rice crop and so forth, might be expected. They put it that the mountains would refuse to send the rain. They laughed when I read from the notes that there was little divorce here because it was so hard to replace a wife. They seemed to agree that there was very little divorce. They said there was relatively little polygamy too, but the old sea captain has two wives now and has had many more. The two never lived together in polygamy now, he said, because they fight. Formerly, they could live in the same house. The present Radja of Goa has two wives.

583 565 435 114 [684] 586 595

Literacy: Saleh said to be careful regarding percentage figures on literacy. He said that everybody learns to read (or at least most people) Makassarese, and many learn to write it. It is taught in school, and also in the homes. Thus he might teach his wife if she were illiterate. He said that in the kampong 70 per cent of the people can read Makassarese and 30 per cent can write it. The figures are lower for Arabic and Roman letters. He has some figures in the material he gave me. He said that school children learn Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic.

212

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongava.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

House status marks: little is known about the rules con- 342
cerned with the number of piles, but much is known about 114
the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written 554
in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me 565
say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some
of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it
was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the
commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with
the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is
a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social
indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In
regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now
too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew 773
most of the names and events in the legends of origin, includ- 591
ing the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding
marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a
while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they
may go where they choose.

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline 177
in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the paka- 535
rena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices 527
came in. For example, one of the men said that they were 574
having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the
Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they
are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between 186
Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite 173
ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one,
Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name
of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is 778
only about three kilometers from here. I will go there to-
morrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It
is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite
serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for in-
vulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there
is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language 197
spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was
really a different language. They imitated it and laughed.
They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much 241
of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and 262
it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

the others did not. They said that relatively few, except 203
school children (they are always mentioned as exceptions) 186
could draw a map of Celebes, Indonesia, and the world. But 829
some of them have seen maps in the schools.

As for the population of Indonesia, the Kepala kampong could tell me nothing, but Andi and the teacher knew something about this. This was also true with most of the others, except for a few school children; that is, they do not know even approximate figures for Indonesia at large. As for the population of the world no one had any ideas. However, Andi knew that China was largest, and India next largest. They were impressed that Indonesia is the seventh largest country in population in the world. Later I found out that the Sulewatang has quite an extensive knowledge of international relations and of the world. And Andi knew the capitols of Ireland, Finland and other countries. As for local patriotism, Andi said there was no real 186
pride in Bone. They are not sombong [arrogant, conceited, 181
presumptuous], but have hormat [honor, respect, distinction]. And adat is everything. I asked about the big speeches of loyalty formerly made by chiefs going to war. I also asked, in this connection, about the jumping and kris waving. Andi said that this was just adat. He keeps on saying that there is nothing here except adat and that the people are backward. He seems disgusted at times. He said they simply do not progress, and seems to doubt that they ever will. As for rela- 578
tions with other villages and neighborhoods or areas, there is 721
exceedingly little. Formerly something along this line could be said about friendly or warlike relationships with Wadjo, Goa, and so forth. Nothing, however, is left of this. As for war, they can not carry on their former practices because the Dutch took their weapons.

Bukaka, September 8, 1949. Second day: The people here 157
know very little even about local historical events. This re- 114
minds me of Abdul Radjab, the Minangkabau, who is gathering local tales in Makale for Balai Pustaka. He was here once and said that he thought that he could get plenty of material in Wadjo, but after long talks with the important people who said it would be all right, he did not succeed in getting even one story. In the Toradja country, he got plenty, and even in Paloppo (but it is a part of Toradja). It is his idea, that the Buginese are helpless and hopeless. He said that a psychologist should study them. They are so bound up with fear and backwardness that there seems to be nothing here. He later took a bus for Tanette but it stopped at Balannipa which is twenty-five kilometers short. The driver said "all out", even though he and the others objected. However, the driver

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unquestioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard
184 something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
563 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
161 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly
582 had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they
585 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
831 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

121 [631] /5 cont./ The head of the adat community of Borongloë, one of the approximately ten adat communities which formed the province of Goa, was to be my host. I was able to agree to the choice of this adat community of around 14,000 individuals, since the location in relation to Macassar was favorable; since the head was an energetic young man who made a pleasant impression on /6/ me and who, moreover, knew Dutch, a circumstance which could only facilitate the first contact; and finally, since, as soon became apparent to me, in this region there were no special vexations or corruptions, which frequently create an atmosphere hindering an investigation.

123 The investigator who has found a place to live in the kampong can henceforth avoid the old "adat experts" with great ease. As elsewhere in Indonesia, they constitute a barrier between the investigator and the object of his investigation.

[115] My host was a figure full of vitality who could not possible sit at home for any length of time and who preferred to roam through his domain; talking everywhere, settling things, and [621] drinking coffee. His roving nature had the advantage that I was introduced to many houses of all 14 kampongs of the adat community in the most pleasant way imaginable and thus received a rough general view of what went on. It had the disadvantage that there could be no question of regular daily conversations of any length concerning the facts observed by myself.

At his house I became acquainted with the manner in which this headman's kin group /familie/ treated its servants and other underlings, and I received a first insight into Makassarese kin group /familie/ and nuclear family /gezin/ relationships. Not till then did the important position that the group of relatives /ver wantengroep/ occupies in Makassarese life among those of higher as well as of low /social status/ become clear to me. Therefore, not until then was it possible to attempt a closer analysis and to look around for a group of relatives that could be considered for this purpose.

121 /6 cont./ My choice of a group in kampong Bontoramba (1)

[621] 1. One of the 14 kampongs that form the adat community of Borongloë.

was mainly determined by three factors. in the first place this group seemed to display a great amount of cohesion; it had already repeatedly become apparent to me that members of this group were married to each other. In the second place, the kampong head, a prominent man in this group, had seemed favorably disposed toward me on a number of occasions. Thirdly, one of my best informants was married to the daughter of that head. And, finally, the kampong was located so that, compared with many of the others, it was within easy reach. [115]

121 In writing up data it had become evident to me earlier that indefinite quantitative adjectives had to be called in repeatedly
125 to describe /7/ relationships without the picture of the related group becoming clear at the same time; the "many" unmarried women, the "few" divorces, the "regular" occurrence of marriages by flight, and the "frequent" marriages of members of the same generation, all these statements are, in the end, not very meaningful. A kampong survey in which attention was paid to all these points seemed to be the best method of obtaining a clearer insight into a great variety of relationships. The first survey took place as early as 1940. However, the material was lost. Not until 1948 did the opportunity present itself to repeat the survey. A kampong territory has fixed boundaries, and since neither the worship of ornaments, the grouping of statuses, nor, finally, kin relationship offered a foothold, I chose this territorial unit as the starting point for further research.

125 The registration took place from house to house and was carried out on the basis of the following questions: 1. the names of the inhabitants of the house; 2. their mutual kin relationship; 3. their place of birth; 4. their kin relationship to the head

576 /11/ A stranger is first stared at quietly, "in order to get used to him, " as it is said; one looks at his face and judges whether he is "good" or not. Once established, this judgment, whose criteria have not become clear to me, is not subject to much modification.

Nobody seemed to find it strange that I participated at a 123 festive meal in long trousers and not, like the others, in a 576 sarong; but it was regarded as impolite that I kept my shoes on, and it was found odd when, at a subsequent time, the sarong fit was "wrong." I am left-handed and therefore ate with that [264 hand, but the touching of food with the left hand was observed 514] with disgust, because it is considered that one uses one's left hand in cleaning after defecating.

In themselves these are all small things, but they concern forms of social intercourse which are carried out as a matter of course and thereby furnish emotional security. The foreigner who takes no account of this is offensive, and it is impossible to say beforehand which offense will be felt as so troublesome that his work will suffer from it.

Informants

The strict separation of the sexes in this society makes it 123 difficult for a male investigator to work regularly with a female [576] informant. The great mobility of the men also makes regular [166] work with a man difficult. For instance, it was impossible for me to have daily contact with a number of individuals over a long period of time in order to give an account of their life.

[115] The men who functioned best as daily informants were not those who were of the highest standing in their community, but precisely those who, afflicted with a "clerical" mentality in the good sense of the word, were in a position to work regularly and possessed a sense of actuality and detail. Since my stay in Borongloë after the war lasted for only six weeks both times, it was possible for me to adapt myself to this typical mobility by not residing longer than six days in a row with one and the

585 /190 cont./ the bridegroom goes up the steps and into the house. At the high side of the house in the front room the bridal bed is usually made up. On this the bride is seated with her back turned to the entrance. Behind her the bridegroom takes his place. Immediately after this, the Moslem wedding ceremony (nikka') is performed.

The Imam of the adat community who performed the 793 wedding ceremony here described recorded in Makassarese in 585 detail the points of the ceremony that he considered the most [115 important, after the ceremony had taken place. The translation 126] of his report follows here.

'When I was about to marry Rahimi and Sija I asked 585 Rahimi's best man what the name of the bridegroom was, and Bandong (2) answered: 'the name of the bridegroom is Rahimi.'

2. The best man's name.

"Thereupon I asked: 'What is the name of his father and of his mother?' And then Bandong answered: 'Rahimi's father is called Palu, and his mother is called Sati. Both are still alive; they live in Bontobaddo (3).' /191/

3. Name of a section of kampong Bontoramba.

"Then I further questioned Malla (1): 'What is the name

1. Name of the bride's father.

of the bride?' And Malla answered: 'The name of the bride is Sija; I am her father, her mother is called Sani; she is deceased.'

"Thereupon I again asked Malla: 'What is the amount of the sunrang?' And Malla said: 'Twenty-four reals.'

114 /256 cont./ Of these 278 children, 60 received a graduating
217 diploma. The rest left school for various reasons which are
871 recorded in the school's register. For 95 the reason given was laziness; for 49, their own request; for 29 illness; for 23, transfer to another school, for instance in connection with the parents moving; for 14, lack of money; and for 8, the fact that they were too small.

Laziness has reference not only to the achievements at school, but also to attendance at school, and children who live as far as two kilometers or more are with greater difficulty induced to cover this great distance every day, than those who live near by in the vicinity.

Under "own request" many girls are included who are regarded by their parents or other kinsmen as too big to walk on the street. Girls above twelve years of age, but frequently even those over ten, are preferably kept at home.

The poor payment of tuition was a reason for removing a child from school, particularly during the last two years. At that time the school had sufficient pupils. One does not need to jump to the conclusion that poor people's children were here especially prejudiced in the opportunities for development. Frequently, these parents are no poorer or richer than others, they just won't spare the tuition money.

The fact that pupils were too small was only given as a reason for leaving school in 1939. This must be regarded as due to the fact that the number of pupils was considered to be too large and because the Inspector believed that instruction was suffering from this.

125 In 1949 an attempt was made to discover the residence of the 278 pupils enrolled from 1935 through 1940. This attempt must be regarded as a failure. In 1949, 104 children were still living in the same kampong; 12 had moved to a kampong outside Borongloë, 1 to a kampong outside Goa, and 7 were dead. Of the great majority (154) the place of residence was /257/
[115] unknown. I assume that by far the greatest part of these no longer

/257 cont./ resided in the same kampong because my informant, the school director himself, was very well informed about local conditions and accordingly would have been quite familiar, in most cases, with the domicile if this had remained unchanged. But no positive answer was forthcoming to the question concerning the domicile of 154 ex-pupils. There was no time to investigate this matter in another way.

There is a certain correlation between the number of pupils who went to school in Bontomanai from a certain kampong during those years and the distance that these children had to cover. The numbers and the distances in kilometers follow here:

80 from Bontomanai itself
77 from Pakatto, about 1 kilometer
25 from Borong, 2.5 kilometers
24 from Songkolo, 2.5 to 3 kilometers
20 from Kotjikang, 2.5 kilometers
15 from Parang Banua, 4 to 5 kilometers
13 from Borongkaluku, 2.5 kilometers
8 from Bontoramba, 5 kilometers
5 from Bontoa, 5 kilometers
4 from Buttadidi, 4 kilometers
3 from Bolangi (1), 4 kilometers

1. Kampong of an adjoining adat community.

2 from Borongpalala, 3 kilometers
1 from Bonto Bonto, 6 kilometers

There were no pupils from two kampongs.

One of these kampongs is situated 7 kilometers from Bontomanai and 3 kilometers from another place with a school. The children therefore went there.

All the kampongs mentioned are connected with Bontomanai by means of good footpaths, with the exception of Borongpalala.

S 838 824 772 Van der Veen said that there are only a few real hermaphrodites here, but that there are many homosexuals. And here is something! Boys who show feminine tendencies are fed maize because it is linked with the earth (female principle), and not rice, because the latter is heavenly and connected with the male principle.

000 Ambon: I met an insurance man at the Rotary Club meeting in Makassar, at which I spoke. His name is Kaihatu. He is from Oma, on Saparua, I think [Haruku]. Anyway, he said that they have quite a bit of pela [ally, in the sense of institutionalized friendship] practices there. One cannot marry a person of a fellow pela village. Thus Oma and a village on another island [Saparua] are in a pela relationship to each other. This involves a great amount of mutual aid. Although one can not marry a person from the other village it is evidently possible to marry in one's own village. Kaihatu said that even in a far away place such as Java, if a man of Oma meets one from a pela village he will help him in all ways possible. And he will never think of marrying. This custom is still strong, and even the moderns have no idea of breaking it. He also said that there was much black magic and that such beliefs are firm. I will see him later.

M 609 126 291 South Celebes: On my way back from Malino I was stopped by two lads at Lebon pasar. They were on their way from Makassar to the village where the Goa radja lived. They were selling clothing and asked me for a lift saying that there were two men. But soon two more appeared, and finally there were seven. All got in the jeep with their luggage. They were jolly and friendly. They pointed out a special black cape worn by nobles (but not only by nobles; perhaps only by women?) on the road. This type of cape is really beautiful, even out in the country. At one point they asked to stop and bought two large bunches of bananas. I asked them why. They said that the bananas were for me! And these the "surly Makassarese"! I took a fast photo of them [with a Polaroid Land camera] and they were overjoyed. I gave one to them, and they are going to make copies for all. They posed with considerable pride. The kraton [court] of the radja was white walled, but inside it looked like the ordinary native houses.

M [115] 181 609 177 South Celebes: the following information was obtained from van Heekeren of the archaeological service and Abdul Rahim, Guru, an assistant of Cense and Chabot. They said that the Makassarese and Buginese are very conservative. They claim that they will not change much. Thus, if they are asked why they do not use the potter's wheel, for example,

FIELD NOTES ON INDONESIA, 1949-50

PART I

SOUTH CELEBES

Balombaru - Bukaka - Merante

Field study begun August 12th, 1949.

I decided to start at once at the kampong near Makassar. I will hire a man to collect the basic facts on the basis of my outline [acculturation schedule]. Then I will go to Sadang and Bone, for about one week in each place, and start two other assistants working there, one in each place. I had the good luck, through van Heekeren, to meet Abdul Rahim. He is from the kampong Balombaru, near Makassar, and just outside the gemeente (haminta) [municipality] limits, but a separate unit. Cense and Chabot also studied here, and Rahim helped. My plan may involve a longer stay in Makassar, and I will try my best. Today, Friday, I started, but I still have to get an assistant here. Rahim is looking for one and says he will get a relative. He speaks [to RK] only Dutch, and the assistants in mind speak only Malay. Therefore it was necessary to get the schedule translated into Dutch and Malay. 124 [115]

South Celebes: Kuurman said that the league of three (Bone, Soppeng, Wadjo) was the most powerful unit here. It is headed by Bone. In the past, Goa was next to Bone, or at times vice versa. Now the Bone ruler is the kepala daerah, and Goa furnishes only the second man. (There must be an interesting psychological relationship here.) C 634

[Makassar] Abdul Rahim is not a Christian. He is a Mohammedan. But he told me that he was not too devout, as he sees good in all sects. He reads the Bible, for example. He is evidently one of the people in Makassar who belongs to a kind of "ethical culture society" which studies and discusses all religions, taking good points from each. I have heard about this in various quarters and wonder if they are mostly natives, mostly Christians, or what. M 115 ● 795

Second trip to Balombaru, Tuesday, August 16th, 1949: When we left there last Friday, I asked when we should go again; maybe Saturday or Sunday? He [Abdul Rahim, the author's assistant--Analyst] said "No, Monday." Maybe this was so he could find an assistant, but I wonder if it may not have been to give the people a chance to talk the project over. I doubt the latter. Anyway, we went there and tried to see the Karaëng, but he was not in yet. Incidentally, I had to see the people today, as tomorrow is Independence Day and everything will be closed. There were lots of people in the Karaëng's office and a distribution of clothing was going on. But there were also many people coming in to see about something, possibly taxation. They all had a paper, which may have been a form or a type of bill. There was much talk regarding money, and I thought this was like the government in general. As a rule there is always some charge. I left from the Karaëng's place saying that I would return later and went to the Kepala kampong [head of the native village]. He lives in a pretty good house such as all notables seem to own. It is built in native style. He is a fine lad, young, good looking, pleasant, and gay. He is also well dressed. In the house there were also several others. I sat to the right of the Kepala kampong at the table. Rahim sat in front of him. The lad who is to be my assistant sat to the left of the Kepala kampong, and then there were about three other individuals sandwiched in. Everyone was ready to talk and the whole atmosphere was informal and impressively pleasant. Around the room sat young lads, girls and women. One older boy spoke up once or twice and received no rebuke. Everything was serene and there was no squabbling. Children behaved very well. The Kepala kampong has, I think, four or five children. M 124 M 124 576 855

we went to de Graaff's house for a conference. He called in the information man who was also in noble dress. He was old and lean and impressive. His name is Sulewatang Udjung. There were a few others including his son, Andi Pabara. They decided that the best kampong would be near Pampanua, but I said that that would be too far so they then decided on one on the border of Watampone, Bukaka. Andi was chosen as an assistant. There was much talk and the controleurs came in, Kollewijn and Thierens, both fine men and the Buginese should be glad they have them. M 124 [115]

I made long speeches in Dutch and Malay (how silly of me to have thought that I could use English here!) regarding the need in the United States of knowing more about Bone, United States customs, my project, and so forth. Everyone seemed well impressed. The Dutch acted very fine and spent all morning helping me. After much encouraging talk we went to the Arumpone the biggest "medicine" in South Celebes. He lives in a not too impressive house. There is no palace here. The Sulewatang said later that he formerly had the present house of the Assistant Resident. And that house was also not up to Standard Oil standards. The Arumpone's house has an equally large pavilion separated into two parts, in one of which sits the great aradjang and in the other the guests. The Arumpone talked quite a bit of American journalists, especially those who had visited Bone before dying in a plane crash in India. He showed me a photograph of himself taken with them. The Assistant Resident said later that the Arumpone said he was impressed by my speaking in Indonesian and had been critical of the journalists who come here and do "research" without any language facility. The Arumpone is a dignified fellow about fifty, wearing a uniform which looks somewhat like a general's, and a fine yellow songkok. He had two gold pens. He said he was going to Buton tomorrow, and seemed very proud. He said I must come again and take a photograph (that camera!). He is reputed to be a conservative. Also, he is not up to the blood of the deposed and exiled-to-Rantepao former arum. Later Thierens said to me that the Arumpone here lived in fear of intrigue, and that when one of the Aru Pitu [the seven princes of Bone] was around, he shuts up. Thierens also said that this was not too different from the intrigue against the arumpone in Bontorio. The present Arumpone is the head of the Hadat tinggi (House of Lords with veto power) in Makassar. This Hadat tinggi is for all of South Celebes (Sulawesi Selatan). The second man in the Hadat tinggi is the Goa radja. I met the Tomarilalang, the

M 123 565

M 565 292 578

C 565 634

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Kinship, Status, and Sex in South Celebes
(Verwantschap, Stand en Sexe in Zuid-Celebes)

By H. Th. Chabot

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1950

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1960

/Title Page/

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/v/

Foreword

The completion of this book signifies for me the end of a period that had actually ended earlier. The Second World War prevented the normal publication of the data gathered before 1942, and after the war I did not think I should continue before a study of Makassarese-Buginese culture had appeared.

In looking back over the past years, I am gratefully indebted to all those who have been ready to give me their friendship and help in the most varied forms.

In the first instance, my gratitude goes to the late Professor B. ter Haar, who furnished me with the instruction to investigate adat law in South Celebes. His letters with constantly stimulating questions and comments will always remain a pleasant memory to me.

I am grateful to Professor C. T. Bertling, Chairman of the District Courts of Macassar in 1937, under whom it was possible to consolidate my uncertain position as an unemployed official without a degree, and who later gave constant evidence of his genuine interest in my work.

Furthermore, I am indebted to Professor A. A. Cense, linguist in the service of the government at Macassar until 1941, at whose office I was able to work all those years, and who was always prepared to give me the benefit of his extensive knowledge of the language, country, and people of South Celebes.

In 1948 Professor Rd. Soepomo was able to return to me parts of chapters that had been sent to Jakarta in 1941 and kept there by him. I should like to extend my gratitude to him for this here.

114 My fondest memories will be of my field work in the kingdom of Goa, more particularly in the adat community of Borongloë, both before as well as after the war. To the Prince of Goa and to the head of the adat community, Hamzah Daëng Tompo, I herewith express my very special thanks for the hospitality that

/v cont./

000 I enjoyed in their domain. I should especially mention the
[123] kinsmen of the last-mentioned adat community head, Messrs. Manggaukang Daëng Kulle and Galasi Daëng Kio', in whose houses I was allowed to stay regularly. I cherish memories of many evenings spent pleasantly with them.

I always think back with the greatest pleasure to my collaboration with the assistant to the government linguist, /vi/ Mr. Abdurrahim. It is his great knowledge of matters concerning the kin group /familie/ to which I am largely indebted for my improved understanding of the Makassarese group of relatives /verwantengroep/.

With respect to the postwar period, I owe special thanks to Professor G. J. Held, both for the fact that he obtained official support for me to gather the necessary material in an area already familiar to me, as well as for his critical and constructive comments after he had read the manuscript.

123 Finally I thank my wife, who followed me with our daughter to Borongloë, both for her assistance during the field work, when her contacts with the women of the vicinity provided me with data concerning this group that would otherwise have escaped me, as well as for her help in correcting proof. /vii/

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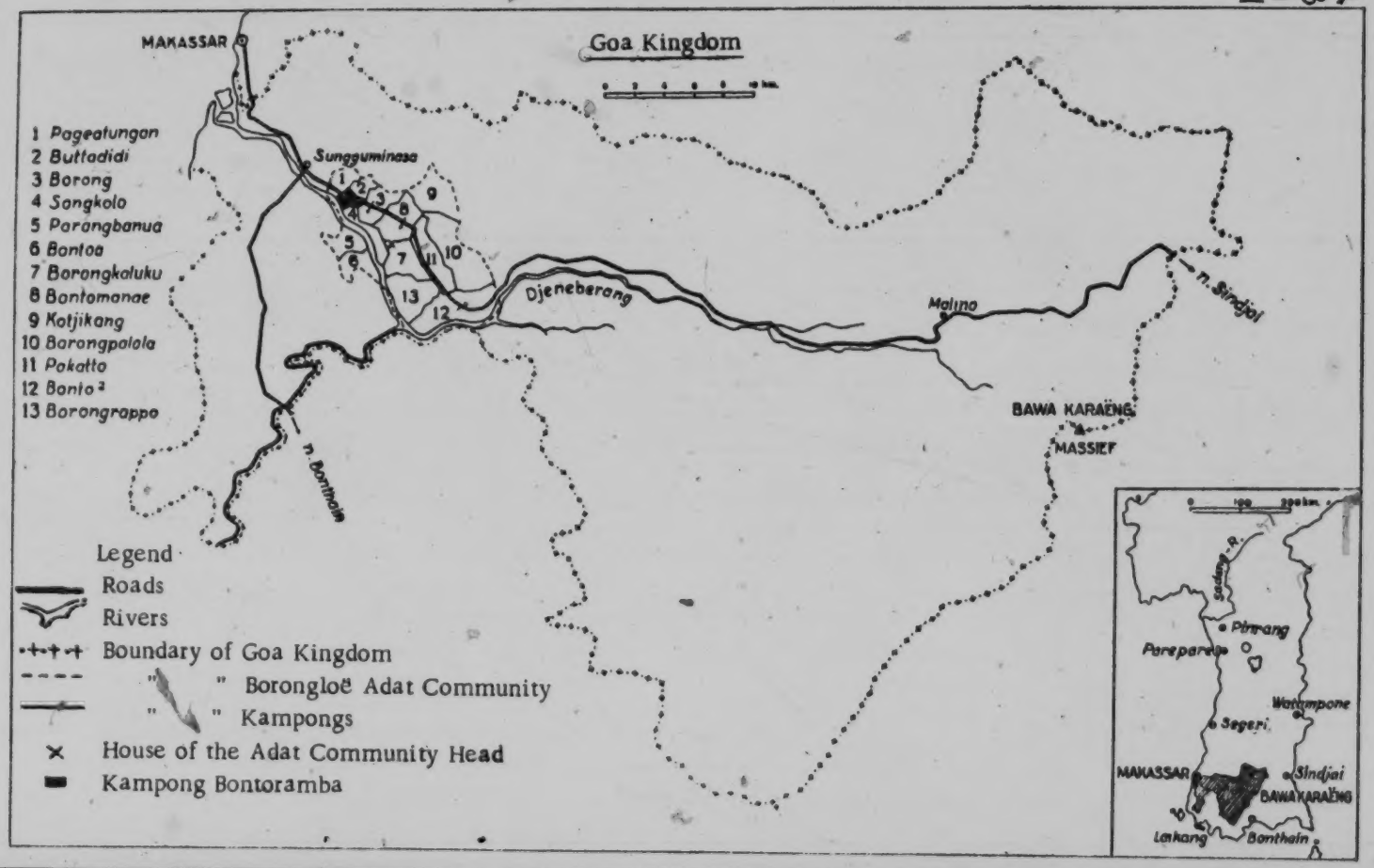

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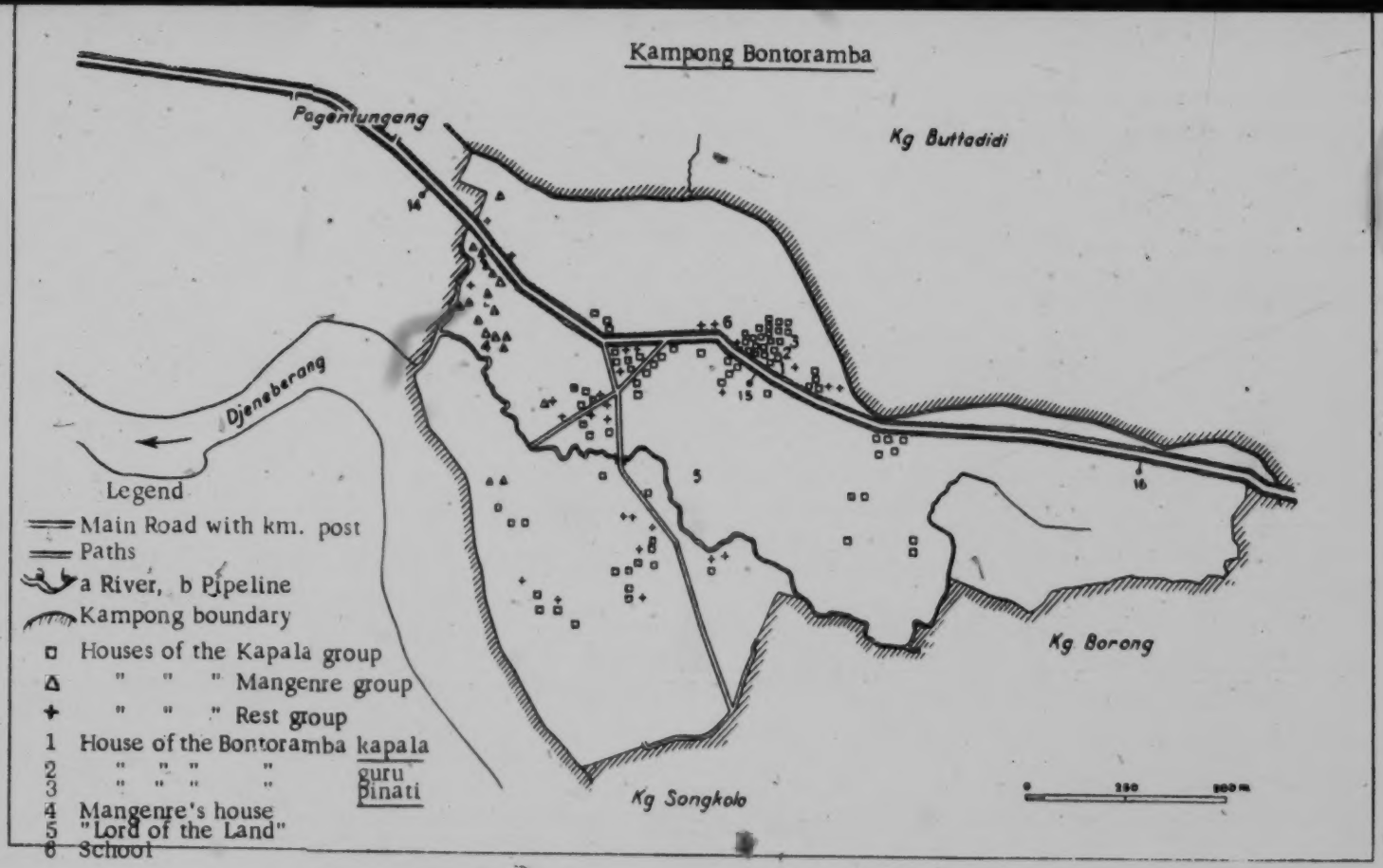

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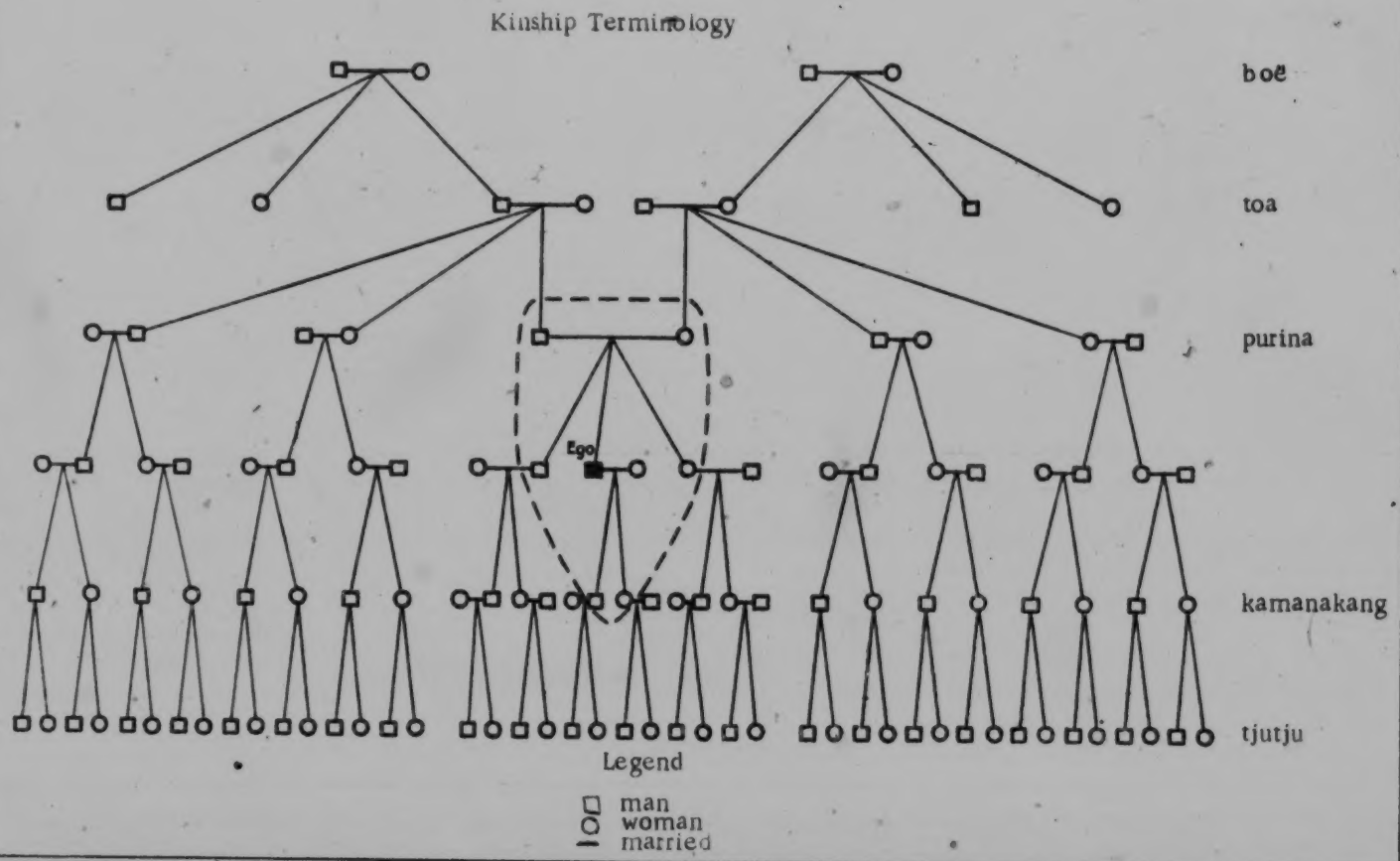

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/1/ Introduction

The Investigation

The description of a culture arises from the contact of the investigator with the community which is the object of his investigation. In order to be able to judge a description, it is necessary, therefore, to be acquainted with the task the investigator set himself, his theoretical schooling, and his personal attitude. The contact of the investigator and the object of investigation is then revealed in the selection of the community where it is to be carried out, in his introduction to it, in his material living circumstances, his informants, and the language in which he communicates, and, finally, in the technique with which he gathers his data.

With respect to all these points, there are only a small number of rules derived from experience at the disposal of the investigator going into the field, and these can mean no more to him than just so many general principles (1).

1. Readable reports concerning these are to be found in:
1) J. Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New York, 1949, second printing, pp. 1-41.
2) W. Lloyd Warner and P. S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community, Yale University Press, 1941, pp. 1-75.
3) R. Firth, Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy, London, 1946, pp. 307-318.
4) M. J. Herskovits, Man and His Works, New York, 1948, pp. 79-93.

006

/1 cont./ The latter put together his remarks under the attractive title, "The Ethnographer's Laboratory."

In this introduction only an attempt can be made to present the author's own difficulties and experiences.

121 The object of the investigation was the rural community of the Makassarese and Buginese.

Initially, before the Second World War, the task was to give an account of the adat law of South Celebes. It has been impossible to carry out this instruction. The material gathered was lost during the war. Only parts of chapters that were ready and had been sent to Jakarta were rescued. The plan concerning adat law, nevertheless, still finds expression in the paragraphs about large landownership, polygamous marriage, and, in the third section of the last chapter, that about marriage by flight. This plan therefore determined the manner in which this investigation was begun.

/2/ It very soon became apparent that a choice would have 114 to be made with respect to the kind of description of adat law that was to be achieved. Two very different types of publication are to be found in the literature dealing with adat law. Both types are designed to support the judge in his task of administering justice according to adat law. In the first category, which is most clearly represented in the work of Vergouwen (1), the

[113]

1. J.C. Vergouwen, Het rechtsleven der Toba-Bataks /The Legal Usage of the Toba-Batak/, 1933.

investigator starts out from the idea that the judge is not acquainted with the community in which he has to administer justice. Accordingly, the author first tries to give information about the community's structure and then to describe the content of the

114 /2 cont./ norms existing in this community in such a manner that these will become comprehensible to the judge who is a stranger.

In the second type of publication, the investigator is not concerned with the structure of the community. He assumes this to be essentially known and concentrates on presenting, "in the form of judicial rules deductions that in his opinion are justified by the available material of facts." This material consists primarily of cases that occurred in the desa /native term for "village community." -- Tr./ and of jurisprudence. Soepomo was the promotor of this type of publication (2).

2. R. Soepomo, a) "Verslag omtrent het onderzoek naar het adatgrondenerfrecht in het gewest Jogjakarta buiten de hoofdplaats /Report on the Investigation of Adat Land Inheritance Right in the Jogjakarta District Outside the City/" Mededeelingen van de Afdeeling Adatrecht, 1930, b) Het Adatprivaatrecht van West Java /The Adat Private Law of West Java/, 1933. For the quotations in this paragraph, see the introduction to this book by B. ter Harr, p. iv.

The simultaneous occurrence, of these two types can only be understood historically. For a number of decades van Vollenhoven left his mark on the work of investigators and their publications. He produced the system in which all data concerning the community could be placed; but this system was juridical in its structure. Van Vollenhoven particularly directed attention to legal usage; he forged the necessary juridical terms. At the same time all data regarding the community were of concern since they served as materials for the juridical structure.

114 /2 cont./ The conception was as strange as it was grand. It was, however, only imaginable in a period when juridical and judicial work had to be carried out in a community completely unknown to the judges. Ethnographic material was therefore gathered by jurists or by juridically schooled officials of the Inland Administration /3/ and incorporated into the given juridical system. In view of the fact that this system was given and the ethnographic material lay at hand, it speaks for itself that their publications were always constructed on this combination. They remained, however, primarily descriptions of milieu providing a welcome prop for the strange judge in his task of administering justice in a community unknown to him. But they were not ethnological studies satisfying the demands of the profession, nor sociological legal studies, nor normative legal ones.

The prop appeared to be insufficient for the judges, however. The norms according to which the judge had to pass judgment appeared not to be clearly discernible in these descriptions. Another mode of presentation was accordingly looked for. In this, Soepomo led the field. He recorded various legal cases which had taken place in the kampongs with their solutions, and on this he based his conclusions, which he presented in the form of legal rules easily manipulated by the judge. In these publications, therefore, an acquaintance with the community's structure on the part of the judges was assumed, however unconscious it might be. Here the objection is that the interaction of conflicting norms, to be found in every community but especially in those where a great number of changes take place within a short period of time, does not become clearly apparent. The judge lacks the data to assess what this interaction is. The latter can be demonstrated to him only by an analysis of the community's structure.

121 At the outset of my investigation of adat law, I chose the Vergouwen type /of approach/, and I did so more unconsciously than on the basis of an analysis of the two methods. The notion

121 /3 cont./ of an investigation into the driving forces of Makassarese-Buginese culture was always present as a companion motivation for the work on adat law, because, as it was then formulated, the law cannot be understood without a knowledge of the society in which it operates.

After the war, in 1948, when the problem of how the latent knowledge of this culture could be made productive was considered, the decision was made to give a description of its structure. To this end an investigation of an area already [114] familiar to me from before the war was carried out for six weeks during June and July of both 1948 and 1949.

If the presentation of a structural description is regarded as the task /4/ of the investigator, then it is necessary to give his theoretical schooling. The latter was determined by the lectures of de Josselin de Jong at Leiden and was later developed further by studying Linton's work.

121 It appears impossible to treat as a separate factor the third 114 aspect, namely the investigator's personal attitude. This would amount to an analysis of his personality. However, the disadvantage that personal attitude inevitably entails so long as just one investigator is describing a community was always strongly felt by me. I gladly give support to Wagley when he agrees with the Chinese sociologist Li An-Che, who declares that an area study of China "must be executed with the cooperation of Western and Chinese scholars, and that for an understanding of American society we should call upon non-American -- even non-Western -- students as well as upon our own" (1) /cited in

1. Pamphlet No. 6 published by the Social Science Research Council, New York, 1948, p. 7.

English/.

161 The Makassarese and the Buginese at the present time number almost four million people. For hundreds of years they have

212 For hundreds of years they have

/4 cont./ had their own script and their own literature. The
181 element of strong seclusion is absent in their rural communities, with the exception, perhaps, of a number of thinly populated mountain regions.

114 In the fairly extensive literature one finds a great number of topics dealt with separately, but no comprehensive treatment. The best insight is still given by Kooreman (2). A more recent

[113] 2. P. J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden /The Actual State of Affairs in the Government Region of Celebes and Its Dependencies/" Indische Gids, 1883.

important study is that by Friedericy (3).

[113] 3. H. J. Friedericy, "De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren /Status among the Buginese and Makassarese/" Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. IV, pp. 447-602.

[602] 121 With several authors one repeatedly finds the statement that kinship is regarded as of great importance by Buginese and Makassarese without any further elaboration of this point. The approximation of a community by way of kinship relationships has generally been accepted as correct by ethnologists since Rivers (4). Therefore, my attention first turned to this

4. W. H. R. Rivers, "The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry," The Sociological Review, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff., 1910.

121 /4 cont./topic. The kinship terminology served as a starting point for this purpose.

/5/ Choice of Working Area

123 631 565 The stranger who intends to carry out an "adat investigation" in South Celebes -- and all ethnological investigations, those concerned with adat law as well as sociological and similar investigations, are so termed by the Makassarese and the Buginese themselves -- first comes in contact with the prince of the province /Landschap/ or with the head of the adat community where he wishes to work. One may not bypass the prince and his kin group /familie/, the nobility, at least not without incurring great difficulties later on. For the consequence of failing to obtain his consent to work in a certain kampong in his domain is that one loses the much needed good will of a large part of his subjects who might otherwise become good informants. Ignoring him is more than just discourtesy; it is an action which, from the point of view of the prince, expresses hostility. A highly placed stranger -- and that, after all, includes every investigator -- is a potential center of power to whom those who might be less favorably inclined toward the prince might be drawn and thereby constitutes a danger for the latter.

123 565 671 Adat investigation among ordinary kampong people is further suspect because, according to the prince and his kinsmen, the little man has no adat, just as, according to the Dutch bourgeoisie of half a century ago, the people had no manners. For a man of the nobility, adat is just that which distinguishes him from the people; his adat is the real one.

123 Here at the same time the danger that threatens one who would begin an investigation with the nobility becomes apparent. He loses the opportunity to obtain an insight into the relationship between high and low, as seen from the standpoint of the latter. Only after I had expressly declared that it was precisely [121] the adat of the common people that I wished to study, because Mr. Friedericy had already described that of the prince, was it agreed that I should live elsewhere.

121 /5 cont./ The head of the adat community of Borongloe,
[63] one of the approximately ten adat communities which formed the province of Goa, was to be my host. I was able to agree to the choice of this adat community of around 14, 000 individuals, since the location in relation to Macassar was favorable; since the head was an energetic young man who made a pleasant impression on /6/ me and who, moreover, knew Dutch, a circumstance which could only facilitate the first contact; and finally, since, as soon became apparent to me, in this region there were no special vexations or corruptions, which frequently create an atmosphere hindering an investigation.

123 The investigator who has found a place to live in the kampong can henceforth avoid the old "adat experts" with great ease. As elsewhere in Indonesia, they constitute a barrier between the investigator and the object of his investigation.

[115] My host was a figure full of vitality who could not possible sit at home for any length of time and who preferred to roam through his domain, talking everywhere, settling things, and
[621] drinking coffee. His roving nature had the advantage that I was introduced to many houses of all 14 kampongs of the adat community in the most pleasant way imaginable and thus received a rough general view of what went on. It had the disadvantage that there could be no question of regular daily conversations of any length concerning the facts observed by myself.

At his house I became acquainted with the manner in which this headman's kin group /familie/ treated its servants and other underlings, and I received a first insight into Makassarese kin group /familie/ and nuclear family /gezin/ relationships. Not till then did the important position that the group of relatives /ver wantengroep/ occupies in Makassarese life among those of higher as well as of low /social status/ become clear to me. Therefore, not until then was it possible to attempt a closer analysis and to look around for a group of relatives that could be considered for this purpose.

121 /6 cont./ My choice of a group in kampong Bontoramba (1)

[621] 1. One of the 14 kampongs that form the adat community of Borongloe.

was mainly determined by three factors. in the first place this group seemed to display a great amount of cohesion; it had already repeatedly become apparent to me that members of this group were married to each other. In the second place, the kampong head, a prominent man in this group, had seemed favorably disposed toward me on a number of occasions. Thirdly, one of my best informants was married to the daughter of that [115] head. And, finally, the kampong was located so that, compared with many of the others, it was within easy reach.

In writing up data it had become evident to me earlier that 121 indefinite quantitative adjectives had to be called in repeatedly 125 to describe /7/ relationships without the picture of the related group becoming clear at the same time; the "many" unmarried women, the "few" divorces, the "regular" occurrence of marriages by flight, and the "frequent" marriages of members of the same generation, all these statements are, in the end, not very meaningful. A kampong survey in which attention was paid to all these points seemed to be the best method of obtaining a clearer insight into a great variety of relationships. The first survey took place as early as 1940. However, the material was lost. Not until 1948 did the opportunity present itself to repeat the survey. A kampong territory has fixed boundaries, and since neither the worship of ornaments, the grouping of statuses, nor, finally, kin relationship offered a foothold, I chose this territorial unit as the starting point for further research.

125 The registration took place from house to house and was carried out on the basis of the following questions: 1. the names of the inhabitants of the house; 2. their mutual kin relationship; 3. their place of birth; 4. their kin relationship to the head

125 /7 cont./ of the kampong. In case someone was not related to the Kapala or his wife, it was established whether he was related to a certain Mangenre, who, as soon became evident to me, occupied a central position in a group of relatives of around 100 Buginese. If this did not appear to be the case either, I looked for kinship connections with neighboring houses. In this way a first general view of the size of the groups of relatives in one kampong territory came into focus.

July 1, 1948 was chosen as the date for the survey.

125 In further analysis of the data it appeared that the mobility
166 which had already been noted for the adat community head and which actually was regarded as a troublesome quality by him personally was a trait occurring generally in Makassarese society. This mobility, however, was not reflected in the original figures. For this reason a second survey was carried out a year after the first one. At this time the names of the occupants of the houses were noted down again, and, in cases where there was a divergence from the compilation of the previous year, the reason that led to migration was ascertained and the place where the immigrant had come from and to which the emigrant had gone were noted down.

In so doing, I considered as immigrants those who entered the kampong, and as emigrants those who /8/ left it. Finally, those who changed houses within the kampong in the course of the year were registered as transmigrants.

121 The investigation of the related group thus led to a further investigation into a particular quality of the group: its mobility. This mobility ultimately led to an investigation into the migration of the Makassarese into Buginese country and on some aspects concerning the life of such colonists.

[36] Living Conditions

[62] Kampong Bontoramba is an hour from Macassar by bicycle across an asphalt motor road. A stay in the kampong therefore
123 can neither be compared with one on a remote island nor with

123 /8 cont./ one in a modern city where an investigation is carried out. As far as obtaining writing materials, medicine, photographic materials, and the like is concerned, the difficulties are inconsiderable. But the manner of living, as always, presents challenges. A house of one's own has the advantage of privacy. But there is no empty house to be found in the kampong. To have one constructed meets with objections: it costs extra work and extra money, since building, after all, is not only a question of materials, manpower, and technology, but also one of organization. When I was by myself I always stayed with the head of the adat community in his kampong, or else with my most important informant in Bontoramba.

Being a guest has the advantage that it is easier to provide for oneself. I always ate the menu of my host. During the month of fasting I received a meal apart. Payment for lodgings is never possible; presents are understood; medicine, kajuputih oil, periodicals with illustrations, and photos of members of the household were always welcome as such. There was always room for a cot with a mosquito net, as well as for a writing table and chair; an enclosure created a mandi /bathing/ place and a toilet. Taking lodgings has the further advantage that one takes part in the life of the household without having been expressly invited.

I lived in a house of my own with my wife and daughter for a brief period before the war. In a society such as the [562] one I was dealing with, possessing, as it does, a strict separation of the sexes, I repeatedly obtained data from my wife which otherwise would decidedly have escaped me.

/9/ The lack of privacy is one of the reasons why life in the kampong is extremely tiring for the investigator. It is quite possible to abandon habits if one only knows which. But whoever believes that he can then go on living without adat is in error. To find out the sensitive points is one of the most important activities of the first period, and during the first few weeks it is advisable, therefore, not to do much else but

123 /9 cont. / to look and listen. Everything that the investigator is able to carry out on top of just listening and looking without causing any damage during this time is pure gain.

Introduction

The investigator is a foreign element in the community to which he comes to work. The relationship to the individuals in his environment must constantly be adjusted. There are some manners which they accept from him. There are also manners which they find so troublesome, especially after a while, that his contact and thus his work suffers from it. Frequently the first month is decisive in this. Hence a person who feels free to show his disapproval of the stranger's behavior in a way that is comprehensible to the stranger is the best mentor.

As a Dutch official I was regarded as a high guest in Macassar [554 country. It is discourteous to display one's disapproval of his 576] conduct to a higher person; this violates the profoundest feelings. My gratitude toward my mentor is therefore so great precisely because his personality was dynamic enough to allow him to be a bad Makassare in the sense that, contrary to his feelings, he nevertheless pointed out my mistakes.

Initially I laughed too loud and talked too loud, for loud [517 talking and laughing really occur only when several men are 555] together. Then one of them likes to tell tall or absurd stories because the person who can do this well raises his standing. I 123 learned that as a male guest I belonged in the parlor and that I 574 could not walk through the back; that I could ask men or boys, and possibly also older women, something, but that young girls [562 and newly married women landed in difficulties if I so much as 576] greeted them, because this is enough to point to a "contact" with the stranger, which is forbidden. I noticed that somebody constantly kept me company and found this troublesome. Only later did it become apparent that this belongs to the ordinary courtesies observed toward a guest. /10/ A Makassarese does not like to be alone and therefore believes that his guest would also find this unpleasant.

576 /10 cont./ One soon learns that as a distinguished guest one cannot sit down just anywhere when entering a house. It is wrong to sit down where the lowest are supposed to sit, because then the host is ill at ease. It is conceited, and that is disliked, if one sits down directly in the highest /prestige/ side of the house. It is good since it is a token of modesty, which is appreciated, if one sits down a little lower than where one would actually be allowed to take one's place. These are all mistakes which are not held against an occasional visitor, but which will be found troublesome infractions if they occur in the routine of daily life.

574 576 One further learns that, once seated, one may not leave if something is being prepared in the kitchen. It is better to be much too late for a subsequent appointment than to offend one's host by departing. When high Dutch civil and military [648] authorities, who were present at the wedding feast of one of the grandsons of the Prince of Goa in 1741, stood up during the rather long-drawn-out meal and said farewell, people spoke disapprovingly about this occurrence for weeks after in the kampongs. The offer of refreshments is a sign on the part of the host that he wants to do his guests an honor, and an early departure hurts him.

576 I learned that to shake hands does not belong to the customary greeting ceremony. Those present during a conversation or upon departure, including the host, will as much as "touch" the [778] hand of a high guest in order by so doing to obtain something of the good and fortunate, which, after all, adheres to every higher person. A Macassarese is embarrassed by a "firm" handshake.

The statement "I am leaving now" (lampama') is customary and gives one an intimate feeling. The same applies to the question addressed to a person one encounters on the way: "Where are you coming from?" A detailed answer is not expected. Indication of the wind direction suffices. The purpose of question and answer seems merely to be the creation of an intimate atmosphere. A stranger is passed by in silence, but one remains on one's qui vive.

576 /11/ A stranger is first stared at quietly, "in order to get used to him," as it is said; one looks at his face and judges whether he is "good" or not. Once established, this judgment, whose criteria have not become clear to me, is not subject to much modification.

Nobody seemed to find it strange that I participated at a 123 festive meal in long trousers and not, like the others, in a 576 sarong; but it was regarded as impolite that I kept my shoes on, and it was found odd when, at a subsequent time, the sarong fit was "wrong." I am left-handed and therefore ate with that [264 hand, but the touching of food with the left hand was observed 514] with disgust, because it is considered that one uses one's left hand in cleaning after defecating.

In themselves these are all small things, but they concern forms of social intercourse which are carried out as a matter of course and thereby furnish emotional security. The foreigner who takes no account of this is offensive, and it is impossible to say beforehand which offense will be felt as so troublesome that his work will suffer from it.

Informants

The strict separation of the sexes in this society makes it 123 difficult for a male investigator to work regularly with a female [576] informant. The great mobility of the men also makes regular [166] work with a man difficult. For instance, it was impossible for me to have daily contact with a number of individuals over a long period of time in order to give an account of their life.

[115] The men who functioned best as daily informants were not those who were of the highest standing in their community, but precisely those who, afflicted with a "clerical" mentality in the good sense of the word, were in a position to work regularly and possessed a sense of actuality and detail. Since my stay in Borongloë after the war lasted for only six weeks both times, it was possible for me to adapt myself to this typical mobility by not residing longer than six days in a row with one and the

123 /11 cont./ same host. Each time it struck me again how much easier help was during the first few days compared with the last.

The kampong survey always furnished me with more than one informant per house.

/12/ Language of Communication

000 De Josselin de Jong has written that the investigator who contents himself with collecting information in a language different from that spoken in the region will remain an "amateurish outsider" in the society who will never be taken completely seriously by his informants (1). The judgment

1. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, Studies in Indonesian Culture, Ch. I, "Oirata, a Timorese settlement on Kisar," Amsterdam, 1937, p. 2.

sounds harsh; in my experience it is all too just. But in a country where ethnology has developed from linguistics and where several linguists are at work who -- the ethnologists cannot be thankful enough for this -- concern themselves regularly with ethnographic investigations, it must be stressed that for the ethnologist the language is not a goal but a means, albeit an essential means, and that therefore in learning the language it is not necessary to strive for perfection but for a maximum of effectiveness in the briefest possible time.

Firth writes that, equipped with summary data concerning the language of the district where he was going to work, he was able to make himself understood sufficiently for his purpose after two to three months (2). Du Bois seems to have required

2. R. Firth, Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy, London, 1946, p. 314.

/12 cont./ from three to four months for her purposes on Alor (3).

3. C. Du Bois, People of Alor, 1944.

The period of around three months needed for "learning" a language seems ridiculously brief. It just depends on what one means by this. My experience has been that the minimum demand which may be set is that the investigator understands someone who answers his question and who does not speak particularly unclearly. He should be able to follow in large outline communications concerning an event that has taken place. Details can be inquired into at the conclusion of the account. Brief statements between members of a household, exchanged in an offhand manner, will always remain difficult to understand. Only at the very end did I speak Makassarese in the presence of the Prince, and then only concerning a topic well known to me. In the formal court atmosphere a discourtesy is easily committed, and the taking of risks is unnecessary.

I did not notice any troublesome result caused by a bad effect on my contact with the environment through mistakes made in speaking. Those with whom the investigator works regularly get used to his /13/ accent, and, where contact based on mutual interest exists, grammatical mistakes become less important.

Technique of Investigation

It is possible to carry out an investigation, first of all, by having previously set-up questionnaires filled out, by regularly controlling the filling out, and by working out the answers obtained; secondly, by participating in the life of a community, by putting one's questions on the basis of the facts one has observed, and by working out the totality of the facts accordingly.

With the first method, the difficulty consists in setting up the questions. Those who set them up start out unconsciously

000 /13 cont./ from their own "value-attitude system"/cited in English/. Those who, in most recent times, take account of as yet unknown systems are thereby forced to keep their questions vague. The consequence is that the lists become so inclusive that they can be no more than a guide in the investigation. They are essentially a further working out of the old Notes and Queries.

The result is that this method is considered reliable only under certain circumstances as, for instance, by an experienced investigator like Firth: "They (the questionnaire methods) are valuable as a check on impressions.... But used alone they are inadequate for many purposes. It is common anthropological experience that statements so obtained are found when checked to have been misleading.... My own view, which I think most anthropologists would support, is that a questionnaire is best used towards the end of one's stay in a community. By then one has already accumulated much check data in advance, and one is in a position to frame questions in a way which will best yield the type of material required (1) /cited in English/.

1. R. Firth, Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy, London, 1946, p. 311.

The second method harbors a difficulty in the analysis of the observed facts and in phrasing questions concerning them. But this method works with considerably more smoothness than the first, because the questions are always adapted to the environment and can always be revised.

Another difficulty is inherent in the choice of facts which have to be employed to give an adequate picture of the culture. /14/. In this case /i.e. the second method/ one has to choose from the mass of facts in part taken down but in part merely present in the awareness of the investigator. With the first

000 /14 cont./ method the material remains limited to the answers written down and the entire responsibility for an adequate picture rests with these answers.

The first method has the advantage over the second one of furnishing quick results (1). It is therefore preferable in

1. See E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Social Anthropology, Inaugural Address, Oxford, 1948, p. 7: "...an intensive study of a single primitive society takes about ten years" /cited in English/. This is the period of time, at any rate, set for a beginner!

those cases where it can be pursued without damage being done to the reliability of the results.

125 The mutual relationship of the two methods has not yet been fully evaluated, however. In the investigation in South Celebes, the latter method has been followed.

In so doing, it appeared impossible to give an exhaustive description of the culture. Only a few aspects could be illuminated.

Nor did it seem possible to give an "objective" description. Time and again a choice had to be made from the mass of facts, and in this choice there lies a subjective element.

121 The initial object of this work to present a cultural description has been adhered to up to the end. With an eye 000 to future investigations, the question may be raised however whether it would not be more in accordance with factual procedure to first set oneself a definite problem and subsequently to explore how this problem was worked out in a certain community. The responsibility of the writer for the choice of his facts and their ordering is thereby in no way reduced. Evans-Pritchard has already given a positive answer to this question (2).

000 /14 cont./2. E. E. Evans-Pritchard,
The Nuer, Oxford, 1940, p. 261.

/15/ Chapter I

Kinship

131 Goa Provin[illegible]nds from the ocean to the mountains.
133 The Djene'be[illegible], originating on the almost 3,000 meters high Ba[illegible]aeng and emerging into the sea just to the south of Macassar, flows entirely through Goa's regions.
491 The large motor highway which connects Macassar with
361 Malino, situated 70 kilometers away in the mountain, runs practically parallel with the river. Approximately 10 kilometers outside Macassar lies the little town of Sungguminasa, still entirely in the plain, the residence of the Prince of Goa. Only 30 kilometers further on the road begins to climb
[133] steeply. The 30 kilometers to Sungguminasa lead through an undulating plain where woods and sawahs alternate. Groups of houses lie scattered through the country. At kilometer post 15, just past Sungguminasa, lies Kampong Bontoramba.
369 Elegant automobiles belonging to the residents of the large city roar through it, but this has little influence on village life and everyday thought. Some of the old people have never seen Macassar. For the majority a visit to the large city is a significant event, but more because of the many curiosities to be seen and experienced there than because of the changes to be introduced into one's own life after returning home.

631 Bontoramba is one of the 14 kampongs which form the adat community of Borongloë, and at present Borongloë, together with 10 other adat communities, forms the federative unit which for hundreds of years has been known as Goa Kingdom.

621 /15 cont./ Kampong Bontoramba has approximately
[161] 800 residents. There one finds one of the two public schools
[368] which the entire adat community of more than 14,000 individuals boasts. Along the large road a bicycle repair shop has arisen, and there are more coffee wafong /shops/ than in many other places. A large group of Buginese, attracted by a
166 great deal of fallow land and good transportation facilities, has built its houses there in the course of the last 20 years. The Makassarese who live there at present arrived no more than 60 years ago. Coming and going never takes place en masse in Makassarese country. In successive stages a pioneer receives more members of his kin group in his house; by successive stages other people move away.

[554 A certain period of settlement by a large group is /16/
565] noted mostly when a man of high nobility moves and many follow him. Formerly, in periods of insecurity for the individual, this was probably a more usual manner of migration, but today it no longer is. Thus, around 1900, a large number of kinsmen coming from kampong Pakatto, situated eight kilo-
[621] meters further up the road, settled in Bontoramba. As kinsmen /familiele den/ constituting a part of the same related group /ver wantengroep/ they organized themselves anew in Bontoramba and adjusted to the new circumstances, at the same time striving for the realization of the usual Makassarese ideals. To this end, they followed the old Makassarese adat.

The Bilateral Related Group

612 The Makassarese related group /ver wantengroep/ should
621 be described as a bilateral endogamous group of relatives (1)

1. Kin relationship is indicated by the term sibidja or sipamanakkang.

whose members worship their ancestors (pattautoaang) at the places and times designated, and at the same time as a group

612 /16 cont. / living together in the same territory (pa'rasangang),
621 whose members till the soil. Two pairs of opposing tendencies are observable here. In contrast to a striving toward endogamy, a much weaker striving to enter into marriage with non-kinsmen can be observed. In contrast to a striving to live together in the same territory, there exists an urge to disperse.

631 The Makassarese-Buginese section of the daërah /district/ of South Celebes is at present divided into provinces. Each /landsdrap/ consists of a number of territorial units, frequently called adat communities /adatgemeenschappen/. Each adat community in turn consists of a number of territorial units frequently called kampongs. The boundaries between provinces, between adat communities, and between kampongs are fixed on maps. This is a situation which anyone can immediately notice.

114 In addition it repeatedly appears in the literature that the writers are conscious of the fact that kin relationship
602 plays a very important role among the Makassarese. The foreigner observes that a Makassarese not only lives with kinsmen in one house, but also that he has kinsmen scattered throughout the country./17/ But no statements can be found in the literature with regard to the precise nature of kin relationship and its relation to the clearly discernible territorial division, and there exist only vague notions among foreigners who have become thoroughly acquainted with South Celebes, as well as among the Makassarese themselves.

124 Therefore, in carrying out this investigation, it was not possible to isolate a certain group of relatives as an object of observation; the boundary lines were always vague. The only form of grouping which was clearly outlined and which could therefore better serve as a starting point was the territorial one (1).

114 /17 cont./ 1. It is therefore not surprising that in the summary chapter on social organization in his book Beginselen en Stelsel van het Adatrecht /Principles and System of Adat Law/ Ter Haar assigns "the village and district communities of South Celebes" to the "communities in which the genealogical factor... has no significance" (p. 15). Using the available literature, his conclusion could not be different. Here it will become apparent how incorrect this interpretation is.

124 Hence kin relationships of the residents of a kampong territory were recorded. For this purpose the names of all kampong residents were taken down from house to house, and at the same time kinship connections of the occupants were collected for each house. The kinship connections between the occupants of various houses were then traced. In so doing it appeared simplest to ask everyone whether he was related to the Kapala or his wife, and if so, in what degree. The fact [592] that, aside from a few exceptions, members of a household always turned out to be kinsmen facilitated the investigation because it was possible to indicate precisely which houses belonged to the Kapala's group of relatives and which did not.

124 612 Everyone was counted of the Kapala's group of relatives who believed himself to be related to him or his wife and of whom this was not denied. The latter happened once. It concerned a kampong functionary who had few kinsmen in Bontoramba but who had obtained influence through his personal qualities (his organizational ability, his eloquence) and

124 /17 cont./ who now wished to improve his position by being
612 regarded as a distant kinsman of the Kapala. It was the
daughter of the Kapala himself who made it clear to him that
[608] his opinion could not possibly be correct. /18/ Furthermore,
[609] the strangers, that is to say, the non-kinsmen married to a member of the Kapala group, whose children thus also belonged to this group, were likewise counted among the Kapala related group.

In the sole instance in which -- while the married couple
124 were not related to each other -- individual kinsmen of the
612 man, as well as of the woman (who belonged to the Kapala
592 group), lived in their house, the man's kinsmen were not included in the Kapala group; he himself was.

Aside from traceable relatives, a number of relatives by
124 marriage were therefore also counted among the related group.
612 The latter should accordingly be defined more accurately as a traditional bilateral endogamous group of relatives.

Among the Buginese, none of whom were related to the Kapala, a prominent man called Mangenre was used for the same purpose as the Kapala in the first group, so that with respect to the occupants of a number of houses, it can be said that they belong to Mangenre's group of relatives. With regard to the occupants of the remaining houses, the mutual kinship
[128] relationship, insofar as it existed, could then be easily established. For the sake of convenience, the first group will be called the Kapala group, the second the Mangenre group, and the last the Rest group.

The result of this investigation showed that of a total of 129
621 houses, the Kapala group occupied 81, the Mangenre group 18, and that the Rest group lived in the remaining 30 houses.
[612] The latter's members belonged to 13 different groups of relatives. The members of one group of the Rest group lived distributed over nine houses; those a second group over five houses, and those of a third over three houses. In three cases persons related to each other occupied two houses, and in the

621 /18 cont./ remaining seven houses lived persons who, aside from their housemates, had no other kin in Bontoramba.

[602] All these people, however, from the members of the Kapala group to those of the occupants of the seven last-named houses, have kinsmen living outside Bontoramba -- sometimes also outside Borongloë, and sometimes even partly outside Coa. These outside kinsmen sometimes live in small groups of just a few houses, and sometimes in larger numbers. Summarizing the genealogical picture of the kampong territory 612 621 /19/ of Bontoramba, it is possible to state that 15 (1) larger

1. 1 group of 81 houses.
   1 group of 18 houses.
   1 group of 9 houses.
   1 group of 5 houses.
   1 group of 3 houses.
   3 groups of 2 houses.
   7 groups of 1 house. A total, therefore, of 15 different groups of relatives over a total of 129 houses. This count took place between June 25 and July 1, 1948.

and smaller segments of groups of relatives live together there. All individuals at the same time possess elsewhere, that is to say, outside of Bontoramba, one or more other, larger or smaller, segments of their groups of relatives. Furthermore, it appears that the Kapala group is strongly integrated, the Mangenre group weakly integrated, and that the Rest group cannot be called integrated at all.

This result displays a divergence from the definition of the related group given above in two respects. In the definition, as we have seen, the emphasis was placed upon the existence of a certain unity on the part of a genealogical group and its territory. First of all, one encounters several genealogical

612 621 19 cont. groups in one territory, and, secondly, it appears that a genealogical group lives scattered over several territories. Both deviations from the initially advanced principle demand closer elaboration.

166 178 621 In the first place, certain historical factors which contributed to the development of this situation should be pointed out. These are increase in population, greater security since the year 1905, and irrigation by which sawah cultivation became possible in districts hitherto unsuited for this, with the result that migration of small groups took place with much greater frequency than was previously necessary or possible. To an increasing degree, strangers requested permission to settle in a certain kampong territory (2).

2. Such, at least, is the official decree; in practice permission is not asked until the house has already been built and the sawah has already been broken.

621 In the second place, the difference in meaning of the term "kampong territory" at the present time and half a century ago should be pointed out. At that time the boundary of a territory coincided with the boundary of the power exercised by the related group residing in that region. The boundary changed in proportion to the power exercised by this group segment. This applied in the first place to /20/ the boundaries of the present-day kampongs. It also applied to a lesser degree to the boundaries of the present-day adat communities and provinces. After the arrival of the Dutch East Indies Government 621 in the region of the principalities in 1905, maps were made 648 in the course of the first few decades, and the boundaries 631 were indicated on them. The situation at that time was essentially fixed. Within the established boundaries, displacements of power subsequently took place. Territorial and power boundaries, therefore, no longer coincided at that time.

612 /20 cont./ A kampong head was appointed to rule over a
621 kampong territory. This head thereby also obtained authority
622 over the members of other groups of relatives which gradually
631 came to live in that territory. Formerly, it is probably true to say, such a new group would have built up a small power center of its own there and would have displaced the existing one. Today such a group must actualize such a striving for power within fixed territorial administrative boundaries. This occurs frequently through a struggle for the headship of the region concerned, whether it is a kampong, an adat community, or a kingdom. The idea remained that a genealogical group should be in command of the territory inhabited by this group, and thus also of all those who lived in it. The striving for this can be observed repeatedly.

612 This striving is always directed primarily against the other
621 group living in the territory which approaches the first-mentioned most closely in standing, in this case, therefore, the Mangenre group. But in view of the fact that this group is small and little integrated, the members of the Kapala group do not feel themselves threatened, and accordingly little is perceptible of their striving.

The same picture that was here given with regard to Bontoramba can also be observed in the majority of the other kampongs. A sample made in 1940 in kampong Pakatta indicated that there two groups of relatives of almost equal size resided in the kampong territory with a few separate households (a very small Rest group, therefore).

The only related group in the adat community which
[634] occupied an entire kampong territory practically by itself was that of the adat community head. Members of this group live distributed over two to three kampong territories. As the headman's group of relatives, however, they stand in contrast to all other Borongloe groups of relatives in the adat community
[567] territory. A few households of slaves (1) and a few separate

1. See below pp. 149 ff.

[567]
612 /20 cont./ households are the only non-kinsmen who live in
621 their kampong territory. /21/ In each case, therefore, one encounters two more or less strongly integrated groups of relatives per territory, with, in addition, a nonintegrated Rest group regarded as small and insignificant.

612 Furthermore, it appeared that members of one and the same related group lived scattered all over South Celebes. In this respect, too, there is therefore no question of unity between a related group and its territory. The reason for this is evident. For this it is first necessary to show how a related group should be conceived.

The territorial division taken as a starting point in the investigation described above has the advantage of making a sharp demarcation possible, namely a division between houses inside and outside the kampong border. The related group as a genealogical unit lacks these sharply defined boundaries. An individual frequently belongs to more than one group of relatives, and people who are closely related to each other, first cousins, for instance, thus often belong not only to a common kin group, but also to mutually distinct ones. This is a direct consequence of the fact that marriages are regularly contracted between people who are not of the same kin group.

582 A child resulting from such a marriage may contract an
611 endogamous marriage either in his father's group of relatives
612 or in that of his mother, because through his father he belongs to the latter's related group, and through his mother to hers. And where father and mother in their turn were born to a man and wife who were not related to each other, the same child can contract an endogamous marriage in any one of the four different groups of relatives of the four grandparents. After all, he belongs to four different groups of relatives.

612 It is clear that a division of the Makassarese into sharply distinguished groups of relatives is fully imaginary. Each individual belongs to more than one group of relatives and would therefore also have to be apportioned to more than one such

612 /21 cont./ group. An individual has the choice, in such a case, as to which group of relatives he wants to join, and where he wants to live and work. The genealogical /22/ tie with the other group(s) remains in existence. Knowledge of this tends to disappear after one or a few generations.

574 602 It should not be expected that one would know all one's kinsmen who live in regions remote from each other. By paying visits and extended stays, the younger generation becomes acquainted with kinsmen residing in various districts. The older ones observe them through this; their character is gauged and their marriage opportunities are discussed. It depends upon the impression made by them whether they will be more or less welcome guests at a later visit.

602 It depends upon an individual himself whether in later years he will keep up the ties established in this way. Thus, while one Makassarese, questioned about kinsmen living elsewhere, is able to refer to merely one or two districts where these are supposed to live, another one, conscious of the fact that the possession of many connections increases his social standing, declares that he has kinsmen everywhere and seems to be able to cite many names of kampongs.

Endogamy

582 612 The statement that the related group is endogamous means that a great number of marriages are by preference contracted with a kinsman, and a small number with members of other groups of relatives. The figures given below are taken from a Kapala related group, that is to say, from a segment of this group living, and therefore registered, in Bontoramba.

Of the 89 married couples belonging to the segment of the Kapala group residing in Bontoramba, man and wife are related to each other in 79 cases, and in 10 they are not (1).

1. I am following the system of degree of relationship according

582
612 /22 cont./ to which the parent-child relationship counts as one degree; brothers are therefore related in the second degree, and cousins /neven, French cousin/ in the fourth degree, and so on.

582 If one pursues the reasons why these 10 married outside
583 their related group, it appears that in 5 cases the marriage occurred after the couple had carried out silariang (2). In

2. A marriage by flight. For details of this, see Chapter III, third part.

this case the individuals concerned do not pay any attention
557 to the existence of kin group ties. In the 5 other cases, the
582 reason always given was that the strangers belonged to groups of relatives with which /23/ the older generation who brought about the marriages gladly entered into marriage ties in view of their social standing.

In 2 of these 5 cases, a female member of the related group married a stranger. In the other 3 cases, a man married a girl from outside. In the chapter on status we shall return to the marriage policy carried out by the older people. At present it is only necessary to point out that no special preference to marry either a boy or a girl outside the related group can be indicated, but rather that closer attention is paid with a girl than with a boy that she does not marry someone who is regarded to be even a trifle below her in standing.

582 The statement that the related group is endogamous signifies, therefore, that marriages are by preference contracted between kinsmen, but it says nothing further concerning the kinship connections which are regarded as important in this

582 /23 cont./ case. Upon analysis of these connections, there appears a clear preference for marriages with members of the same generation, and among these the most important place is occupied respectively by those between sampopinruang (sixth-degree male and female cousins) and by those between sampopintallung (eighth-degree male and female cousins).

Expressed in figures, this means that of the 69 ordinary, or festive, marriages (1) contracted between members of the

1. The total number of 89 must be reduced not only by 10 non-endogamous but also by 10 silariang marriages. A marriage is brought about either in a festive way or by way of silariang. In this latter case there is no question of a reasoned-out choice.

related group, in 60 cases the marriage partners were members of the same generation, and in 9 cases they were not. Of these 60 marriages, 8 were contracted between samposikali [601] (children of brothers or/and sisters; thus male and female cousins in the fourth degree), 30 between sampopinruang (children of samposikali, thus sixth-degree male and female cousins), and 22 between sampopintallung (children of sampopinruang, thus eighth-degree male and female cousins).

In the 9 marriages contracted between kinsmen of a different generation, the age difference of the spouses, with one exception, was no greater than that between members of the same generation. In the case of these marriages, a certain preference is to be noted for the marriage of a man to a woman of a lower /24/ generation over that of a man to a woman of a higher generation.

Marriages between children of brothers, between children of sisters, or between children of a brother and sister, are

582 /24 cont./ likewise contracted without any definite preference for one of these marriages being apparent.

582 Knowledge of kinship relationships does not go beyond the eighth- and ninth-degree kinsmen. Relatives further removed
602 are "distant" (bella). If in rare cases people speak of a marriage between sampopingappa (tenth-degree male and female cousins; children of sampopintallung), one will probably hear the opinion expressed that this is an undesirable marriage. Others, however, do not seem to be aware of this.

Among the marriages contracted between sampopintallung (eighth-degree kinsmen), there probably also exist marriages of sampopingappa (tenth degree) or of kamanakang sampopintallung (ninth degree, thus, not members of the same generation). In such cases people are not certain any more about the exact relationships. Statements contradict each other, and in such cases of uncertainty there is a tendency to settle on that kin relationship which one regards as the proper and normal one for a marriage between kinsmen as the correct one.

The most common marriage is, therefore, the marriage between sampopinruang and sampopintallung (respectively, sixth- and eighth-degree male and female cousins) who at the same time are members of the same generation. Of all other marriages it is said that they are unfavorable or unlucky, or
[565] else that they are forbidden. In the nobiliary related group there is a tendency to shift to samposikali and sampopinruang (the fourth- and sixth-degree male and female cousins respectively).

593 The Family

Two functions of the family /gezin/ will be discussed here.

The father officially occupies a predominant place in the family. The relationship to his sons is based upon the notion that he is in command and that it is impolite to contradict him (1). /25/ A son is supposed to know what is fitting, by

593 /25 cont./ 1. Talking back is referred to as nipolongi erona, "his wishes are crossed," or anempa bawa karaëng, "to slap the mouth of the master."

listening to what his father says and by answering in general, well-chosen phrases when the father is addressed. In practice the answers which a son gives are brief because he is afraid of not being able to satisfy such obligations, and of making a mistake, which might be regarded as impolite or result in ridicule. A son above the age of fourteen accordingly does not like to be in the company of his father; the relationship is too stiff for this. When his father comes in, he disappears as quickly as possible while mumbling some excuse. When a [574] father visits his married son, the latter will call his wife or his little son. The conversation then continues through them. Important matters, such as the marriage of his daughter, may be discussed by a father with his (married) son. This, too, is a conversation held in a formal tone. But this conversation merely establishes what has already been previously discussed by the father in informal conversations with his wife or his daughter-in-law.

The same relationship can be observed between brothers. Here the older one must be obeyed by the younger. Between them the opposition is greater; the older one tries to keep the leadership; the younger, especially if his personal qualities give him the opportunity to do so, tries to avoid his brother's authority. Their relationship is also stiff. The consequence is that unmarried sons in general, and unmarried younger brothers in particular, spend a great deal of time outside the house.

This does not apply to the relationship between mother and daughter, or to that between sisters. Since younger women are [562] dependent on house and grounds and away from these can only go about in company, a similar solution would not be realistic in practice.

593 /25 cont./ in practice. Younger women are dependent upon the older ones. The element of opposition is not to be found among them; on the contrary, what is prized is their mutual helpfulness and cooperation.

A sexual relationship between a woman and her son
593 practically does not occur. No examples of this were found in
835 the registers of the native courts. Only one of the informants could recall such a case, which was supposed to have taken
[538] place before 1905. Stories in which this relationship plays a part are unknown to me.

/26/ A sexual relationship between a man and his daughter occurs with more or less regularity. In the registers of the native courts of all South Celebes, one encounters an estimated four or more such cases annually. This implies that such an occurrence is a rarity in a particular adat community which is still remembered after decades. Stories concerning a father-
538 daughter relationship are found in the Islamic sphere. They generally run about as follows. A well-known religious scholar who has come from Sumatra marries a Makassarese woman. While their child, a girl, is still very small, he moves on, and only 20 years later does he return to Macassar. There he marries a young woman, and after a time he notices by a certain sign on her head or by a certain ornament which he gave to his wife 20 years before that it is his own daughter whom he has married. Together they search for someone who will tell them what they should now do. It is God who tells them that they have committed the greatest sin possible, but that this can be forgiven them because they knew not what they did.

593 In the forms of social intercourse and conduct in daily life, a fear of violating the existing prohibition is here reflected that is not observable in the mother-son relationship. If a man comes home and his grown-up daughter is alone in the house, her little brother or niece is called in as a matter of course. Then both feel more at ease. The risk remains that otherwise people would talk about them. Accordingly, a man prefers not

Accordingly, a man prefers not

593 /26 cont./ to go alone with his grown-up daughter to a kampong
574 where they are unknown, for instance, so that there they will not be regarded as a married couple and addressed as such.

593 The reason for this latter form of incest (salimara') occurring with
835 more or less regularity and that of mother and son so rarely was explained by an informant who said that in general the lower generation must obey the higher one, a son his mother and a daughter her father. So it seems generally assumed that
[833] initiative to a sexual relationship (in this case evil) originates with the man.

A sexual relationship between a man and his sister practically does not occur. I do not recall having encountered a single instance of this in the registers of the native courts. /27/

538 The brother-sister relationship is one of the leitmotivs in the La Galigo epic. The relationship of Sawerigading to his twin sister Tenriabeng is one of great intimacy (1). In the

[113]

1. R. A. Kern, Catalogus van de Boegineesche tot den I Galigo cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek, alsmede van die in andere Europeesche biblioteken /Catalog of the Buginese Manuscripts belonging to the I Galigo Cycle in the University of Leiden Library, as well as of Those in Other European Libraries, Leiden, 1939/, Leiden, 1939.

heroic poem Datu Museng, the hero's wife I Maipa is likewise described as his twin sister. They were separated shortly after birth and did not meet again, ignorant of each other's past, until they were grown up. Datu Museng became enamored of her, and they married. So the poem is recited (2) by several

2. In the Makassaarsche Chrestomathie one finds another version. There it is

538 /27 cont./ related that I Maipa was the daughter of the Sultan of Sumbawa. As such, however, she was of nobler blood than Datu Museng, and their marriage was thus likewise a forbidden tie. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomathie /Makassarese Chrestomathy/, 1883: "Aanteekeningen," p. 88.

[113]

singers (pakeso'keso') (3).

[533 534]

3. A singer who accompanies himself on a two-stringed violin (keso'keso').

593 In daily life the brother is, in the very first instance, the protector of his sister as a young girl. He is for her the "strong wall," as the verse says (4). He likes to accompany

4. See Chapter III, p. 297.

her and the older women when they pay visits to kinsmen living elsewhere. He is the one who reacts first in case she is siri'; this is as much as to say that he immediately starts the pursuit and stabs if she should want to flee. He carries her [585] as a bride out of the back rooms where she was dressed to the bridal bed in the front room. He is proud of her and of the fact that he may protect her.

601 The /nuclear/ family is clearly reflected in the kinship terminology (see list). It is apparent that only the members of the /nuclear/ family are indicated by individual terms and that for the rest the terminology makes distinctions only between generations. The distinctions made in ego's own generation,

601 /27 cont./ finally, indicate the distance from the common grandparent, which appears to be of the greatest significance for marriage possibilities.

Kinship Terms

Kin relationship is designated by the term sibidja /28/ or [609] sipamanakkang. People who are not related to each other call each other tau maraëng (literally: "other people").

From the point of view of ego (man or woman), there is (are) named his:

1. father: mangge, bapa
2. mother: anrong, amma
3. brother: sari'battang (bura'ne)
4. sister: sari'battang (baine)
5. brothers and sisters of 1 and 2: purina
6. children of 5: samposikali
7. fathers and mothers of 1 and 2: toa
8. brothers and sisters of 7: toa
9. children of 8: purina
10. children of 9: sampopinruang
11. fathers and mothers of 7: boë
12. brothers and sisters of 11: boë
13. children of 12: toa
14. children of 13: purina
15. children of 14: sampopintallung
16. son: ana' (bura'ne)
17. daughter: ana' (baine)
18. children of 16 and 17: tjutju
19. children of 3 and 4: kamanakang
20. children of 19: tjutju
21. children of 6: kamanakang
22. children of 21: tjutju
23. children of 10: kamanakang
24. children of 23: tjutju
25. children of 15: kamanakang

601 /28 cont./ 26. children of 25: tjutju

27. children of 18-20-22-24-26: tjutju kulantu'

To indicate a man, bura'ne is placed after the terms named, to indicate a woman, baine.

28. Persons who are married to two brothers (or to two sisters) call each other lago.

29. One calls one's sister's (brother's) spouse ipara'.

30. In case a man and a woman not related to each other marry, a cousin of the man nonetheless regards himself as related /29/ (for instance) as a cousin to the woman. They then are bidja pasibesokang, literally, "drawn relatives" of each other. Except in the terms for father and mother, the difference in sex is not directly indicated. For when someone speaks of his purina, for instance, it is immediately clear whether he is talking about his uncle or his aunt by the manner and moment in which he does so.

Great stress is placed upon the difference between generations. With the exception of one's own parents, all those who belong to one generation above ego are called purina. Only if more specific designation should be necessary in a certain case is purina samposikali or purina sampopinruang used.

In the generation of ego's grandparents, the difference between his own grandparents and their contemporaries, their brothers, sisters, male and female cousins, and so forth, also has disappeared. All are designated by toa. This applies equally to the generation of the great-grandparents.

Exactly the same thing can be observed with respect to the lower generations: in the generation below ego, his own children are called ana', the rest kamanakang. In the generation of ego's grandchildren, all are called tjutju without exception.

As regards ego's own generation, it is a striking phenomenon that the differences in terminology are connected with the difference in distance that separates them from the common pair of ancestors. Thus, ego's own contemporaries are samposikali to each other; their children are sampopinruang to each other.

592 /29 cont./ The Household; Composition

A household is formed by people who live together in one house. The investigation in 1948, which covered 129 houses and which attempted to obtain an insight into the composition of the household, produced the following results.

1. With one single exception members of a household were always kinsmen. 2. In the majority of cases a house was inhabited by from one to two families, and in the latter case this was almost always a parental couple with a married child living with them. 3. In most cases where other kinsmen lived in the same house as this family (or these families), they were very close kinsmen (first, second, or third degree). 4. Among such additional members of the household who are not members of the family, a /30/ certain preference was to be observed for living with a female relative. Finally, it was noted that one avoids bringing together potential spouses in one house.

Since here the occupants of the registered houses were subject of this investigation, the data did not have to be confined to houses occupied by members of the Kapala group.

The 129 houses of kampong Bontoramba comprised 787 [162] persons: 382 men and 405 women on July 1, 1948. This is therefore an average of 6.1 persons per house.

In 127 of the 129 houses, there lived only people who were related to each other. The two exceptions merely prove the [572] rule. The first concerns a friend of one of the sons of the house who had been lodging for a few months with the last named. The second concerns a childless married couple who had settled in Bontoramba after a marriage by flight and who had temporarily been taken into the house by another married couple coming from the same district as they and living under similar circumstances. Three weeks after the date of registration, this couple appeared to have moved elsewhere. The reason given for this was a quarrel that had arisen because this married couple was very lazy and gave practically no help in keeping house.

592 /30 cont./ The distribution of the married couples over the various houses was as follows:

in 1 house there lived three married couples;

in 24 houses there lived two married couples;

in 81 houses there lived one married couple;

in 23 houses there lived no married couple, but, for instance, a widower with his children, or an old unmarried woman with a few orphaned nephews and nieces.

Of the 24 houses with two married couples, 23 were occupied by married couples related to each other; the 24th was the case just reported, which turned out to be very temporary. In 22 of the 23 cases, the kin relationship was that of an older and married child; in the 23rd a brother and sister lived with their respective spouses. [591]

The three married couples who lived together in one house consisted of one parental couple with two married children.

Of the 23 two-family houses in which only kinsmen lived, 15 were occupied by these two families alone (that is to say, parents plus children, including one married child with /male or female/ spouse and /31/ child/ren/.) In the remaining 8 cases, one or more kinsmen of one of the two spouses lived with these two families.

In the 81 houses with one married couple, it appeared that in 52 cases this married couple occupied the house as a closed family unit (thus, only parents plus children); in the remaining 29 cases, one or more kinsmen of man or wife lived with them (1).

1. An exception has already been reported on p. 23.

In the three-family house one kinsman of the man lived there in addition to the three families.

592 /31 cont./ Excluding the 23 houses without a complete family and the two-family house in which the two families were not related to each other, there remain 105 houses. Therefore, in 52 + 15 = 67 of these one or two families reside without other kinsmen. In the rest, namely 38 houses, one or more kinsmen lived with the families.

A tendency for a family to live in a house without other people can be observed.

592 602 Examining these kinsmen more closely, it becomes apparent that close relatives are the most numerous, and that only a few distant ones were taken into the house. Of these latter, it was always stated that they no longer had any brothers or sisters, and that therefore they had now been taken in here. After all, where there are no close relatives, distant relatives take their turn, and since there are often more of these, personal preference plays a role in the choice of the house where one settles.

In addition to the respective families, 61 additional persons lived in the 38 houses (2). The kin connections which will be

2. The single member of the household who was not a kinsmen (mentioned above) was not included.

recorded are traced from the oldest married couple residing in the house, a so-called basal married couple, regardless of whether the members of the household are related to the man or to his wife. These 61 persons then appear to be 7 mothers and 4 fathers, widows and widowers respectively; 14 unmarried sisters and 6 unmarried brothers; 9 grandchildren, whose father or mother was deceased or divorced; 8 aunts (paternal sisters) and 3 uncles (paternal brothers) of the basal married couple; 1 brother's son; 5 male or female first cousins (samposikali); and finally, 3 distant cousins (kamanakang samposikali) and 1 distant uncle (purina sampopinruang).

592 /31 cont./ By way of summary it can be stated that 40
602 of these 61 /32/ are first- or second-degree relatives of the basal married couple, and that 52 of the 61 are first-, second-, or third-degree relatives.

The conclusion therefore is that in the majority of cases a house is occupied by one family, that in general only unmarried, older and younger, kinsmen are taken into the house, and that more distant kinsmen (fourth degree and further removed) are only taken in if they have no close relatives. Uncles and aunts, accordingly, are only taken into the house by their respective nephews and nieces if they themselves are childless.

It is noteworthy that one of the three just-mentioned "distant cousins" set up a little house for himself shortly after the registration date. "He finds that more pleasant," was given as explanation.

If one excludes the group of 9 grandchildren, it seems reasonable, in the case of the 52 remaining persons to ascertain whether they are kinsmen of the man or of his wife. It appears that in 19 of the 52 cases someone lives in the house on the basis of his kin connection to the man, and in 33 cases on the basis of his kinship to the wife. Unless these figures
[591] are too small to draw conclusions, a slight preference for living with relatives on the mother's side would seem to be indicated. A similar result was produced by the investigation into marriage residence. At this point, a report on this subject seems in order.

Marriage Residence

462 In accordance with the division of labor between the sexes
562 in Makassarese society, the task of providing for the children, preparing the food, the weaving of sarongs and keeping them clean, and all matters which can be done in and around the house fall to the women. House and grounds constitute the woman's domain. Separation of the sexes is very marked.

591 /32 cont./ The tie among women who are relatives and live
602 in houses close to each other is very strong. In this situation, the result of the study of marriage residence fits very well. A tendency toward matrilocal marriage is observable.

In several cases it was observed that a married couple with children, plus, for instance, the father or an unmarried sister of the wife, lived together in one house. In such cases one is readily inclined to assume that one is dealing with a matrilocal marriage, /33/ as for instance where the wife's mother has died and the rest of the family has continued to live together with the man who has married into the family. In many cases, however, this is difficult to trace. The only pure, and at the same time workable, criterion for indicating when one is dealing with a matrilocal marriage and when with a patrilocal one is given in those cases where two or more married couples live together in one house, that is to say, where one parental couple lives with one married child. The number then becomes smaller; however, one is on firm ground. Twenty-two such cases were registered. The house with three married couples appeared to be inhabited by a parental couple with two married children. Altogether, therefore, 24 married children lived with their parents.

In contrast to 16 matrilocal marriages, there are 8 patrilocal ones. The figures illustrate no more than a tendency, albeit a clearly understandable tendency toward matrilocal marriage. This tendency becomes even more comprehensible if we also look at other factors.

The reasons given for a patrilocal marriage always concern expediency. As such the fact is mentioned that the man is the only child and that therefore he must provide for his parents; or that in so doing the man will stay closer to his sawahs. Or else it is said that there is more room in the house. If, on the other hand, one asks why the couple went to live with the parents of the wife, the reasons are more vague. It is regarded as a matter of course for which no special reason needs to exist that a man moves in with his wife.

591 /33 cont./ A matrilocal marriage is not a mandatory prescription. The houses of the parental couples are close to each other; kinship to father and mother are equally valued. On the basis of these facts, the observed tendency to matrilocal marriage remains unexplained. In my opinion, [182 the reason is to be found in the relationships obtaining among 593] the members of the family, and especially in the formal, stiff relationship between father and son, which makes it difficult for the latter to conduct himself in an unforced manner in the company of the former (1).

1. See pp. 31, 32.

The beginning of a marriage is frequently difficult (2).

2. See Chapter III, second part.

The parents who /34/ have brought it about and feel responsible for the smooth course of events do everything in their power to make it seem attractive for the young man to move in with his wife. That is not the case if he lives in his father's house. To this is added the fact that the young wife feels most comfortable in her familiar environment, with her mother and little sisters. If she should live elsewhere, it is much more difficult for her to go back to her mother, however small the distance between the houses may be.

182 The strict separation between the sexes, which results 562 in the young women being strongly tied to house and grounds, 591 thus furthers the occurrence of matrilocal marriages as does 593 the stiff relationship between father and son.

Sexual Relationships between Members of a Household

635 Sexual relationships between members of a household who do not belong to the same /nuclear/ family occur more

835 /34 cont./ frequently than those between members of the same family. Such relationships are sometimes also regarded as incest (salimara'). Irrespective of kinship relationship /sic/ these /sexual/ relationships are always considered especially reprehensible.

[583 588] In a case where a man fled with his wife's niece (kamanakang), this was the reason that the reconciliation, otherwise customary after a flight, could not be brought about (1).

1. Compare Chapter III, third part. See pp. ff.

582 835 A marriage between children of the first marriage of a widower and a widow who later married so that their children came to belong to one household was forbidden in rural areas. In Macassar such a marriage was contracted. The person performing the marriage ceremony took the point of view that no objections were to be found against such a marriage under Moslem law.

835 Relations of a man with his brother's daughter or sister's daughter, or with his father's sister or mother's sister, is regarded as salimara'. The native courts punish these cases [684] with banishment for the same number of years as was cited above with respect to relations between a father and daughter. The first mentioned, that between a man with a woman of a lower generation, occurs much more frequently than the last named, that with a woman of a higher generation. The reason for this difference in frequency is said to be /35/ that a young girl has greater difficulty in resisting her uncle than a woman with regard to her nephew. From this it may again be concluded that the common opinion is that the evil initiative toward sexual contact proceeds from the man. [538] Myths or other stories concerning such relationships are unknown to me. According to rumors, such relationships did

835 /35 cont./ occur at the courts of princes without being further discussed in public, even though they led to pregnancy.

684 In the same manner the court of justice handled a case of a man's relations with his stepdaughter, and that of a man
835 with his stepgranddaughter. The court of justice declared
593 that although no blood relationship existed between the accused,
608 these two young women were nevertheless regarded as daughter and granddaughter respectively, because they had lived with their stepfather and stepgrandfather from childhood on and had been reared by them. Here there exists a certain doubt, therefore, whether the case can be regarded as salimara'.[1]

608 Cases of sexual relation between a woman and her stepson
835 were not registered. This does not mean that these do not occur. At the most it may mean that these cases occur less frequently than those in which the man belongs to the higher generation (1).

587 1. The idea exists that when a
593 widower remarries, his second wife treats her stepchildren with less kindness than her own. No heart-rending examples of this could be noted, however. In
[754] one case the hostile attitude originated with the two girls who suspected their stepmother of having killed their own mother by means of a formula (pangassengang), in order to be able to marry their father.

The relationship of a man
[578] with his stepson is a tense one. Quarrels occur that lead to physical violence and fights such as are unknown between a man and his own son.

1[i.e. incest. - Ann/ist]

587 /35 cont./ In several cases a man married the younger
835 sister of his deceased wife. One likes to see sisters "succeeding each other on the pillow" because it is believed that the children from the first marriage will be better taken care of by someone who already knows them well than by a stranger, and also because by such a marriage existing ties in the family are continued. At the same time, several cases were
[837] registered in which a man made his wife's sister pregnant.

Such a relationship generally is not regarded as salimara'. /36/ It does, however, cause a great deal of commotion because, according to the decrees of Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at one and the same time. In such a case the man must first oust his wife, therefore, and only after the iddat period has elapsed, may he marry her sister. During the entire period, he, like the pregnant woman, is tumannjala (1) with respect to her brothers and other male

1. See Chapter III, third part.

relatives.

[578] It is said that this man has made two women unhappy at once. Reconciliation takes place less readily, and the commotion is greater than in the case of an "ordinary"
[684] marriage by flight. In a verdict handed down by the Sawitto Native Court, a couple was sentenced for salimara' in such a case. In his opinion on this verdict, Dr. A. A. Cense called this interpretation incorrect. He thought that only after the decrees of Moslem law became known did the notion arise that this relationship should also be regarded as salimara'. I cannot declare myself in entire agreement with him on this point. The interpretation does show, however, that, just as in the cases of sexual contact between a man and his stepdaughter, here, too, a doubt exists as to whether or not this

587 /36 cont./ relationship is to be conceived as salimara'.
835 Defining it as salimara' means that such relationship is considered in connection with the bad consequences for the country. It signifies that such a relationship is found "very bad."

Household Tasks

462 Rice pounding, weaving, and cooking are female occupations par excellence. However they are not entirely
[592] household affairs.

For the 129 houses, 75 blocks for pounding rice were
252 592 counted (2). On the average, therefore, more than one rice-

[556]

2. The Kapala group is relatively the richest: for 81 houses it numbered 53 blocks. The Mangenre group numbered 7 for 18 houses, and the Rest group 15 for 30 houses.

pounding block exists for every two houses. The blocks lie near the houses. A house apart has its own block, but where the houses are close together, as is usual where the inhabitants are close relatives of each other, there one block may be used jointly by as many as three houses. Common use of one and the same block is a matter of course where the /37/ users are kinsmen. It attains the nature of a favor if this is not the case.

286 It is safe to assume that around 20 years ago, at a time
592 when sarongs were still woven at home in greater numbers than is the case today, the number of looms was also greater. Then each house probably possessed one loom apiece. At that time it would, therefore, have been possible to contend that sarong weaving was a family affair. In 1948, 101 looms were counted for 129 houses (1), a number of women no longer have

286 /37 cont./ 1. Here again the Kapala
592 group appeared to be comparatively the best provided. In its 81 houses, 73 looms were found; in the 18 houses of the Mangenre group, 11; and in the 30 houses of the Rest group, 17. In a few houses I observed two looms.

looms in their own houses and are therefore dependent upon kinsmen for use of one. Wherever the household is incapable of fulfilling a certain task, the latter is taken over by the related group. It is safe to assume that the lack of yarn during more than five consecutive years, in any case until 1948, the year of this registration, was the reason that no new looms were acquired, while disuse caused many of them to deteriorate. The remaining 101 will therefore probably be used up after a few years.

602 One can observe regularly that female relatives "get"
476 from each other a household article or a few ingredients for a meal. In such a case one does not speak of borrowing, and it is not regarded as such, for these are all everyday matters. Without these items one is helpless, and therefore they use them among each other. Soap, rice (beras), and a saucepan are apparently equally common articles, but these definitely do not go from hand to hand every day. What is stated here applies to female relatives; among them this
[609] mutual assistance is a matter of course. But they have a different attitude toward a non-relative. Should she come to get something several times in a row, there are many ways of making clear to her that this is little appreciated.

462 The men have the task of bringing home from pasar, garden, or sawah whatever is necessary for daily existence. They cultivate the sawah and garden. They provide the women with

462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The 462 household always constitutes the center of these activities. 592 Male members of the household work together at these jobs. [476] Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a single house are insufficient for a certain job.

By no means does every house have its own plow. 241 592 Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

[556]

1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangenre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

[602] is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

[609 427] although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

476. Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each 602 other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

476 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened
602 by this. A household that is apart from the others can request
476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency,
558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever
609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior.
592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower
361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 Differences are thus observable between a household which
612 lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in
621 the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of
592 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30
592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

592 /39 cont./ cases without children, or only a few as yet. Furthermore, such houses are occupied by a widow whose husband died before the reconciliation necessary after a marriage by flight and by a number of other such cases.
592 There exists a clear preference for kinsmen living together
602 in one house, and an aversion to non-kinsmen living together.
609 In the latter case there soon develops a relationship of followers (2), and that is disliked by those who realize that they will

2. See pp. 52 ff.

be in a lower place. Lonely parents who in a large related group would have been taken into the house of a nephew or niece now continue to live by themselves. They, together with the couples who fled and married, reduce the mean population per house.

The number of endogamous marriages appears to be higher
582 in the Kapala group than in the Rest group. In the Kapala
602 group, 79 endogamous marriages were registered (around 89 per cent) as against 10 marriages with strangers (around 11 per cent). In the Rest group these figures were: 15 endogamous marriages (around 45 per cent) as against 13 marriages with strangers (around 46 per cent).

612 It was noted that the Kapala group was better provided
556 with rice blocks, weaving looms, and plows. The first and last-mentioned objects are directly connected with the sawah area. The average sawah property of the Kapala group members is greater than that of the Rest group members (3).

3. See p. 52.

These figures, however, for the moment prove no more than that the members of the Kapala group have more goods than those of the Rest group.

Compared with the Rest group, therefore, we see the Kapala group as the more cohesive and wealthier one, in which

612 /39 cont./ living is more comfortable. The tendency toward
556 joining the Kapala group can be demonstrated. Integration is stronger there.

To be affiliated with a large related group seems to offer
612 only advantages. There is, however, another phenomenon which suggests the opposite. /40/ Members of the Kapala
[166] group appear to move away repeatedly. This fact cannot be discussed, however, until the relationship of the related group to the land has first been described.

The Relationship to the Land

612 The relationship of the related group to the land was
423 characterized as that of a group whose members live together in the same territory and work the land. This characterization will now be elaborated upon. The majority of kampong residents do seem to have land in the kampong where they reside, but a number of them in addition have land in other kampongs.

Some figures will be presented at this point to illustrate the relationship of people to land. The average landownership of Bontoramba residents within their territory amounts to 23 ares of sawah land and 56 ares of dry land per house. In addition to land in Bontoramba, some Bontoramba residents also own land in other kampongs. If one adds these figures to the first, then it appears that the average landownership per house in Bontoramba amounts to 54 ares of sawah land and 69 ares
[162] of dry land. The average number of persons per house is 6.04 (1).

1. Figures concerning land date from 1949. The average number of residents per house that year amounted to 6.04 as against 6.1 in 1948.

423 /40 cont./ Some variations should be introduced into
612 these figures. Broken down by the Kapala, Mangenre, and
556 Rest groups they are:

Kapala group:	77 ares sawah land
	88 ares dry land
Mangenre group:	6 ares sawah land
	66 ares dry land
Rest group:	23 ares sawah land
	22 ares dry land

These figures thus indicate the average per house for these three groups, which consist of 81, 19, and 33 houses respectively (2).

[171]

2. In the Indish Verslag /(Dutch East) Indies Report/ of 1941, Part 2, p. 264, the average area of arable land of the native population for Java and Madura (in 1940) is given as: 0.072 hectare of sawah land and 0.096 hectare of dry land per capita. This is a little less than was found in Bontoramba (0.088 hectare of sawah land and 0.113 hectare of dry land per capita).

/41/ The noticeably low figure for the sawah land in the Mangenre group is not directly explainable. We shall return to this point below.

[592] Not all houses have landowners. In the Kapala group, landowners live in 73 of the 81 houses; in the Mangenre group, in 7 of the 19 houses; and in the Rest group they live in 14 of the 33 houses.

The members of the Kapala group are thus clearly rich in land compared with those of the two other groups. Among

423
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612 /41 cont./ them landownership is also more regularly distributed over the various houses.

It appeared that the few houses of the Kapala group without landowners were homes of younger people who worked the lands of their parents or an older brother and who received a part of the harvested crop in exchange for this. The Mangenre group and the Rest group include warong owners /shop-keepers/, the bicycle repairman, merchants, and "porters." The last named are men who transport goods for another person to a distant pasar and who receive their wages partly in money and partly in goods. Several of them do not own any land.

[482
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Those who own land outside Bontoramba live scattered over 57 of the total of 133 houses (1); 53 of these 57 are

1. In 54 houses there are people who own only sawah land elsewhere, in 14 those who own only dry land elsewhere. In 11 houses, therefore, there are people who own both sawahs as well as dry land.

occupied by members of the Kapala group, 4 by those of the Rest. According to these figures people of the Mangenre group do not seem to have land anywhere outside Bontoramba. It may well be that these figures are incorrect, probably too low, especially as regards the Mangenre group. The land-tax administration registered the names of landowners in each kampong, and it would thus be necessary to go through all the land-tax registers of South Celebes (there are a few thousand of them) in order to state with certainty that no other land than that reported are held by Bontoramba residents. And it is just among the individuals of the Mangenre group that one might expect to find that they have more land in their homeland of Pangkadjene (2).

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/41 cont./ 2. This suggestion is based both upon the figures following below for kampong Pakatto, the homeland of the Kapala group, as well as upon the impression obtained in the colonists' kampongs.

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/42/ I limited my investigation to the registers of the remaining kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë. In only 7 of these 13 were names of Bontoramba residents encountered by me. The distribution was as follows:

	Sawah Land	Dry Land	Number of Sawah-land Owners	Number of Dry-land Owners
Pagentungang.	1,432 ares	--	48	--
Songkolo . . .	280 ares	354 ares	4	5
Buttadidi . . .	684 ares	37 ares	23	3
Borong	308 ares	904 ares	6	8
Tjambaja. . .	1,428 ares	798 ares	21	5
Pakatto. . . .	514 ares		4	
Parang Banua.	54 ares		2	(1)

1. In Indonesian landholding statistics land held in mortgage or as security was always included.

A glance at the map shows that the first three kampongs border on Bontoramba, and that the fourth is situated very close to it. Kampong Pakatto was already mentioned as the one from which many of the present-day Bontoramba residents are derived;

423 /42 cont./ some of them still appear to have land there, ob-
471 tained through inheritance. The great number of landholdings in Tjambaja is connected with good reclamation opportunities there.

The people from Bontoramba own no land in 6 of the 14 kampongs of Borongloë. Their ownership is concentrated in their immediate vicinity, with the exception of Pakatto and Tjambaja. Territorial-administrative kampong boundaries, [612] therefore, do not seem to affect the relationship of kin groups to land. The distance from the house to the land does seem to be of importance. There is reason to assume that the number of Bontoramba residents owning land outside their adat community as well as inside it (with the exception of people from the Mangenre group) is inconsiderable.

In addition to the Bontoramba residents who have land outside Bontoramba, there are a number of persons residing outside Bontoramba who own /43/ land within the territory of Bontoramba. There were 90 such people. Of these, 68 lived in one of the 13 other kampongs of Borongloë. They owned, together, 1, 522 ares of sawah land and 1, 758 ares of dry land. In the adjoining kampongs of Buttadidi, Pagentungang, Songkolo, and Borong, there lived respectively 27, 8, 11, and 7 of these landowners. In addition, there are 3 more landowners who live in the kampongs of Pakatto, Parang Banua, Bontoa, and Borongkaluku, while in Kotjikang there are 2, and in Tjambaja 1. There does not appear to exist any special interest in Bontoramba territory on the part of Pakatto or Tjambaja residents; this was different the other way around.

The remaining 22 landowners, of whom 2 lived outside Goa and 20 within Goa but outside Borongloë, owned 645 ares of sawah land and 498 ares of dry land (1). Here it is only

1. Among these 22, there were 13 sawah owners and 10 dry-land owners. One man owned dry land in Bontoramba as well as a sawah.

423 /43 cont. / noteworthy that of these 20 landowners, 12 lived in
471 kampong Romangpolong situated very close to Bontoramba, where the Kapala of Bontoramba has a large number of kinsmen.

471 The following figures indicate how the sawah land is
556 distributed over the various houses.

612 The inhabitants of 25 out of the total of 133 houses own more than 1 hectare of sawah land. Twenty-one of these are houses belonging to the Kapala group, and 4 belong to the Rest. The inhabitants of 8 of these 25 houses own more than 2 hectares, and of these, 7 belong to the Kapala group, 1 to the Rest. Only one man has more than 3 hectares; in fact, he owns 7.5 hectares of sawah land. He owes this to his own abilities.

The relationship of individuals to their land, as is apparent from these figures, may therefore be stated quite simply. The administrative kampong boundaries (2) do not appear to be

[622]

2. The kapala collects the taxes on all land located in his kampong territory. He takes care that all men who live there and are able to perform work carry out their services. He reports offences committed in his district, etc.

relevant to the location of land which belongs to kampong residents. Landownership is not restricted by kampong territory.

311 The distance from the living quarters to the fields is,
423 generally speaking, small. The land of the majority of people is located in their own kampong and in one of the kampongs adjoining it. Those who owned land in Tjambaja also had land in Bontoramba itself. This shows that people do not purchase or work /44/ land at a greater distance away until they already own some in their immediate vicinity. The exchange of land
437 between people having land in each other's kampong of residence,
425 with the intention that both will have a piece of land close by, instead of one far removed from their house, occurs regularly.

428 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through
471 inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong
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1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there-
[241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

231 2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes,
556 goats, horses) among the three groups is as follows:
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	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one
471 individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more
558 than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be re-
556 garded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

471 /44 cont./ In kampong Borongpalala, for instance, the total
556 sawah area amounts to approximately 450 hectares. The area of dry land is very insignificant here. Of these 450 hectares, around 160 hectares are in the hands of residents of Borongpalala, and around 290 are in the hands of people who live outside Borongpalala. Approximately 3 hectares of the latter amount belong to a number of small farmers of the Bontoramba type. The rest, almost 290 hectares therefore, belongs to a few kinsmen of the Prince /45/ of Goa, who in part live in kampong Karuisi 15 kilometers away from Borongpalala, and in part in Bone, 250 to 300 kilometers away. This kampong is clearly acquainted with large landownership. Deputies (koasa) of the large landowners direct operations there and collect the proceeds. These conditions will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Harvest Ritual

241 The tie between kampong residents and their land finds
346 expression at the harvest festival, which is held at a certain
778 place in the kampong territory, "the Lord of the Land" (Patanna pa'rasanganga) so-called. At this spot stands an old mango tree, and at its foot lie a few large, flat stones. Next to it a "little house" (saukang) has been built. It rests on four posts; the floor, 1.5 square meters, is about 1.0 meter above the ground; the walls are composed of completely transparent braiding; atop leaves serve as roof covering. In the center a fifth post extends about 20 centimeters through the floor, and this is called the "lopped-off house post" (benteng polong). Tree, stones, and the little house together form an important element of the sawah ritual. Usually, both before the planting as well as after the harvest, but also on other occasions of the rice growing, offerings are presented there, coupled with simple and essentially household festivities. Only the harvest festival will be described here.

241 /45 cont./ When all the sawahs have been completely harvested, the day for the ritual is set. This is the job of the
[793] pinati (1) of Bontoramba, who is also the person who carries

1. Pinati is the title of the functionary who is usually charged with the execution of the ritual. Compare B.F. Matthes, Wb., p. 111.

out the actual ritual on that day. Around ten o'clock in the morning, those who wanted to take part in this harvest ritual
[821] had already begun to gather at "the Lord of the Land." The ritual must take place before the sun begins to descend again, because, so it is believed, the rising of the sun benefits the growth of the rice. The women brought bowls of offerings
241 with them. Every house is expected to bring an offering, it is
782 said, and one proceeds from the assumption that everyone is interested in the harvest. When the ritual began, I counted only 45 offering bowls from 42 different houses. Thirty-four of these 42 /46/ houses belonged to the Kapala group, 1 was occupied by members of the Mangenre group, and 5 belonged to the Rest group. Two bowls were from people outside Bontoramba who owned land in this region.

The second offering bowl from one and the same house, in two out of three cases, was designated for the second family living in that house.

In the three out of five cases in which the Rest group brought
471 an offering bowl, it appeared that no one from the house con-
241 cerned had been recorded in the land-tax register. One of these
782 concerned a follower who brought the offering for the sawahs of his master, who lived elsewhere; the second concerned one who worked sawahs belonging to a kinsman residing in Buttadidi; the third case is that of one of the kampong functionaries who

471 /46 cont./ had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his participation in the life of the kampong at this communal festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
[626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated, this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
773 "Lord of the Land," the following story was told. /47/

1. Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga," niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land," called Besenga.
2. Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

/47 cont./

539 773

3. Naandjo taua ammantangi ri birinna agang lompoa.

This man lived along the large road.

4. Naandjo aganga, punna nia' tau ammalo na'bongong iareka nammake pajung, andjo taua balalo mate karampasang.

Now, whenever there were people who came along the way with their sarong over their head or with a pajong /parasol/, these people soon died (1).

[554 576 689]

1. A lower person who appears before a higher one with a sarong over his head or with a pajong, or who simply walks past his house, in so doing shows little respect for him. He can always expect punishment.

5. Nasiapa are sallona andjo taua appakamma naniareng tommo tau tabesse-besse panggaukanna;

And thereupon this man who had that on his conscience was called an evil man in place of a courageous one.

6. Sanggenna andjo taua appasang angkana:

Finally, the following statement was issued to this man:

7. Punna salllang tenama' anrinni (sajanga') punna eroko assarea', nia' antu batu ritangngana pa'rasanganga, andjoremmako sarea';

If in future I will no longer be here (if I will have risen up to heaven) and if you want to give me something, there is a stone there, situated in the middle of the land, there you must then give that to me.

539
773 /47 cont./

8.	Mingka antu sallang batua alolokintu timboranna pa'rasanganga ri poko taipaja;	But this stone will later move to the south of the country, to the mango tree. /48/
9.	Punna andjoremmondjo batua papparekang tomma' balla', nasalloa' andjoremma' antu lammantang.	When the storm arrives there erect a house for me so that I will be able to live there.
10.	Le'baki appasang allannja' tommi.	When he had said this, he ascended to the sky.

773 The story appears to be a short edition of the tomanurung
171 stories familiar all over South Celebes. These are stories concerning people descended from the sky (1). In this case

1. See Friedericy's discussion, pp. 469ff and 506 ff.

the narrator has also given an explanation of the name Besenga in the same story. This combination is customary.

241 Now we shall try to give a description of this brief harvest
796 ritual (2).

2. For a description of the essentials of the ritual, see pp. 81, 82.

Around half past twelve in the afternoon, the Pinati thinks that it is time to begin. He sits down under the mango tree next to the stone lying there, with his face turned to the south. About 40 bowls with offerings have been placed on top of this stone and next to it, as close together as possible. All of these contain glutinous rice with a hard-boiled egg pressed into

244 796 /48 cont./ it and half a baked chicken (djangang panggang) on top of it. The Pinati winds a white cloth around his own headdress and places incense in the already burning incense vessel. Beside him stand a glass of water, a little bowl with [264] water for washing his hands, and another little bowl with some betel and areca nuts, like those which are put next to the meal of honored guests. They are for the recipient of the offerings that are about to be made. Furthermore, there is a little bottle of oil and a little basket with puffed rice (bente) by his side.

Now he first places his hand on the stone and mutters briefly. Then he takes the little bottle of oil, holds it momentarily in the smoke above the incense vessel, and drips a circle of oil counterclockwise onto the stone, which is flat on top. Inside this circle he places, one after the other, three handfuls of puffed rice. Each hand is first held for a moment above the incense vessel. Now the Pinati takes the incense vessel in his right hand, and with his left hand he smokes the stone three times. Then he moves his right hand /49/ with the vessel over the stone, three times counterclockwise, and once after that clockwise. Then the incense vessel is put down again, and the Pinati quietly places a few fingers of his right hand against the stone, again briefly mumbling a few sentences.

Now he takes up the incense vessel again and describes a circle with it around the stone and all the bowls placed on top and to the side of it. A number of women help in passing the vessel around, taking special care that the incense vessel travels around all the bowls. In this manner it is passed around from hand to hand, three times one way, and once the other way. After each trip around, it thus returns to the hands of the Pinati, who then briefly smokes the stone, essentially to mark the point from where it started. After this he successively opens two parappo (1), holding them momentarily above the

1. See p. 84.

241 /49 cont./ incense vessel, and then lays them down on the
796 stone next to each other. The Pinati moves the incense vessel again, now three times one way and once the other, in a circle above the two parappo, and then puts it down by his side. In so doing, this part of the ritual is completed. For a moment the Pinati remains quietly seated. From the time he dropped some incense into the vessel to this moment, seven minutes have elapsed.

Now he sits down in the saukang, facing north. A small number of bowls with offerings are placed around the lopped-off center post. A few older women occupy the rest of the space in the saukang.

The Pinati provides the incense vessel with fresh fuel, holding the oil bottle over it briefly and dripping it in a small circle on the top part of the post. Within this circle he places three handfuls of puffed rice, each time holding the hand first in the smoke for a brief instant. Subsequently, he moves the incense vessel in a circle three times one way and once the other way over the lopped-off post and throws a few handfuls of puffed rice -- always after having first held them in the smoke above the incense vessel -- over the bowls with food. After that he opens a third parappo, holds this, too, in the smoke for an instant, and then lays it down beside the post. Then he moves the incense vessel again, three times one way and once the other way over this parappo, laying some fingers of his right hand against the top of the lopped-off center post, and mumbling briefly. Again he scatters /50/ a few handfuls of puffed rice over the food bowls and throws a few kernels over his shoulder. With this the actual ritual is concluded. This part of the ritual, which took place in the saukang, was also completed within seven minutes.

241 The bowls with offerings were then taken away and
796 placed before the men, who had arranged themselves in rows
264 on mats, according to their standing. The women kept a
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241 /50 cont./ number of bowls for themselves. They ate in small
796 groups seated around the bowls without any special order
264 according to standing being observed in so doing.
554 Some pinati at the ritual take a few fingers of rice plus the extreme end of a chicken leg (only the bone) from each bowl and place this by the parappo. In this manner something
[769] has been put aside for the ancestors from each house.

Men now let their cocks fight again as they did in the
[541] morning. Meanwhile the Pinati goes around and touches
241 everybody who wants it with a mixture of oil, earth, and finely
796 rubbed rice, as well as something else which is his special secret. The parts of the body suited for this are the forehead, the neck, and the navel. The purpose is to cause these persons
[769] to share in the prosperity (pitjuru') of this ancestor through the earth with which he came in contact (nibarakkakki) (1).

1. It is good practice to take for this purpose earth from as close to the stone as possible and as soon after the conclusion of the ritual as possible (see photograph).

After the meal many stay to watch the cocks for a while. Only gradually do they return home. Only a few pisang and betel leaves, some pieces of areca and rice kernels remain by the stone under the tree and in the saukang next to the looped-off center post. The wind easily drives the dried-up leaves asunder; ants and birds make off with the rest. The oil spots alone remain visible as a sign that the ancestors were honored.

Horizontal Mobility

166 Three aspects of horizontal mobility will be described here. First of all, the relationship of place of residence to place of birth; secondly, the migrations which take place during a unit of time in one certain kampong territory; and

[see End Plate 7.-Analyst]

166 /50 cont./ thirdly, colonizations. The latter refers to the movements of Makassarese to Buginese districts. /51/

162 1. The Relationship of Place of Residence to Place of Birth
621 Of the 803 residents of kampong Bontoramba on July 1, 1949,
166 207 were born outside the kampong. Almost 75 per cent of the total therefore lived in their native kampong (1).

1. Sorokin, in his work Social Mobility (pp. 381 ff.) compares the territorial circulation of individuals in societies of western Europe with that in India. His book was published in 1927, and his figures are a quarter of a century old. From these figures it appears that in West Europe of that time, specifically in France, 57.2 per cent of the rural population was born in the district where it resided at the moment of registration. For India, on the other hand, according to the census of 1901, this percentage was more than 90 per cent. Sorokin draws the conclusion, which moreover was established upon the basis of numerous other data, that western Europe displayed a much greater territorial mobility than India.

Of the 207, 119 were born outside Bontoramba but within the adat community of Borongloë; the rest, 88, or approximately

162 /51 cont./ 9 per cent of the total number of residents,
166 were born outside; 30 individuals (approximately 3.5 per
621 cent) were born outside Goa Province.

The percentage of those born in Bontoramba appears to
162 be greater in the Kapala group, the most settled one, than
166 in the other two groups, namely 82 per cent as against 54
612 per cent in the Mangenre and 52 per cent in the Rest group.
621 The following table makes these percentages clear.

	Total Number of Individuals	Born Outside Bontoramba	Born Outside Bontoramba but Within Borongloë	Born Outside Borongloë but Within Goa	Born Outside Goa
Kapala Group	536	81	51	28	2
Mangenre "	94	42	17	5	20
Rest "	173	84	51	25	8
Residents of Kampong Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949	803	207	119	58	30

/52/ The large number of people in the Mangenre group
born outside Goa, namely 20 of the 42, is striking. In the
Kapala and the Rest group these numbers are 2 and 8
respectively of the 51. An explanation for this is to be found
162 in the fact that their land of origin lies outside Goa; many
166 of them were born there. This trend continues longer than
612 one would expect because people prefer children to be born
621 in the house, or at least in the land, where the mother was
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/52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

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2. Migrations

It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

[125]

I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949).

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Births and deaths were not registered because they were not relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81

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/53 cont./ Kapala-group houses had remained unchanged in their composition, as well as 4 of the 19 belonging to the Mangenre group, and 14 of the 33 belonging to the Rest group.

Those who had been registered as residents of Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949 and who did not live there a year ago were registered as immigrants, and those who lived there on July 1, 1948 but who were no longer present on July 1, 1949 were registered as emigrants. Persons who in the course of the year had gone to live in another house in the kampong were registered as transmigrants (1). Distributed over the three

1. Transmigrants are counted once as individuals, but they bring about a change in the composition of two house /holds/s.

groups (Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest), one obtains the following picture of the mobility of individuals.

	Immigrants	Emigrants	Trans-migrants	Total Number of Individuals Who Changed Houses
Kapala	26	18	34	78 of a total of 536 members of the Kapala group
Mangenre	6	23	12	41 of a total of 94 members of the Mangenre group
Rest	10	12	4	26 of a total of 173 members of the Rest group
Total	42	53	50	145 of a total of 803 kampong residents as of July 1, 1949

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/53 cont./ This means, therefore, that over a period of one year, two-elevenths of all kampong residents changed houses.

The subdivision into Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest group shows that the largest migration took place in the Mangenre group, where almost /sic/ two-fifths of the group members moved, while in the Kapala and Rest groups approximately one-seventh of the members changed domicile. As a reason for this we could cite the fact that the Mangenre group most closely approximates what is called below a group of colonists. The members of such a group seem to form little attachment to their place of residence. Many of the Mangenre group moved away to Macassar, where, according to reports, they were able to earn more money than in Bontoramba.

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According to these figures, migration is just about equal among men and women. /54/ For 72 migrating men there are 73 migrating women.

The difference in migration between married and unmarried people does not seem to be great. Here one should differentiate the cases where only a married man or woman changes houses from the migration of a complete family unit.

In one year, 22 families with 35 children moved in Bontoramba, a total of 79 persons. In 8 of these 22 cases, a young couple moved away from the parental house. A two-family house in this way became a one-family house. This reflects the striving of each family to have its own house (1).

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1. A young man or woman who moved to his (her) spouse's family after marriage, thus changing a one-family dwelling into a two-family dwelling, was registered as a transmigrant.

Three families who wanted to live closer to their sawahs

166 /54 cont./ located in another kampong emigrated there.
591 In two cases a marriage by flight was the reason for a family
592 migration, and in two others the fact that the house became severely damaged and run down. In one case a quarrel was given as the reason, but this concerns two families in one house who were not related to each other. In another case a married couple from a neighboring adat community came to live in Bontoramba in order to work for an employer. In the remaining five cases, the motives did not become apparent (2).

2. The small number of children (35) in these 22 families is due to the fact that some of these are young families who moved into a house of their own for the first time. Two recently married silariang couples likewise had (as yet) only a few children.

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While 79 persons migrated as a family unit, 66 individuals moved to other houses. The reasons given for these changes vary a great deal. An old widower lives alternately with one of his children. An orphan goes from one uncle and aunt to the other. An old deaf-mute man lives in turn with his many -- and distant -- nephews and nieces, who prefer to see him go rather than come. The contracting of a marriage, the committing of silariang, are further reasons for changing houses. A Javanese and a poverty-stricken orphan who came to live and work with people in Bontoramba raised the number of immigrants. A sickly little boy goes to stay with his grandfather for a few weeks or months./55/ The grandfather's house, incidentally, is one minute's walk away from the boy's

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591 /55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A
592 child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother
[855] or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity.
Experience teaches that in another environment such
[861] naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally, these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form
[602] a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time. Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

> 1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

158 To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations
865 can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however, another element of this culture must first be described; this is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

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865 /55 cont./ he seems completely normal again. Such attacks were observed by me only with children. In both cases they were children spoiled by their environment. Everything they did was admired in an exaggerated fashion. They were allowed to do much more than other children; nobody forbade them anything. When the girl spilled a whole pile of paddy, the owner merely laughed good-naturedly. When the boy playfully broke a plate, this was excused and made out to be of absolutely no consequence. Only their own parents grumbled at them. But even this /56/ indulgence and interest came to an end. That is the moment when the child may have such a fit of temper (1).

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1. Matthes (see Woordenboek, p. 420) translates adjallo' as "running amuck." Adjallo', in my opinion, is a designation for a certain mental condition which in effect does have a number of external characteristics in common with amuck, but so long as the internal impulses are not better known than at present, it seems to me incorrect to accept his translation. Matthes also gives as an example "tau andjalloki sarenna"; he translates this by "one who runs amuck with his lot" and makes this clear by adding, "that is, one who is always dissatisfied with his lot, for instance, he who demands today this, tomorrow that, position, and so on."

158 /56 cont./ According to reports, adults are also subject
626 to such attacks, however, I never witnessed this. To be sure, an adult sometimes uses it as a threat, for instance, when he (she) has set his (her) mind on something that seems unattainable. A woman from Macassar who had caused a drum (ganrang) to be played at a festival of her kin group in Goa was questioned about this by the kapalakampong /kampong
[533 head/ concerned, since playing the ganrang is a prerogative
565] of the nobility in Goa. She threatened with adjallo' if the use of the drum should be forbidden her, and finally a décision was made that the drum could be played because she did not live in Goa and at home in Macassar she was allowed to play the ganrang.

In Macassar a girl who was sixteen years old and still at school threatened adjallo' because she wanted to continue attending school in spite of obvious disapproval on the part of her mother and aunts. A man arranged his second marriage behind the back of his first wife because, as he said, he was afraid that she would adjallo' and in so doing might well prevent his second marriage if she heard about it beforehand.

The reaction of others to such fits of temper was one of aversion. People turned away; no one made an attempt to help, nor did anyone appear angry. It was believed that nothing could be done about it.

158 Both phenomena, mobility and adjallo', in my opinion
578 should be regarded as expressions of a conflict for which the individual sees no other solution, a conflict which is based on personality structure. It was impossible for me to do any further investigation along these lines. The fact that both sexes participate in mobility to the same extent might suggest the /57/ necessity for an analysis of the "basic personality structure" /cited in English/ (1) of the Makassarese.

1. For this term see A. Kardiner, most recently in The Psychological Frontiers of Society, New York, 1945.

167 /57 cont./ The Makassarese and Buginese proclivity for colonizing as well as their call to the sea can probably be explained by the same conflict.

3. Colonizations

The move of a man of high nobility with a large number of followers to a remote region, such as could be observed half a century ago, might in a few cases be explained by difficulties with very close relatives.

In the case of recent migrations of Makassarese to Buginese country, an economic motive is always reported. However, it seems more correct to say that changes in the economic structure stimulated the tendency toward mobility.

In several kampongs situated to the north of Parepare, large groups speaking Makassarese have been found. I undertook an investigation in three kampongs, Kape, Langa, and Paria. The aim was to explore the integration of Makassarese colonists, living among the Buginese. To make a distinction from the migrations discussed above, we shall here refer to colonizations.

124 The "Makassarese" living in a certain kampong were in
125 each case called together for a brief survey. This usually
167 resulted in a number of adult men appearing. They were questioned on several points: their name and the names of their housemates; who of these were married; whether this married couple was related to each other and if so to what degree; whether this marriage had taken place in the festive manner or by way of silariang; which region they regarded as their homeland; for how long they had resided here; the reasons that had led them to leave their homeland and come here.

The results showed few differences between the three kampongs. /58/ Everywhere the tie with the homeland turned out to be a very close one. During harvest time, kinsmen came to help. After the harvest, individuals of the colonists'

167 /58 cont./ group regularly went back to the homeland, albeit only temporarily. Everywhere people gave as a reason for colonization the fact that it was easier to earn one's livelihood here than in the homeland. In two of the three kampongs, there were more men than women, a phenomenon which is to be regarded as normal (1) in the regions of colonization, where

1. See the table on p. 80 for figures.

the heavy work falls to the men.

Only a general tendency was observable for the period when most of the colonists had come. Men of approximately fifty years stated that they had come here first as young men, thus about 25 years before, initially often as seasonal workers, and that they had stayed to live here only later. Others gave their arrival as from 20 years to a year ago. My impression is that after a few pioneers had first arrived, large numbers of Makassarese began to migrate to the north around 1935. From the statements of a number of informants it appeared that their present-day place of residence was not their first, but that they had originally settled elsewhere after their departure from the homeland. It can be stated that, once people make one move, further migrations frequently follow.

167 563 The migrants did not possess an ornament: "That remained in Galesong," as they once put it. I did not see any saukang on the sawahs. People denied having little ancestral houses or offering bowls (2) in their houses. They gave as the reason

2. See pp. 86, 87.

for this the fact that the Buginese among whom they lived here were strict Moslems who did not care for such old-fashioned affairs.

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/58 cont./ With a few exceptions these colonists owned no land in Buginese country (3). They worked fields that

> 3. The group in Paria was primarily making a living from a number of fishponds situated along the seacoast. They had found these in a deplorable state but had restored them completely. They lived on the ponds where they bred and marketed fish under very favorable conditions at the time of the study.

belonged to large landowners, who here are both members of the nobility as well as merchants who have become wealthy during the last 10 to 15 years. Since 1939 the leadership of the Sadang irrigation project has been turning extensive /59/ dry-land regions into potentially fertile sawah areas. The shortage of manpower, however, is extreme. As long as this continues, the colonists can demand very good working conditions. Their bargaining position is strong. For example, one group demanded of a certain large landowner that he let no others cut rice in his sawahs.

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There is little expression of a need for securing a more solid economic position by buying land in the new region of residence. Some even considered a sawah at such a distance from the homeland an unsafe possession. Several colonists seemed to have redeemed sawahs which they had earlier mortgaged in their homeland with money they earned in Buginese country, and even to have given mortgages on new sawahs there. At this point, therefore, the tie with the homeland seemed to be very strong.

563 /59 cont./ Many young colonists return to the homeland
582 in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

563 In addition the small percentage of silariang marriages
583 is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find silariang so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of silariang marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

342 The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on
563 lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong
184 residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

186 Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the com-
563 mon language constitutes a unifying element for these
621 colonists.

The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

	Total Number of Registered Houses	Total Number of Individuals	Men	Women	Festive Marriages	Silariang Marriages	Married Couple Related to Each Other	Married Couple Not Related to Each Other	Average Number of Individuals per House	Place of Origin	
										Galesong	7
Kape	25	133	80	53	27	1	19	9	5 1/3	Lebakkang	10
										Pangkadjene	4
										Maros	4
Langa	28	165	85	80	22	7	26	3	5.9	Galesong	28
										Lebakkang	9
										Segeri	2
Paria	15	80	34	46	16	1	8	9	5 1/3	Pangkadjene	1
										Maros	2
										Djeneponto	1
Total 1949	68	378	199	179	65	9	53	21	5.56		
Bontoramba 1948	129	787	382	405	105	27	104	28	6.1		

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186 /61 cont./ but the majority are only interested in owning
563 land back in the homeland.

Language and common residence strengthen, at least for the time being, the integration of the colonists.

The Worship Community

612 The Makassarese related group was defined as a group of
769 relatives whose members worship their ancestors at places and times designated for this purpose.

Participation in ancestor worship is linked to kinship. For instance, one whose grandparents were not related to each other, and whose two pairs of grandparents were not related to each other either, belongs to four different groups of relatives and may participate in the ancestor worship of all four different groups. In practice, an individual participates primarily in the worship of the group with which he lives. But he may also share in that of his kinsmen, even if he does
[557] not have daily contact with them. His choice in this is determined to a great degree by the social standing of these kinsmen. There is a demonstrable preference among people to turn to the prominent members of the related group in ritual matters.

769 Here we will first describe the most significant aspects of the ritual. Subsequently, we will make comparisons with the ornament ritual.

Essentials of the Ritual

In spite of local differences and despite personal viewpoints of the person carrying out the ritual, the pinati (1), there is

1. See pp. 82, 83.

a high degree of uniformity in the ritual prescriptions. A number of elements are to be found everywhere, such as rice, oil, incense, and water. Some actions /62/ are carried

769 /62 cont./ out in the same sequence in every instance. They will be briefly reported here.

[793] By donning a white headdress, the pinati makes himself distinguishable as the one who is going to bring about contact [777] between the living and their ancestors. The throwing of rice, usually in puffed form (bente), over the offerings is done because it is believed that rice brings good luck. The pinati sprinkles a circle of drops of oil around the offerings with the little oil bottle. After he has placed incense in a burning incense vessel, with the latter, he describes the same circle, first three times counterclockwise and then once clockwise. This done, he places the offering, the "parappo" (1), prepared

1. See p. 84.

by himself, inside the circle next to the offering bowls. Both the puffed rice as well as the parappo is momentarily held over the incense vessel each time for purposes of purification, so that whatever enters it will always be pure. An imaginary circle thus separates that which is brought into contact with the ancestors from the rest of the world. The pinati then places a few fingers of his right hand as it were against the circle and mumbles for a few moments. In so doing, the ritual is concluded.

What he mumbles is kept secret by the pinati. At the same time he always communicates the factual events to the ancestors. Thus, at the time of planting: "We have come here to report to you that we are going to plant; if we obtain a good harvest we will offer the best of it to you." Or at the harvest festival: "Here I bring you the best of my harvest."

The Pinati

612 The Pinati of Bontoramba was a kinsman of the Kapala.
793 His standing was high in his related group because of his personal qualities. He functioned as a regulator of marriages and

612 /62 cont./ always had a leading role at the conferences
793 concerning the expenses of the wedding feast, and so forth, which always precede the marriages. He knew the wedding song and was a valued expert on, and healer of, diseases. The title of such a functionary is sanro. With one single exception, he was called in for help in all these matters only by the members of the Kapala group. He further managed the harvest festival, which involved the entire territory /63/ of Bontoramba and in which, for that reason, members of other groups also took part. In ordinary life he did not distinguish himself either in clothing or outward appearance from other residents of Bontoramba.

796 He himself prepares the essence of what is offered, the
462 parappo. The further preparation of the ritual, which is very detailed and consumes a great deal of time, is carried out by the women. Each and every one of the women is better informed about ritual matters than the men. The preparation of the offerings, the hallowing of the water to be used at the ritual, the hallowing of the bowls and dishes from which they will eat, the finding of leaves of a special, prescribed nature necessary at the ritual, the making of the candles (kandjoli), all these are elements of the ritual taken care of by the women. They are also not activities familiar to every one of them. The names of the leaves and the arrangement of the offerings have their own significance. In these things one may not make a mistake. An informant once characterized the situation by saying, "Islam is the religion of the men, ancestor worship that of the women." Whenever there is no pinati present, therefore, one will see one of the older women taking his place. At small festivities concerning a /nuclear/ family, the women frequently conducted the ritual themselves. The pinati functions where the entire community is involved in the festival.

778 /63 cont./ The Parappo
796 The parappo belongs to the essential part of what is offered to the ancestors. The word means: "to offer or give something to a superior." The parappo is an insignificant-looking little bundle of pisang leaves of about the size of one or two fists full. Its contents seems to consist of betel leaves folded in various ways. Each way of folding has its proper name (for instance: poto, tontong lebong, putu rabing, kalomping).
796 A little piece of areca nut and a very small amount of lime
554 (paleo) goes with every betel leaf. The number of these leaves varies according to status. In the Prince of Goa's
612 kin group the number 9 forms the basis of the parappo (1),
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[801]

1. By the number that forms the basis of the parappo is meant that a parappo consists in one case of 4 poto, 4 kalomping, etc., and in another case of 6 poto, 6 kalomping, etc.

while in the kin group of the head of the adat community it is 7. /64/ In that of kampong people, the numbers 7, 6, 5, and 4 occur.

612 A number of further differences should be pointed out
778 which vary with the related group. At the ritual on the
184 sawah, the number of leaves in some groups is a little smaller
796 than at a wedding or other kin group feast. Four and 6 respectively were the numbers in the Kapala group in Bontoramba. In a few groups of relatives a further distinction was observed between boys and girls. If the number of leaves for a boy is 6, then it is 7 for a girl (1). A distinction

1. These numbers were observed at a number of birthday festivals.

612 /64 cont./ is likewise made between the offering presented
778 to the ancestors in the attic and that which -- on the occasion
184 of the same festival -- is delivered into the water. At a
796 festival in the Kapala group the numbers were 6 and 7 respectively.

The Rojong Song

533 The rojong song constitutes another significant element
796 of the ritual. Old women hum the sounds unintelligibly and monotonously; the exact words frequently are not known to them. This song occurs at wedding feasts and other important solemnities in the related group, and it is coupled with the beating of drums (ganrang). The rojong song recorded in Borongloë before the war has disappeared. The woman who gave it to me was overcome by all kinds of misfortune. She was not prepared to repeat it to me.

Food Taboos

612 In a single related group there is awareness, however
262 feeble, that the members of the group may not eat a certain animal (2). In Goa it is still generally known, perhaps,

2. Dr. Chr. Nooteboom drew my attention to this phenomenon for the first time in 1939.

that the members of the karaëng group (the nobility) may not eat the meat of the white buffalo.

In the related group of the head of the Borongloë adat community the realization faintly continues that a certain type of eel may not be eaten. To explain this the following
773 story is told: A woman who had violated a prohibition was
612 punished for this with the task of carrying water in a basket
262 from the river to a certain place. The basket, however, did

773/64 cont. / not hold /65/ water. An eel appeared which curled
612 up inside it and in this way closed off the seams of the basket
262 with the slime of its skin, and in that way the woman was able to carry out her task. Out of gratitude she there upon vowed that she and her descendants would not eat the eel and its descendants.

[84] However, neither in the Kapala group nor in any of the other groups in Bontoramba were people able to produce such a story. Nor were they able to name a certain animal that a number of relatives were prohibited from eating.

Pantasa'

778 In the attics of Makassarese houses one frequently finds
769 a pantasa' (literally, "bedstead"). This is a little house on posts, from 70 to 100 centimeters tall, hung with mosquito netting. It has a small entrance going up to the front of the house (sapana) such as only the nobility possesses. In this little house one can see a small pillow and a little mat.

The care of these pantasa' primarily involves having a candle burn by its side every Thursday evening at sundown (malang Djuma') and always having ready a glass filled with water, a little bowl with betel and areca nuts, and a cup of water for washing one's hands, such as is customary at every meal. It is believed that the ancestors (pattautoaang) descend here. Therefore, care is taken at all times to leave whatever is customarily presented to an honored guest.

In or near these pantasa' is to be found a small closed basket (baku paballe, literally, "medicine basket"). A number of objects belonging to the ritual are kept in it. Next to the pantasa' one finds, in some cases, a large open basket (salosso), where the larger ritual objects are kept.

[648] It is told that formerly almost all the houses had their pantasa', but that in 1905 the Dutch troops destroyed a great number of them because they were used in blood sacrifices, which always had renewed opposition as a result. It is further

778 /65 cont./ told that members of the Muhammadijah
769 Association agitated against these pantasa', so that many people made no replacement when the old one was broken.

In 1949, 17 of the 133 houses in Bontoramba had a pantasa'. One stood in 10 of the 81 houses of the Kapala group, in 2 of the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and in 5 of the 33 houses of the /66/ Rest group. Several of these were obviously new, that is to say, they had been made one or only a few years ago. In 5 houses, a large standing basket (salosso) with ritual objects was found.

In addition to pantasa' one can also see so-called "andja'" in attics of houses. An andja' is a place on which one puts an offering. It is a hanging bamboo basin tray without turned-up rims. In the same enumeration, it appeared that there were 38 andja' in the 133 houses of Bontoramba, distributed over the three groups as follows: 30 in the 81 houses of the Kapala group, none in the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and 8 in the 33 houses of the Rest group.

778 One who wishes to bring an offering generally prepares
769 more than one parappo; 3 or 4 is customary. A woman
602 declared that at times she prepared as many as 12. The other parappo are then taken to the pantasa' or the andja' of the kinsmen who are believed to deserve them. Thus only a few of the kinsmen who have a pantasa' in their house receive a parappo. According to reports, this is determined by what the ancestors have prescribed. A Makassarese does not like to state the reason why he gives a parappo to some kinsmen and
554 not to others. It is possible to observe, however, that parappo
778 are by preference brought to the houses of those who are
769 appreciated for their personal qualities. And usually these
602 appear to be personalities generally appreciated in the group of relatives. They are the ones who know how to collect the most goods, whose advice is gladly asked, whose pitjuru (1)

1. See p. 242.

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of
554 relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is con-
602 centrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one
612 hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the
769 other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other.
182 The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

794 The Ornament-Worship Community
114 Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

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1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

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2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes/With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

114 /67 cont./ In 1940 I thought I was able to indicate the con-
794 nection between ornament and ancestors by assuming that ancestor worship frequently attached itself to an ornament (3).

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3. H. Th. Chabot, "Over the Makassaarsche samenleving en een erfrechtelijke kwestie /Concerning Makassarese Society and a Question of Inheritance/," T.B.G. /Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, erroneously cited; see Bibliography, p. 347. -- Tr./, 1940, pp. 325 ff.

I considered at that time Nooteboom's "certain community" to be the kin group. At present an attempt will be made to determine more closely the relationship between ornament and ancestor worship.

778 The ornament of Borongloë is kept in the attic of the
794 dwelling belonging to the head of the adat community. It is an old flag on which a cock is pictured. Wrapped in a white cloth, the flag is kept in a closed basket in the ancestral house (pantasa').

The worship taking place at this ornament corresponds in
[769] all important points to the ancestor worship described above. The elements and the course of the ritual are the same. The parappo has the same task and a similar composition in this case. The rojong song and ritual objects here find a similar application. Here, too, the entire preparation lies in the hands of the women, and the pinati appears where the ritual concerns the whole group and not just a few relatives. The
[773] tomanurung myth of Borongloë, reproduced by Friedericy in his own words, corresponds in important respects with that of Bontoramba. At the sacred spot of Borongloë, where the ritual takes place on the most important occasions for the group, the stone, the saukang (little offering house), and the trees are again to be found together.

1794 /68/ Those who worship the ornament together form
796 the "worship community." The ornament of Borongloë is
602 worshipped in the first place by the head of the adat community and his relatives. Sometimes relatives living outside the adat community also take part in it. In the second place, followers and slaves of the head and his relatives also take part in the ritual. In the third place, there are the other subjects living in the adat community territory, and in the fourth place, there are those who live outside Borongloë who are not related to the head but who wish to participate for other reasons.

In practice the first two categories, quantitatively speaking, always form the largest contingent at the festivals. The third category at the same time should be the most numerous,
[622] but here one is satisfied with representation. The kampong head represents his kampong. Hence, all kampong heads are present at all important Borongloë festivals. Occasionally, they may send a statement that they were prevented from attending or else an observer.

The ornament of Goa is worshipped in an analogous manner first of all by the kinsmen of the Prince, regardless of whether they live in Goa or not; secondly, by the followers and slaves of the Prince and of his kinsmen; thirdly, by all (other) subjects of the Prince residing within Goa. This group is referred to when it is said that "the entire people of Goa"
[634] was present at a festival that was regarded as concerning the whole of Goa. At such festivals, the heads of the adat communities attend to represent their regions. Finally, the ornament is worshipped on such occasions by those who, although not related to the Prince and living outside Goa, nevertheless wish to take part in the festival.

[554] The size of the worship group is therefore larger in a stronger group of relatives. The ornaments of the most powerful provinces, such as Bone, Luwu, and Goa, are worshipped all over South Celebes.

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
714 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the daërah.

778 /69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other
617 ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament.
634 For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community
[726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

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/69 cont./ subordination, the weapons of the men of Borongloë were ritually painted with blood near that ornament, in preparation for the battle.

The history of this related group and its ornament has not become clear (1).

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1. Oral traditions are always fragmentary. Each group of relatives counts only a few men or women who know anything about the history of their kin group; Their knowledge is limited, however, to a few events, and these at the same time are only those which prove the greatness of the group. A regular narrative can never be obtained. Only in a concrete difficult situation does one of the most important members of the group tell how formerly in a similar situation the solution was found, and how, in his opinion, the conditions at present should be viewed and the difficulties solved. The narrator in so doing chooses his words so casually and easily that it is clear that he does not regard himself as tied to a certain text or even to details. On the contrary, one receives the impression

538 /69 cont./ that he improvises and illuminates the present-day state of affairs by the aid of a few data, just as seems to him best for his group at that moment. At the same time, he seems to be completely convinced of the 'objective' correctness of his representation of the historic facts.

612 /70/ The members of these two worship communities are
794 the members of the local group of relatives, a few kinsmen residing outside the kampong boundaries, an occasional follower, and a very occasional slave, as well as possibly also a stranger who for some reason or other joins in the worship.

Ornaments are therefore found in the kingdom, the adat
778 community, and in the kampong. Nowhere is the worship
794 community of an ornament sharply delimited. The larger
[554] the actual power of a group of relatives, the larger does the worship community of this group's ornament seem to be.

The relationship between the ornaments is a reflection
612 of the actual power relation of the groups of relatives. Two
778 occasions at which this could be observed will be reported.

1. At the ritual "purification of the land" (akawarru butta),
796 which took place for the last time in Borongloë a number of
778 years before the Second World War, the head with his kinsmen
612 and followers carried the ornament of Borongloë through the various kampongs of the adat community. In each kampong they spent the night, a buffalo was killed, a celebration was held, and offerings were made at the ornament. In the kampongs where the people possessed an ornament, the

612 /70 cont./ subordination of the latter with respect to that of
778 Borongloë was expressed in the ritual. These festivities
796 strengthened the sense of solidarity within the adat community, and by the wealth displayed on these occasions, they raised the standing of Borongloë both in its own, as well as in others', eyes.

2. A few days before the inauguration of the new prince of Goa in 1947, the ornaments of Goa and of Borongloë encountered each other at a certain place located in Borongloë
[103] by the name of Tamarunang. The following myth is connected
539 with this place.

1. Pau-pauanna Tamarunang.	The story of Tamarunang.
2. Riolo, riwattu erona appare' kota Karaëngnga ri Goa,	A long time ago, when the Prince of Goa wanted to build a fort,
3. nanrai' assuro angngalle batu ri binangaja ri Songkolo.	he commanded his people to enter the interior in order to get rocks in the river near Songkolo. /71/
4. Naandjo tau angngallea batu narasai naalle batu aganna Barugaja ri Songkolo.	And the people who got the rocks at that time, accidentally brought back a rock such as lies near the Baruga of Songkolo (1).

[344]

1. A baruga (see Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 195) is a festival shed. At the spot designated as "the baruga of Songkolo," no festival shed is in existence, however. The rock which lies there today is the investiture rock of Borongloë.

/71 cont./

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5. Le'baki nabonei rakina batu, narasatommi napanai' andjo batua;	When they loaded their raft with rocks, they accidentally loaded this rock onto it, too;
6. nanampa nalurang kalau',	and then they traveled back again,
7. ero'na erang kalau' ri kota napareka Karaenga ri Goa.	down the river, with the intention of bringing this rock to the fort that was being built for the Prince.
8. Naandjo parakika narapina Pakua tudjunna wara' pammantanganna kammakammanne, rakika tea sikali alolo,	But when the raft pilot came to Pakua, situated to the north of the present-day location of the rock, the raft not only absolutely refused to go on,
9. sanggennandjo rakika tabbuli-bulinta, naandjo batua tenatodong nakkulle tuguru'.	but even turned over; the rock, however, did not come off.
10. Siapa sallona andjo rakika tabbuli-bulinta, andjo batua nampa tommi alolo kale-kale nai'ri pammantanganna kammakammanne.	Some time after the raft had capsized, the rock of its own initiative began to creep toward its present-day location.
11. Djari battunamo nai' andjo batua, nampa tommi ero' alolo andjo rakika kalau'.	Only when the rock had arrived there, was the raft willing to float on down the river. /72/
12. Saba' nitjini' naandjo buata appakamma, naia battuna nai', nia' ngassemmi taua battu antjiniki nani-passamaturukimo ri tau	And because they had seen what this rock did, all the people had come, after it had arrived at its present site, in order to look at it, and all these people agreed

/72 cont./

539 djaia niareng Tamarunang. that it should be called "the one not falling off the raft" (Tamarunang).

612 The explanation of the name is clear. In addition, the
778 relationship of Tamarunang to Songkolo and to Goa is indicated.
796 In conversations that I had in 1948 concerning the significance of this encounter of the ornaments, the Prince emphasized the fact that it expresses the subordination of Borongloë to Goa. For the rest, the case was presented as being insignificant. As for Borongloë, the head declared that by means of this ritual Borongloë had lent support to Goa, without which this country would have been regarded as severely weakened.

If one is to conceive of the rock in the myth as a symbol of Borongloë, then the independence of Borongloë in relation to Goa is here clearly represented (1).

1. The narrator was the Kapala of Bontoramba.

612 A group of relatives without an ornament seems to exer-
778 cise only little actual power. The relationship of opposition between prominent members of this group appears to be the most important reason for this.

Where an ornament is present, the oppositions existing between prominent members of the related group are not removed. In a number of cases they merely recede into the background behind an appearance of unity. Where the local relationships give rise to it, such oppositions come to the fore, possibly with even greater bitterness. The fraternal struggle of Sidenreng is a classic example of this (2).

2. See pp. 159-161.

Where there is an ornament, two groups of relatives may sometimes merge into one. An example will serve to illustrate this point.

634 612 621 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua. When he became head in that year, the members of both groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to [361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration, the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua, as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen from at least two of these groups.

571 612 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the [278] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around the adat community head. The tendency toward separation is increased by the difficulty of communication across the Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie [564] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
764 to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

532 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
612 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had
669 carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past, " he wrote in 1883 (2).

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

532 /74 cont./ After the subjection of the princes of South
778 Celebes in 1905, this period of the tomanurung had passed,
612 however. Tomanurung were thought to deceive and to disturb
669 the peace. They were no longer given an opportunity to create a federation. In spite of this, however, the belief in the tomanurung did not disappear.

It may be that the Kapala of Bontoramba counts on the possibility of a tomanurung appearing who will unite his presently well-integrated group with a number of neighboring groups into a federation. The group from which the ornament of the federation is derived will, as a matter of course, have the leadership. The Kapala is prepared for this. The image is, as it were, an ornament in statu nascendi /in the nascent state/.

The Sacred Spot of Borongloë

778 A five-minute walk from the head's house leads to a
773 grove, the so-called "Flat Rock," (batu lappara') of Borongloë (3). On it /75/ stood, according to the myth, the

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3. Many call the rock batu napara', which according to Matthes' dictionary (p. 635) means "a smooth rock with the bottom part in the water; a rock that is stretched out flat."

ancestral couple of the present-day head's group of relatives, at the moment when they made their final statements to the people prior to ascending to heaven (1).

1. Friedericy relates this myth in his own words in his dissertation. See there, pp. 506 ff.

346 /75 cont./ In 1939, when I came to Borongloë for the
778 first time, a dilapidated little hut had been built over this rock. Around the same time attention seems to have been drawn to this "rock worship" by the Muhammadijah Association. Shortly after this, people of Borongloë, under the leadership of the head of the adat community and the old Imam, constructed a new cottage.

The rock is flat on top. Viewed from above, the greatest length amounts to about 60 centimeters and the greatest width to about 40 centimeters. Everywhere it is from 2 to 3 centimeters above the ground. At the time of the reconstruction, a pointed rock was placed at opposite sides of the flat rock along the extension of the longitudinal axis, at a distance from each other of approximately 80 centimeters. Each of these two rocks jutted about 15 centimeters out of the ground. In combination with the rock, they make an impression of eroded mesas on the visitor. Questioned about this, the head stated that a grave existed here although he was unable to state with certainty whose grave it was.

[769 The purpose of placing the two rocks seems clear.
178] Externally, the rock worship gave way to grave worship. The demands of modern times had therefore been met by doing as they did.

At the climax of their inauguration festival, the two
634 last adat community heads of Borongloë stood on this rock.
778 There they took the oaths of loyalty (aru) of a number of their kapala and followers.

Right by the rock a little house (saukang) has been built.
346 It stands on posts. The floor forms a rectangle of 1.0 by 1.5
778 meters; the walls consist of transparent braided bamboo. A fifth post is stuck in the middle of the floor, going right through it and rising about 30 centimeters above the floor. This is called the lopped-off house post (benteng polong). Rock and saukang belong together. Whenever offerings are
[782] made there, a parappo is placed /76/ both by the lopped-off house post as well as by the flat rock (1).

782 /76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 778 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The [241 796] annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place here.

Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably 241 of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere. 634 778 In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 A summary of the above yields the following result: 602 182 By worship community we understand a group of people who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

794 /76 cont./ qualities. After this person's death the grouping
602 again breaks up. The members then affiliate themselves with
182 others, each according to his own choice. There is no continuity.

Between the prominent members of a group of relatives there always exists a relationship of opposition, which is only intensified by the worship communities. There exists no possibility for such a related group to present a durable and powerful unity to the outside world.

A group of relatives with an ornament is more strongly integrated. /77/ Where there is an ornament, a worship community can be found which comprises a number of people in addition to the related group. The size of this community, however, cannot be precisely indicated.

It is therefore uncertain who constitute the worship community of an ornament. Nooteboom's definition of an ornament, given above, could therefore be simplified. An ornament is an object which is worshipped by a community of individuals.

182 In addition to this worship community, there are a num-
794 ber of extremely weak and small worship communities in a
778 group of relatives. They comprise no more than one or
602 several households. Their members turn to their ancestors in their own pantasa' for family or household affairs. In addition, they can also always turn to the ancestors who are worshipped at the ornament.

644 Ornaments are also in the hands of ordinary kampong
182 people. The royal ornaments are therefore not "inherent to
778 the royal dignity" (1).

1. See Friedericy, op. cit., p. 501.

Neither is royal dignity "exclusively reserved for those who are of purest blood" (1). In that case the principle of

/77 cont./ 1. Ibid.

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778 descent would dominate completely, and that is not the case.
182 An ornament is supposed to be in the hands of the group member with the purest blood and the best personal qualities. The individual who has the ornament in his possession is therefore believed to have these qualities until it turns out to be otherwise.

One who shows that he possesses the best personal qualities is therefore, according to the Makassarese idea, of high blood.

A prince is regarded as possessing these personal qualities to the greatest degree. However, they do not always find expression.

182 An ornament strengthens the unity of the group. At the same time it furthers the continuity of this unity. But a breakthrough on the basis of personal qualities must always be considered a possibility, in the light of what has been said above.

/78/ Chapter II

Social Status

114 In the ethnological literature Makassarese-Buginese society
565 is known as a hierarchical society. Friedericy (1) decided

1. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlands-Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. 4, p. 582.

114 /78 cont./ upon a division into two classes /standen/, the
565 nobility and the people. In addition he reported the existence of intermediary classes, that of headmen and slaves. The groups of relatives from which this society is constructed remain in the background with Friedericy. Proceeding from what is already known here, the relationship of kinship and class will first be indicated at this point. A few introductory comments will precede this.

635 All Makassarese-Buginese land, as has been mentioned,
565 is divided into provinces. The prince who stands at the head of a province belongs to a bilateral group of relatives which constitutes a class /stand/ apart, the nobility. The members of this group are called karaëng. They primarily live together in a few kampongs bordering on each other and constitute a well-integrated group. They are distinguished from the other groups of relatives residing in their province by virtue of the fact that their common descent is, according to general opinion, higher than that of the other groups. Among other things, this opinion finds expression in the forms of social intercourse with those lower, the people, which is indicated by the term tau samara' (literally, "ordinary people").

565 It is not possible to say that the nobility is distinguished from the lower groups of relatives through a certain ritual or through any other special characteristic (2), for all groups

2. For the term "specialities" /cited in English/, see R. Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 272 ff.

of relatives distinguish themselves from others around them through such a specialty. Each group of relatives is quite conscious of this, and the members actually boast of it. One can state that the karaëng group possesses more of these special characteristics than the other groups, that in some cases it forbids the use of these special characteristics to members of

565 /78 cont./ the other groups, and that it has the power to enforce this prohibition./79/ The special characteristics of the nobility serve as class prerogatives.

Among the lower /people/, this rarely gives rise to difficulties because in the majority of cases no one values the idea of taking over a special characteristic from just any other group.

565 582 The noble groups of relatives which live in the respective provinces are, like the nonnoble ones, not completely endogamous. Marriages between members of these groups who therefore live in two or more different provinces occur regularly. In this respect the noble related group acts like the lower ones.

114 565 The prince's group of relatives constitutes a well-integrated group whose efforts within the province is directed at maintaining the existing balance of power. Friedericy gathered his material among the nobility. His description of the organization of the classes is in many respects the picture which one obtains of the society if one views it through the eyes of the nobility. He thus places great emphasis upon the characteristics which distinguish the nobility from the other groups, and upon the "intermediary classes" with terms applying to them. One of these terms is ana' tjera'. Among the nobility this designates a child of the marriage between a man of the nobility and a woman from the people.

565 602 Among the nobility class and kinship coincide to a great extent. A commoner can only be admitted into the nobility by way of kinship, that is to say, by marrying into the nobility. Such a marriage, however, does not immediately lead to complete admittance. Terms such as ana' tjera' regulate this. Admittance is accomplished only after several generations. These terms are therefore only in use among the highest class. They have a negative emotional quality. These terms are never heard among the people. To them a child of a mixed marriage is someone of noble blood, even after two or three generations. Such a person has standing just through "blood" alone.

565
554 /79 cont./ Members of the lower groups of relatives, who, viewed from the standpoint of the nobility, form a single whole, are themselves not conscious of their unity. Each Makassarese regards his own group of relatives as higher than those around it. He always wants to /80/ raise himself above a group around him that is regarded as equally high. In all groups of relatives there is a constant striving to rise higher, without this being fixed in a social hierarchy. The groups are therefore always in a relationship of opposition toward each other. Each group, on the one hand, tries to prevail over the other and, on the other hand, tries to avoid being dominated by the other.

Neither do these groups form a "social class" /cited in English/ in the sense that Ogburn and Nimkoff attach to that expression. Of the "common people" it is not always possible to say that they "meet on equal terms" /cited in English/ or that they have "essentially the same social status" /cited in English/ (1). One can therefore never say in advance whether

1. W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, A Handbook of Sociology, London, 1947, pp. 210 ff.

two individuals may marry each other, because that would imply a certain equality. At the least it means that the man is not lower than his future wife. The uncertainty concerning the "/social/ class" of each individual is clear.

If, as a stranger, one asks someone from these groups to what class he belongs, he becomes embarrassed. He does not think of the possibility that the interrogator intends to distinguish him from the nobility, and as far as his environment is concerned, he is unable to indicate any class because there exists no social hierarchy with established class characteristics. He can merely indicate his /social/ class approximately by pointing

565 /80 cont./ to his group of relatives. In so doing, however,
554 nothing has as yet been said about the possibility of a future marriage. This depends further on his personal qualities and finally on the evaluation of his position at a certain moment. A person's /social/ class is no more than the possibility of contracting a certain marriage at a certain moment.

114 Friedericy has added an explanation of their origin to his
174 description of the social classes and their mutual relationships.
565 He thought that it was possible to indicate that the class organization arose from an exogamous fraternal grouping. His theory was first presented by de Josselin de Jong. The latter was able to indicate such a structural change among the
000 Natchez; classes there developed out of clans (2).

2. J.P.B. Josselin de Jong, "The Natchez Social System" /cited in English/, Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, September, 1928, pp. 553 ff.

Ideas concerning the origin of social classes have changed little since then./81/ Van Heek (1), as the last one, in

1. F. van Heek, Klassen- en standenstructuur als sociologische begrippen /Class and Status Structure as Sociological Concepts/, Inaugural Address, Leiden, 1948, p. 7.

1948 states concerning this: "To the extent that in primitive societies the groups increase in size, come into greater contact

000 /81 cont./ with each other, become more complicated in their organizational forms, and their accumulated stores of goods become larger, their internal hierarchic articulation begins to stand out more clearly."

Larger numbers in themselves do not necessarily bring about structural changes, however, and it is just these that interest us. The problem of the formation of a class structure in essence remains untouched here.

114 174 565 The arguments adopted by Friedericy for his theory from an analysis of Makassarese culture do not appear convincing to me. His theory and my objections to it will therefore be briefly taken up at this point (2).

2. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen, 1933, Vol. IV, p. 90.

On the basis of an analysis of the creation myth, Friedericy assumed that at an earlier stage in the development of society a fraternal division must have existed. Now, in order to make the idea of the origin of the present-day society from the mythical organization acceptable, he mentions a number of characteristics which both have in common: "A bipartite structure, superiority of one group over the other, patrilocality after marriage, the nonlocalized character of the groups -- all these things the two organizations have in common. Moreover, where initially we believed a great difference to exist, we have found upon closer examination clear indications in the present society of former exogamy of the two groups as well as of matrilineal descent" (3).

3. H. J. Friedericy, Ibid., p. 599.

114 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he
174 then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of
565 divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all
586 even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba, and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana
[567] (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." Before the war the government linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves. As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement loses its force.

114 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of
174 earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes.
565 Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that,
582 simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 Of the four common characteristics, the mention of
174 patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding.
565 My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).

[591]

1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure, superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

114 /82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from
174 an exogamous kinship grouping.
565 The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articulation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came into existence, is not clear.

128 The connection established by Friedericy between class and kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As
565 much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used
554

2. F. van Heek, op. cit., p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing" /aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be feasible.

182 It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes
554 signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage
582 is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment. Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two elements which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

554 The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's
[581] children because this establishes the standing gained by one personally, within the bounds set by descent.

557 /83 cont./ A certain equality of marriage partners is
581 assumed. One who has gone up in standing through personal qualities and who on the basis of this is able to marry off one of his children to a member of a group that is actually regarded as a little higher has attained the highest goal. It becomes apparent to everyone that through this marriage he has risen in standing. The standing that he has thus built up is, as it were, fixed by this circumstance. In a later social evaluation of his children, his achievement is used as a basis of judgment. His kinsmen honor in him the man who has raised the standing of their group, for as kinsmen they are, and remain in principle, his equals and thus rise with him. Compared with other
[585] festivals of the Makassarese, wedding feasts are the most valuable in view of the economic capacity of the group. More than any others, they are the gauge of social standing.

584 The choice of a marriage partner is an affair which cannot
557 be left to the young people themselves. It is a matter for the elders and, preferably, the prominent elders of the group of relatives. They look for what they consider the best solution; they weigh and balance the possibilities, and through their collaboration the marriages finally come about. In all this, a certain marriage policy is apparent.

In the marriage policy of the elders, two opposing
557 tendencies are to be found. On the one hand, there exists
581 the striving for a closely cohesive related group whose members
612 marry each other as much as is possible. On the other hand, there is the striving to establish relations with members of other groups of relatives, preferably those who rank just a little higher. A successful policy is achieved by the person who is able to realize his aim in both directions and who, at the same time, /84/ is able to bring about harmony between the two. Those who constitute the average in the group of relatives as regards their social standing, soon satisfy themselves with the first-mentioned aim. The prominent members of the group tend, rather, to direct their interests outside their own group.

557 /84 cont./ The marriage policy of the elders is, therefore,
581 to be regarded as a part of their striving toward raising the
612 standing of the group. As an example we shall here give the policy conducted by the adat community head of Borongloë in bringing about the seven marriages of his children solemnized between 1938 and 1948. The marriage policy is never formulated in this form. Those who conduct it are not conscious of it. They merely do what seems best to them in given circumstances.

The adat community head himself was married to a daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community, situated outside the kingdom of Goa. His eldest son was the first to be married, to a girl from this group of relatives, a sixth-degree cousin. The already existing tie with his wife's kin group was thereby strengthened.

His second son was married to the daughter of a well-known tradesman, a hadji, from Macassar, a business contact and at the same time an old friend with whom he had made an agreement at an early age to have their children marry later. When this marriage appeared to be rather unsuccessful after a number of years, it was dissolved. A new marriage was subsequently contracted with the daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community. In this case a member of the Self-government of Goa gave his cooperation.

The third son, who was employed as a provincial official in Buginese country, married there after his own choice. Such an alternative will be described later.

The fourth, as a favor to his father, had been taken, as a young man into his house by a member of the Self-government of the kingdom of Goa, who had subsequently arranged a marriage with the daughter of one of his other favorites, a wealthy Buginese merchant. The father had, in effect, given this son to the member of the Goa Self-government. He had no further influence on the latter's choice of a marriage partner.

557 /84 cont./ The fifth child, a girl, married her eighth-
581 /85/ degree cousin, a grandson of the old Imam of Borongloë.
612 In so doing, the kin-group tie with the first religious official of the adat community was established on a firmer basis.

The members of the adat community head's widespread group of relatives reside in almost three kampong territories. The sixth child, again a son, married the daughter of the head of one of these kampongs. In this case the adat community head and the kampong head were first cousins.

Finally, the seventh child, a girl, married one of her sixth-degree cousins residing in one of these other kampongs.

584 On the basis of this example, a number of comments can
612 be made.

1. The adat community head, the father, was in this case the central figure who brought about the various marriages of his children. But this is not necessarily always so. If one witnesses several weddings successively in various houses of the same kampong and in one and the same related group, one will be struck by the fact that in each case the same elders are instrumental in arranging all details of the ceremonies. The parent concerned is consulted, but the actual leadership is in the hands of others. The same seems to be the case, if one investigates who brought the marriage partners together. The matter, to be sure, is discussed with the children's own parents, but it is of such importance to the related group that it cannot simply be left to them. If they make suggestions, these are taken into account. If they come to talk, they are given advice. But if they do nothing, other prominent members of the group take the initiative.

584 2. Just as the marriage of the fourth son was organized,
565 regulated, and paid for by a member of the high nobility, the adat community head in his turn likewise brought about a large number of marriages of his subordinates in the course of the years, sometimes after they had made their preference apparent to him, sometimes on his own initiative (1).

584 /85 cont./ 1. At one count, he arrived
565 at 18, not counting the
marriages of his own children.

In so doing, the existing tie between high and low is greatly strengthened. The person who has brought about one's marriage /86/ is never forgotten. Such a marriage ceremony is on a much smaller scale than the higher person would have for his own child; nevertheless, it is always more expensive than it would have been had it been given by the kinsmen of the marriage partners themselves. Hence, the lower person
[554] receives as festive wear, for instance, a headdress of a certain color or a kris of a certain type, to which he actually has no right, but whose use is granted for the occasion by the higher person. As a result his standing rises.

3. From this example it appears further that the general
554 notion that all kinsmen should be each other's equals is incorrect.
602 It is clear that the adat community head, who is a prominent
582 man in his group, insofar as he chooses them from among his kinsmen, favors children of other prominent members of his group as spouses for his children. Accordingly, a tendency toward endogamy exists among the prominent members of the related group. Furthermore, even among kinsmen such great differences in standing may exist that a marriage bond is regarded as undesirable by one of the parties.

The conflict of these tendencies becomes most clearly apparent in a well-integrated related group through the marriage policies of its prominent members. For the ordinary members this conflict is less urgent. They find sufficient possibilities for marriage within the group.

The Bride Price (sunrang)

554 For a Makassarese, the marriage of his child is an extreme-
585 ly important event because it demonstrates the standing that

554 /86 cont./ he has built up in his life. The more days and
585 nights the festival lasts, the more guests (largely kinsmen) present, the more buffaloes slaughtered, and the more spacious the pannjambungi (the extension built onto the front of the house for this occasion), the higher is his standing. But the
[583] bride price, sunrang, is the element of marriage which permits the clearest measurable evaluation.

The sunrang is not simply handed over to the wife's kin
583 group by the man and his kin group. It is present at the contracting of the marriage (nikka'). The marriage official records the amount in the marriage register in reals (1), an

[435]

1. A real was, and still is, valued at 2 guldens. The coin itself, the real, is not seen at these payments. It became too rare for that.

old species of coin which has long disappeared from /87/ circulation. The woman's kin group frequently demands that the sunrang be paid entirely in specie (rix-dollars or guldens), but usually this happens only in part. The balance is paid by giving a sawah or a buffalo. As a symbol of such a transaction, a handful of earth (from the sawah) or a nose ring (of the
[415] buffalo) is added to the specie, which is contained in a flat, round copper box (kampu), used only at a marriage. The kampu also contains various kinds of leaves and a piece of wood, whose names signify "high," "rich," "rising," and "expanding." That is what one wishes for the sunrang and, at the same time, for the woman's group of relatives, the best possible wish.

The sunrang cannot be just any amount; it is always an
[659] even figure. It is fixed by the local authorities, in this case, the Self-government of Goa. In part it is linked to a specific status (ordinary people), in part to a certain function (the adat

583 /87 cont./ community head), and in part to kin relationship (kinsmen of the adat community head). By juggling these unequal amounts, it is possible to obtain a higher sunrang according to one rule than one is entitled to according to another.

554 The amount of the sunrang is in principle linked to the level of the woman's group of relatives. Her standing and that
583 of her group is made known by the sunrang paid at her wedding. It is therefore important for her kinsmen that she command as high a sunrang as possible. On the other hand, for the man's kinsmen it is just as important to pay a high sunrang on the basis of the principle that in effect man and wife are equal in standing. It is therefore comprehensible that the sunrang has a tendency to rise.

554 In his kingdom, the prince is the highest. He, and with him his kinsmen of the same blood, should therefore have the
565 highest sunrang within that kingdom. As a result he is concerned
583 that the sunrang in his region be clearly established according to
[643] rank and status, and known to everyone, so that his subjects will not pay or receive a higher sunrang /88/ than he himself. Hence, one repeatedly encounters prescriptions concerning the amount of the sunrang in lontar. Nature, however, seems to be stronger than rules. There always arises, some time after the amount has been officially established, the tendency to surpass the prescribed limits. Rules are only too gladly forgotten. As time goes on, more and more people seem to have paid and received a sunrang that was higher than they were permitted. Consequently, a new sunrang edict must be issued periodically. The last such regulation in the kingdom of Goa dates back to 1940. This sets the sunrang for

kinsmen of the Prince	at 28 reals
for the adat community head	at 26 reals
for the latter's kinsmen	at 24 reals
for ordinary people	at 20 reals
for slaves belonging to the Prince	at 12 reals.

554 /88 cont./ It is interesting to see how this regulation was
565 applied in practice. To this end, I examined the marriage
583 registers of the adat community of Borongloë for 1946 and 1947 to trace the reasons that led to the establishment of a sunrang of 26, 24, or 22 (!) reals, where the parties seemed to have a right only to 24 and 20 reals, respectively. The result is as follows:

The sunrang of 26 reals, according to the regulation covering only the adat community head, was first paid on the occasion of the marriage between two descendants of the former head of the adat community of Bonto. Karaëng Bonto was, as recently as the beginning of this century, the head of a small, but more or less independent, adat community which subsequently became amalgamated with Borongloë. His descendants still have something of his standing. At present they live in Borongloë territory and therefore are unable to get a higher sunrang than the adat community head. Here it seems that they were permitted an equal sunrang. A sunrang of 26 reals was further paid at the wedding of a first cousin of the adat community head to the daughter of one of the head's followers of good standing. Twenty-four reals should have been the maximum here.

A sunrang of 24 reals, designated according to the particular regulation for kinsmen of the adat community head, was likewise paid, first, at the wedding of a daughter of one of the /89/ followers of this head, secondly, at the wedding of a sister of one of the kampong heads, thirdly, at the wedding of the daughter of a follower of a descendant of Karaëng Bonto, and fourthly, at a wedding between Buginese residing in Borongloë. The latter, to explain the fact that they wanted to see a sunrang of 24 reals registered, declared that in their own homeland they were entitled to a sunrang (Buginese: sompa) of 44 reals. A sunrang of 22 reals was finally conceded to a couple of strangers who declared that they received a sunrang higher than 20 reals in their own land.

583 /89 cont./ If one wants to obtain a general view of the amount of sunrang paid in the course of one year, the following figures will serve that purpose. In Borongloë (a good 14,000 inhabitants), the Imam, charged with keeping the marriage registers, had to record 107 marriages between July 1, 1948 and July 1, 1949. Of these, the sunrang amounted:

in 2 cases to 26 reals
in 24 cases to 24 reals
in 2 cases to 22 reals
in 77 cases to 20 reals
in 1 case to 12 reals
in 1 case to 5.00 guldens.

563 The amount of 5.00 guldens was registered at a marriage
583 between Javanese who were part of a group of approximately 200, living together in kampong Pakatto. This low sunrang, for the Makassarese regard the amount as such, is one of the reasons why the latter are inclined to regard the Javanese as people of the very lowest status.

667 The sunrang of 12 reals was paid to the father of a woman
583 who was regarded as a slave of the adat community head.

Nine of these 107 marriages were contracted between
565 individuals from the kampong Bontoramba. In seven of these
583 nine cases, the sunrang was not 20 but 24 reals, and in only two
602 cases was it 20 reals. This situation which, if one considers the total number of marriages for which 24 and 20 reals were paid respectively, is very unusual and can only be partly interpreted. For each of the seven cases the people were able to give a certain reason. These follow here.

/90/ Both a son as well as a daughter of the Kapala of Bontoramba were married in this year. For both a sunrang of 24 reals was regarded as appropriate. In the case of one couple, the mother of the wife had Buginese kinsmen among whom, in their own country, a much higher sunrang than that of 20 reals was always paid. In the case of another couple, the woman was regarded as related to the adat community head; "she was not equal" (tena nasangkamma), said the Imam, and therefore

565 583 602 /90 cont./ she was not allowed to receive 26 reals (!), but this kin relationship was nevertheless sufficient to raise her above the normal 20 reals. In the fifth case, the man was a kinsman of the Imam himself. It was an act of friendliness on the part of the bridegroom's kinsmen to offer the bride, who actually was regarded as lower, the sunrang customary in his group, because, in so doing, they showed that they accepted her completely as an equal (sunranna bura'ne naerang). In the sixth case, kin relationship with the ex-kapala of an adjoining kampong (Buttadidi) was given as the reason why 24 reals were paid, and in the last case, an aunt of the girl declared that a sunrang of 24 reals had always been customary in her kin group. The curious thing in this case was that this aunt herself had contracted a marriage by flight with a man who was regarded by her kinsmen as so much lower that they had never been willing to agree to a reconciliation (1).

1. For further elaboration of this case, see Chapter III, third part.

With the exception of this last-mentioned case, the first six marriages involved individuals of the Kapala group. It is not impossible that the marriage ties established by the Kapala with the kin group of the adat community head (2) constituted

2. A daughter of the Kapala married a kamanakang (French: neveu /nephew/) of the adat community head.

a reason for the Imam to record a sunrang of 24 reals in a number of cases for the kinsmen of this Kapala, against which he would have had objections in other cases. Finally, the adat community head is the one who must guard against the sunrang

565 /90 cont./ of his subjects approaching too closely his and
583 that of his kinsmen. The differences must continue to exist.
602 Everyone is convinced of this.

A number of observations can be made in relation to these
554 data.

583 1. It appears that in stating the reasons why /91/ a certain sunrang is paid at a certain wedding, the primary consideration concerns the woman. "The sunrang of the woman may never go down," it is often said. This means that the sunrang of a girl may never be lower than that which was paid for her mother. At the wedding of a woman to a lower man -- the exceptional case will be discussed below -- the latter always pays the sunrang of the woman. In addition, he makes a large number of other extra payments. In the case of the marriage of a man to a lower woman, the man's party likewise frequently pays the sunrang that is customary in the woman's group. Sometimes, however, the man wants it to be apparent that he is very favorably inclined towards his in-laws, and then he pays the sunrang customary in his own group, but this is a favor on his part. In the ordinary case, that is to say, at a wedding between two people who are regarded as equals in standing, the woman is, as it were, the gauge of value of her group. Her sunrang must not go down because her standing, which finds its most important expression in the sunrang, must not go down thereby, since this would lower, in turn the standing of her group of relatives.

554 2. Being a follower (1) appears to be a reason for raising
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583

1. See pp. 133 ff.

the sunrang above the level of the group to which this follower belongs, another example showing that being a follower raises a person's standing.

554 3. The office of kampong head appears to be a reason
583 for receiving a higher sunrang for one's sister and daughter.
[622]

554 /91 cont./ The same can be said of the imam's office. The
583 Imam of Borongloë, who furnished information concerning the amount of the sunrang, explained several times that in a certain case a higher sunrang had been paid than was prescribed because the woman in question was related to him. This illustrates the
[602] advantage of kinship, for the woman was honored by the Imam with a higher sunrang than would otherwise have been possible. He would not have been able to refuse the request to record a higher sunrang without being accused of snobbery, for this would have shown that he no longer wanted to recognize his kinsmen as equals and thus no longer as kinsmen. /92/

563 4. The sunrang appears to be locally bound. Buginese
583 who have a regulation in their own country by which a much
631 higher sunrang is paid have to submit to the local regulations. It is a public secret that actually they frequently pay their own sunrang of 44 reals but that in the registers an amount of 24 (22 or 20) reals is recorded. The marriage official knows about this and silently acquiesces. Officially there is no violation of the principle that the head of a certain territory is entitled to the highest sunrang.

554 5. It is necessary to be acquainted with the period when
583 the regulation was issued (1940) in order to understand how it
659 is possible that in spite of the existing regulation a higher sunrang was paid for a sister of the adat community head than by the head himself. For the sister, who married in 1939 (before the new regulation came out), a sunrang of 28 reals was received, but when this head himself married fully a year later (after the new regulation), he was not allowed to pay more than 26 reals. There was no getting around the recent prescription issued by the Prince. Considering this situation, the somewhat annoyed remark of this head that in future he would take good care that no one received more than 26 reals was quite understandable.

554 6. The sunrang is not always equal even for people who
583 are kinsmen. A little leeway is possible, and it is just this
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554 /92 cont./ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status, or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
554 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of
578 this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage
602 candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang,
557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
602

582
583 /93 cont./ 1. Not, if one asks this
557 information of the Prince.
602 He gives the list as it is
fixed by him. But
lower people are less positive.

can only be understood on the basis of the conflict of tendencies indicated above. The amount of the sunrang is never completely fixed. A small increase is always possible, so people do not like to be rigid about certain marriage possibilities within the group of relatives. There are, to be sure, always kinsmen with whom a closer tie is not desired at that moment.
[554] Where people proudly point to their extensive kin group, this does not signify mutual equality of the members, but it is a sign of social standing, and people do like to talk about that.

In the previous chapter it became apparent that marriages
582 between kinsmen of the eighth degree occur regularly, and
602 those between relatives of the tenth degree, very rarely. There is, therefore, a point at which the knowledge of the kin relationship has disappeared, namely, when for three successive generations no marriages have been contracted between the descendants of two brothers and/or sisters. If this fact is considered in relation to the preference for endogamy among the prominently placed kinsmen, then one can see how it is possible that some gradually drop from the circle of those known as kinsmen, through the lack of desired personal qualities or through a poorly executed marriage policy. /94/ If someone likes a kinsman of the sixth degree, and both of them allow their children to marry, this ties remote lines together, and the striving for a cohesive group of kinsmen has then been realized. But if such a marriage (between eighth-degree male and female cousins) does not come about, this means that a small number of individuals come to be separated from this large group and are either absorbed into another group or else continue to lead their own life as a small group. In the

582 /94 cont./ last-mentioned case, we may speak of a drop in
602 standing, even though the sunrang is maintained at its former level. If there are individuals who have become separated from a well-integrated related group, this means that they were quite unsuccessful in their striving to rise; if they had been successful, the other members of the group would have endeavored to bring about a marriage with one of them, since success attracts kinsmen as well as non-kinsmen.

Vertical Mobility of Individuals

554 The level of an individual is determined by his descent
562 as well as by his personal qualities. It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall. Striving to rise is not a primary requirement for women.

554 A man is able to increase his standing through personal
581 qualities. The acquired standing may be consolidated in a marriage. The outcome of all striving is, with a single exception, marriage with a woman of approximately equally high position.

554 The marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly
565 forbidden. The only case in which it is directly apparent that
582 the woman is higher than the man is a marriage of a woman of the nobility to a man who is not of the nobility. The qualities in which a man must excel in order to be able to contract such a marriage are clearly stipulated.

Such qualities are given as learnedness, courage, and wealth. It is told of Sjech Jusupu, a highly venerated saint in South Celebes whose grave is always visited by crowds of people and whose life history people like to recite, that he, as an already recognized sage /95/, asked for the hand of the daughter of the Prince of Goa. The Prince would gladly have consented to this, but the members of the Royal Council (Hadat) of Goa,

554 /95 cont./ were against it. They only yielded when the
565 Prince drew their attention to the fact that in the old lontar
582 the three above-mentioned qualities are already named as qualifications for a man to be permitted to marry a higher woman.

In the few historical writings that I was able to consult, I did not find examples of war lords who were able to contract marriage with a higher woman on the basis of successes gained in battle.

The present-day generation is acquainted with the case of a wealthy merchant from Macassar, a hadji, who married one of the female followers of the Queen of Goa. This man was a favorite of the Prince, who followed his advice in many cases. He therefore owed his rise in standing entirely to personal qualities. In addition, the case is well known of a young man born in an ordinary kin group but employed as a tax official and very influential at the same time, who married a daughter of one of the adat community heads. The sunrang in these cases remained the same as the one that had
[583 been paid for the mother and sisters, but an exceptionally
585] large amount was asked for, and paid, to cover the expenses of the feast. This is called the buying of blood (ammalli tjera').

In these very rare cases, the difference in descent be-
554 tween man and wife, according to general opinion, was great.
581 But even in the more or less regularly occurring cases where
582 these differences are small, learnedness, wealth, and courage are of importance. An imam or a revered guru ngadji (1),

1. One who instructs children in the reading of the Koran.

may contract a marriage, or he can cause his son to contract one, of a type which a brother who remained an ordinary kampong

554 /95 cont. / resident would have no chance of contracting.
581 In one of the fights that arose in Goa in 1946, a man saved a
582 number of his wife's kinsmen by his courageous behavior.
His wife should not have been allowed to marry him, because
[626] she was higher than he, and for that reason her kin group had
declared her dead (2). As a result of his bravery, the wife's

2. See Chapter III, third part.

kin group was persuaded /96/ to agree to a reconciliation. In cases where the differences in social level are small, there may be hesitation as to whether the man and woman should marry. If both parties are agreed, and the marriage is brought about, it is not possible for an outsider to disapprove. It is believed that the reasons leading to the marriage could not be evaluated (1).

1. A discussion of the cases in which there is a difference of opinion, will be found in Chapter III, third part.

554 Children from such a marriage, even where the difference
565 in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded
562 officially as equals in their mother's group of relatives,
582 because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not
fall /in social standing/. Daughters marry by preference in their mother's group; with respect to the sons there is some hesitancy. Factual data are lacking. I was unable to discover any terms used to designate these children (analagous to ana' tjera').

In cases of marriages between a man and a lower woman, only those where the difference in level is great deserve mention, for marriages in which the man is a little higher than his wife are normal marriages. They should not be distinguished

554 /96 cont./ from marriages in which the partners are regarded
562 as equal. The marriage of a cousin (samposikali) of the adat
582 community head to the daughter of a kapalakompong /kampong head/ is called a marriage between equals, but on the part of the head, the idea of a union of his cousin with a son of the Kapala is rejected because this young man is regarded as lower than the girl.

554 One of the princes had a son called daëng Ali by a woman
565 from the kin group of one of the adat community heads. His
585 brother had a daughter called daëng Batje by an ordinary
574 kampong woman. Daëng Ali was regarded as considerably higher than his first cousin. They married and lived with the groom's father, the Prince. Now it is expected of the kinsmen of daëng Batje's mother, ordinary kampong people as we said, that they will be modest /97/ and that they will not constantly come to visit their sister (cousin or aunt, as the case might be). Of daëng Batje, in turn, it is expected that she will receive these kinsmen in a friendly way; that she will not show herself proud toward them, but will entertain them nicely. She should not entertain them too lavishly, for that would be a sign of superiority, but especially not too poorly, for that would indicate that the visitors were not appreciated. For daëng Batje the visit of her kinsmen is an agreeable matter, because people can see how the relatives appreciate her, a fact which in turn strengthens her position with respect to them. Through her, therefore, her kinsmen have a certain right to come to the palace. A couple of nieces -- the best ones are picked out for this purpose -- may temporarily come to live in the palace. There they learn the superior manners of the nobility. In so doing, they rise in standing and later have a chance of a better marriage, something which again works to the benefit of their entire group.

554 Children from a marriage of a man to a lower woman
565 are regarded as lower than their father's kinsmen and higher

554 565 /97 cont./ than those of their mother. The daughters are preferably married to someone in their father's group of relatives.

The position of the sons resulting from these marriages is difficult. By reason of their descent they are unable to marry daughters from their father's group. For a marriage they are dependent upon their mother's group. In practice, it appears [156] that they often conduct themselves as the wildest and boldest among the young men. It may well be that this conduct is unconscious in order to show themselves, at all costs, worthy of a girl of somewhat higher blood.

Karaëng call those who were born from such marriages ana'tjera' (literally, "blood children"), but the kampong people call them karaëng. The former is a denigrating term, the latter one of respect. Lower persons know people with karaëng blood who live in their kampong; the latter are regarded as slightly higher than those about them by virtue of their blood. Upon questioning, it appears, for instance, that their great-grandfather was a karaëng who married one of the women from the group of relatives residing there, that his son married a kinsman of his mother, and so on. The fact [583] that their grandfather (great-grandfather) was a karaëng is taken into account in determining the sunrang; the knowledge is kept alive.

/98/ Confusion is created if one calls the ana'tjera' an intermediate class. They do not form a related group occurring between the nobility and the people. It is merely a matter of individual cases having a tie in common with their father's group, the karaëng. They try to be taken into their father's group of relatives. Among themselves, however, they do not form an integrated group because, through the mother, they always belong to different groups of relatives. But whichever of the two groups they settle down with, their father's or their mother's, they are not regarded as equals by those around them.

554 /98 cont./ As regards these ana' tjera', it is immediately
562 apparent that the interests of sons and daughters are distinct.
565 The former are dependent for marriage upon their mother's
582 group, the latter upon their father's group.

Vertical Mobility of Cultural Elements

565 Sorokin has pointed to the fact that not only individuals
626 or groups, but even cultural elements may rise or go down (1).

1. P. Sorokin, Social Mobility, New York and London, 1927, p. 133.

Each status /stand/ /group/ has its own external characteristics by which its members are differentiated from the others. Forms of social intercourse and clothing, mode of eating and celebrating festivals are the most spectacular of these. The higher groups constantly strive to preserve their own forms for their members. Lower groups constantly strive to take over elements belonging to the members of the higher status, since by this alone their standing rises.

Attempts to adopt their ways is opposed by the higher groups. On the one hand, their adoption is regarded as ridiculous, on the other, it arouses the anger of those higher; sometimes punishment is meted out. Adoption of elements from the highest status is not carried out directly by the lowest of the people, but takes place gradually. First those just below the highest adopt their forms, and so on down. It appears that not only the higher, but sometimes even those lower resist adoption of their forms by another socially lower, that is to say, they fight against a rise in social standing by a competitor.

565 643 /98 cont./ Several characteristics are linked to the Prince's group of relatives, and as such becomes status characteristics.

/99/ The Prince speaks of his slaves (ata), but if the adat community head were to speak of his slaves in the company of a man of nobility, it would make him ridiculous. The Prince regards the use of a certain kind of spear (lallung) at the ornament ritual as prohibited to anyone except his own kin group. Difficulties have never arisen about this, for it appeared that this type of spear is frequently unknown among members of the lower groups of relatives. But difficulties did arise concerning the use of the festive drum (ganrang) which is likewise exclusively reserved for kinsmen of the Prince. It turned out that the ganrang was regularly played in secret by others, too. In many cases the Prince winked at this practice, but when, in 1941, he heard that in a certain kampong the drum had been played where, in his [534] opinion, this should not have happened, he sent out the kapala concerned to investigate. No punishment followed the misdemeanor, and no prohibition for the future. The fact that the guest who had brought the drum with him came from outside Goa was accepted as an excuse, but only in order to prevent the further difficulties that would have resulted from an actual prohibition. Playing the ganrang is a privilege of the Prince of Goa; everyone, even the stranger, must comply with that. This fact corresponds to what was reported above about the amount of the sunrang for Buginese who in their own land have a much higher bride price (sompa) than the Prince of Goa, but who place themselves under his sunrang, at least formally, while they reside inside his kingdom.

565 634 643 At his inauguration the prince of Goa stands upon the Goan investiture rock where the prescribed ritual is performed on him. There he accepts the vows of faithfulness from the great of the realm and adat community heads. The last two adat community heads of Borongloë stood on the "Flat Rock"

565 /99 cont./ of Borongloë in 1939 and 1947 respectively.
634 There the ritual was performed on them, and they received
643 the vows of faithfulness from prominent kinsmen and kapala-kampong. But while the princes of Goa have stood upon their rock for hundreds of years for their inauguration, this was not the case in Borongloë.

The inauguration of the father of the present-day head, which took place in 1916, /100/ was performed with ritual (adinging dinging) at the "Flat Rock," but he did not insist upon it, and vows of faithfulness were not made. However, when this head abdicated in 1938, he himself arranged the inaugural festival for his son, and on this occasion standing on the rock was presented as old adat. It is characteristic that
565 this adoption of a ritual element belonging to the karaëng
626 group was not repudiated by members of this group, but by a
634 few members of one of the other prominent groups of relatives of Borongloë. As an old man said: "You, Gallarrang (1),

1. Title of the adat community head of Borongloë.

did not stand on it (the stone), and now you let your son stand on it."

This way of striving to rise was therefore criticized by a member of one of the adat community's kin groups foremost in opposition. The person against whom the remark was directed, the old adat community head, later reported that shortly thereafter the old man had fallen sick and since then had never really recovered again. In his opinion this signified that what he had done was correct and that the criticism had been unjust. He believed that the ancestors would have turned against him, had they considered the ritual performed by him to be incorrect. This indicates that a prominent
[177] figure may interfere consciously in ritual matters and bring about changes.

554 /100 cont./ A favorite's daughter who temporarily resides
565 in the house of her father's master may learn to make little
576 cakes of a certain name and form, known only among the higher people. In that house she also learns the forms of social intercourse observed among household members and at daily meals. Upon returning home, her altered manners are immediately conspicuous. She addresses her mother only in a soft tone of voice, she does not eat as ravenously as the others, and she conducts herself completely like a well-brought up girl from the better social circles. At least in the beginning, she is also treated differently from the other children. "She bears the sign of daëng X" (2), it is said

> 2. Bata piarana daëng X, literally, "the etiquette of nurture by daëng X."

[582 approvingly of her. As a result, she has a chance of a better
557] marriage, that is to say, of a marriage to a higher man than any of her sisters would be entitled to, since they did not enjoy the privilege of staying temporarily in the house of daëng X.

/101/ When the seven-year-old son of my host offered me cigarettes and when he came to tell me that dinner was ready, he briefly dropped to his knees in so doing. This is a custom completely unknown in his father's group of relatives and borrowed from the karëng's kin group in whose house the father had lived in his early years. The custom was then taught to the son. The father laughed happily; "He knows his manners," and by this he meant that his son had appropriated good manners, namely of those who are higher. It is a sign of politeness to treat a higher guest with his own forms of social intercourse. The lower person who shows that he is familiar with these forms gains in standing in so doing. If this were to become a daily practice, his conduct would be

554 /101 cont. / thought of as ridiculous by the related group.
565 They would see in it merely an affected way of distinguishing
[576] himself from those around him.

The wearing of certain ornaments by a bride, and of a kris or a headdress (sigara') of a certain color by the bride-
[585 groom, is frequently a sign of friendliness on the part of a
572] higher person. He may, as a favor, permit a lower person to adorn himself on certain occasions with things which belong to the higher group. This raises the standing of the lower person.

A woman who caused her deceased mother to be treated as though she were a relative of the Prince was regarded as arrogant. "She is daring, " was the reaction of those around
[626] her. It means that what she does is dangerous, because in so doing she enters the state of "bassung"; that is to say, she can be punished for this deed with a swollen belly. Nobody, however, expresses his disapproval openly, since, after all, it is quite possible that what she does is exactly the right thing, and in that case the one who made the remarks would be punished, as happened in the case of standing on the investiture rock.

If a person conducts himself as a higher person, and if he does so with great self-assurance and with success, then these modes of conduct help to determine his social standing.

The System of Followers

571 The system of followers is one of the most obvious aspects of the tendency toward vertical mobility. It may be described as the /102/ totality of relationships between a higher person (karaëng, lord) and those lower, whom he calls ana' ana'na (1) or taunna (his people). The basis of this system is the

571 /102 cont./ 1. Ana' ana'na literally signifys "his children, " here, therefore, "as if his children. ".

awareness that a relationship of authority of high over low, accepted by the latter, exists and likewise the realization that high and low need each other in their striving for higher standing. This relationship is based upon cooperation. The relationship between (almost) equal groups, on the other hand, is best described as opposition. The next paragraph will deal with this point.

156 554 571 In addition to descent, the personal qualities of the individual are of importance in his striving to rise. The importance of these qualities is reflected in the saying that a good karaëng has good followers and a bad karaëng bad ones. Qualities required for a higher person to be a good one are: courage in fighting and skill in debate. He must have the courage to undertake risks; he must be active and at the same time able to stimulate activity in others. In addition, a certain generosity toward those lower is indispensable. Such a dynamic character attracts those who are lower; They like to work for such a person. Qualities appreciated in a lower person worthy of mention are: faithfulness to the master; courage, in the sense of readiness to assist his master and to avenge insults inflicted upon the master; and furthermore, a certain initiative within the bounds of freedom permitted him.

114 Four essays written by the government official, Kooreman, which dealt with his experiences during a stay of almost ten years in South Celebes appeared in the Indische Gids of 1883. He also described the system of followers (1). Kooreman was

1. P. J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden, " Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 375 ff.

114 /102 cont./ able to describe his impressions in a clear and lively manner. The conditions he sketches can still be recognized as typical of South Celebes, but at the same time it is apparent that much has changed. His description will first be reproduced here. Then my own data will follow, /103/ and in the process we will be able to point out a number of times what has remained and what has changed.

554 "...the higher the nobility to which one belonged, the
565 more did one possess the privilege of impunity. The little
571 man almost completely lacked protection against the presumptions and vexations of the Anakaraeng. As a result he was forced to look for protection from those who caused the evil condition, namely, the nobility. The latter undertook the protection, but conditionally, that is, the Anakaraeng demanded a certain measure of subjection of his protégé. From this a relationship developed to which we refer as "being a follower," but which is described more characteristically and accurately by the Makassarese word for follower, Ana ana. (Ana signifies "child," Ana ana, "little child.") Between the Anakaraeng and his protégé there existed, therefore, the relationship of a great and powerful man and a little child.

571 The follower was obliged to recognize the Anakaraeng as
675 his master (karaeng). He was forced to accompany him while hunting and on his travels, to help him in various agricultural activities, to bring his small presents, and to perform services at his festivals. He was obligated to assist him if he was threatened or attacked, or if he had to avenge an insult. In a word, he had to follow his master (minawang) and carry out whatever he was enjoined to do. The Anakaraeng, on the other hand, assumed the responsibility of guarding his ana ana against any arbitrary treatment, and if they suffered alleged or actual injustice, he took their side. The relationship was so close that to insult a follower was equal to insulting his

/103 cont./ master, and the latter already felt offended if
571 one of his followers so much as received a poor reception. If
675 a follower's horse or buffalo were stolen, the master would say: 'My buffalo or my horse is stolen,' and he would leave no stone unturned to get back the stolen property and to avenge himself upon the culprit -- more accurately, the one who insulted him --, for he would not dream of handing over the thief to the authorized judge.

"The tie between Anakaraeng and ana ana was voluntary and consequently could be broken. The Karaeng rarely dismissed his followers because of bad behavior. As a rule he did so if the follower did not satisfy his far-reaching /104/ obligations or had been disobedient. The follower, on the other hand, would choose another Karaeng if he thought that he was being insufficiently protected, if his master demanded too many services of him, or if, in his opinion, another follower was more favored. Such a break in relations was rarely resorted to, however, because the follower would incur the hatred and vengeance of his former master.

"The Karaeng were also obligated to provide for the material interests of their followers. They helped them with paddy fields, with paddy, plowing, cattle, and sometimes with money, for instance in cases of marriages and deaths. Not all Karaeng, however, fulfilled this obligation; many were more intent upon their own interests than upon that of their ana ana.

"The higher the social standing of an Anakaraeng, the
554 more followers he had. Conversely, the more followers he
565 had, the greater was his standing and influence, and the
571 anakaraeng /sic/ who had the most followers was at the same time the most prominent and the most influential.

"Followers consisted of distant blood relatives, people
571 who from generation to generation had been the followers of
[602] one single kin group, and people, frequently foreigners, who

571 [602] /104 cont./ had voluntarily become followers. They lived not only in the vicinity of their master; some resided even outside the Glarangship or regency, and only came if they were called or required protection.

571 631 "If a follower found himself in a dispute, if he had committed a misdemeanor which might put him in difficulties, or else if he had been harmed or insulted, he would not turn to his head, his Glarang, or to the regent, but rather to his master, his Karaeng, who acted as his protector, safeguarded his rights, and always tried to help him out of difficulties. It is obvious that the more prominent, the more influential the person who concerns himself with the interests of his follower, the easier it was to obtain justice, the more chance there was to be judged in the right even if one were wrong. Conversely, it was all the easier to go unpunished if one had committed an offense.

"This system of followers underwent such an expansion that not only Anakaraeng, but all nobles, and even well-to-do natives had followers. Consequently, in addition to the division of the /105/ land area into Glarangships and Kalompowan kampongs, there existed a division of residents into nobles, each with his followers, so that everyone of them constituted a power in the regency."

571 648 The quotation was long but valuable. Kooreman further points out that the function of the European administration is actually that of a super-karaëng, able to provide effective protection for all who ask for it, without any obligations being attached to this. In his opinion, this had as a consequence that in the course of decades the appeal for protection to the anakaraeng decreased, so that their power disappeared at the same time. As a result, little states within the state -- in the sense of a nobleman forming with his followers a unit within the realm -- no longer occurred.

178 571 From the data available at present, it appears that in the course of the last 75 years the forms in which the system of

178 /105 cont./ followers manifested itself have changed. The
571 general characteristics to be met with today are the following:

The higher person is connected with a number of lower ones, his people. The latter work his sawahs in the broadest sense of the word, that is to say, from the first tilling to the delivery of sheaves at his house. They take care of his maize gardens and guard his langsap trees when they bear fruit. They run errands for him in the pasars; they carry wood and water for daily use, do repairs on the house, manufacture the common utensils from bamboo or wood, and finally assist at a festival held by their master by performing the innumerable little tasks. On the other hand, those inferiors who are unmarried and live with their master have their food and clothing provided for them, and there is the chance that their master will let them marry and provide their wedding feast. Once they are married, the couple is provided with a dwelling and has a number of sheaves delivered to its house after the harvest. This lower person then lives apart with his family but remains in daily contact with his master by way of the tasks which he has to perform. Since he remains closely connected with his master, he is permitted to participate in the festivals that break up the monotonous kampong existence, and he shares in the social standing which is displayed on these occasions.

There is never a question of a firm agreement at the be-
[675] ginning of the relationship. The tie may be broken at any moment. Such a rupture, however, always takes place only gradually. An abrupt break is avoided, /106/ because this indicates quarreling and because it is thought to be better if one leaves before the conflict breaks out.

178 The tie between a higher person and his people is
557 advantageous to both parties in their striving to rise. To lose
558 a follower implies a diminution of social standing for the
571 higher person. Here his generosity to his people is of importance. The superior who has a reputation for making his

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
558 his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's protection and help and at the same time the loss of social standing which the association with the superior casts on him. Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position of the lower people has become stronger.

554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
571 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower. Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary. If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relationship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends

1. In the Bontoramba census, they were included among the Rest group.

upon their personal relationship to their master whether they will continue to come and help at special events such as festivals.

571 As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
591 married couple who had committed silariang. Before reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

571 /106 cont./ and subsequently had continued to live there
591 even after the reconciliation. Furthermore, there lived in Bontoramba a young woman, an orphan who had gotten into difficulties with her parents, who lived elsewhere, and so she had been taken into the house of one of the prominent /107/ kampong residents. In the third place, a Javanese, an ex-colonist, should be mentioned here. He had come to live in the house of one of the Mangenre group to work for this person (1). Similar cases are known to occur in each kampong.

[125]

1. The two last-named individuals were registered as kinsmen of the master of the house in the census.

571 Nowadays a kampong head frequently has someone in
622 his house who carries letters for him and performs extra
202 errands. This function is created by the need for a confidential
602 messenger (2). Frequently the head will take a young kinsman

2. In Borongloë the suro (literally, "messenger") has come to have the job of attending to community labor /gemeentediensten/ -- until shortly before the war, corvée /herendiensten/. He does not run errands. This development, however, varies greatly from one locality to another.

for this purpose.

571 In principle, kinsmen are equals, and therefore there
602 can never be any question of a relationship of followers between

571 /107 cont./ them. If, for instance, a young unmarried
602 man goes to work for a prominent uncle (3), this is always a

[554 466]

3. Here used in the sense of purina, thus someone belonging to a higher generation.

temporary arrangement. For a person who helps his uncle thereby increases the difference in standing existing between that uncle and his own family. Consequently, a young man will prefer, in the long run, to work for his parents, younger brothers, and unmarried sisters rather than to help his uncle gain more social standing.

People who work for a blood relative can be called
554 followers, but this occurs only if they /108/ serve as followers
571 of one head together with non-kinsmen. In that case they
602 occupy the highest position among them. Because of their less pronounced personal qualities they are bound to obey, that is, to follow their kinsman, but with respect to the other followers they are higher, and therefore the leaders, by reason of their descent.

The dwelling of the adat community head is the center
634 of Borongloë. The adat community office is, as it were, merely one of its extensions. Matters of taxation, transferences of land and cattle, quarrels which end in fights, elopements, marriages, foreigners, and all that concerns the ornament worship are handled by the head. In the case of some problems the persons involved were referred to the office and to office hours, but the head receives most of them at his home where their problem is discussed and settled right away, if possible.
571 An active head in this way attracts much information. A
634 number of followers will regularly be found around him.

These work for him in the sawahs and in the gardens, and in addition they run errands for him. Some of them

571 /108 cont./ prefer to carry messages or summon people;
634 others are especially charged with the care of horse and gig (bendi). As good followers, however, they are at the same time the cars and eyes of their master. They report to him everything that happens in the kampongs so that he remains
571 fully informed. They may, in certain cases, proceed harshly
634 if someone commits a discourtesy against the head, for it is
626 also their task to punish a breach of authority in a manner clear to everyone. Each attempt to undermine authority must be suppressed. Not to react to it is regarded as a sign of weakness. In these times of fixed boundaries this is not so serious, but in the period before 1905, there immediately existed the threat of a defection with all its consequences.

571 The followers of the adat community head of Borongloë
634 numbered seven in July, 1948. They included, first, one of
[602] his cousins (samposikali); second, a Javanese who had remained in South Celebes as ex-romusha (1), had learned the

1. A Japanese word which acquired the meaning of "forced laborer."

language, and had come to feel at home in Borongloë; and third, five sons and sons-in-law of followers of his father when he had been head.

/109/ Another adat community head had the same number of followers, but among them were three contemporaries linked to him through personal ties that dated from previous periods of his life, among others his school period. These ties now constituted the basis of their follower relationship.

The difference between these two adat community heads is clear. In the latter case we are dealing with a head who, for the maintenance of his power, relied, at least in part, on the ties personally created by him. In the first case, the head,

571 /109 cont./ whose personal qualities were of little account
634 among the Makassarese, relied almost entirely upon ties created by preceding generations. That he was able to maintain himself as head during these times is merely due to the support of his father, the former head, and to that of the Self-government of Goa.

The kinsmen of the adat community head live distributed
554 over three kampong territories. In his group of relatives it
571 is always pretended that the number of followers living with
602 and among the kinsmen in these kampongs is very large. This
634 is done to make the social standing of the group appear as great as possible. After all, the possession of many followers indicates that a group rises considerably above those around them. In effect, in the adat community head's group of relatives only eight houses with followers were found. The occupants in each case had a special tie with one of the head's kinsmen. They performed the customary tasks for the head and cooperated at the festivals of other members belonging to this group of relatives.

According to reports, the number of followers of the
554 karaëng group is very large, especially the number of those
565 whose previous generation also worked for this group of
571 relatives. The karaëng are each supposed to have had one or more followers who frequently lived in the neighborhood of the master (1). This conception of the situation corresponds

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1. It is related that here working the sawah is entirely in the hands of followers because people do not like to see a karaëng working in the sawah.

554 /109 cont./ completely to the established ideal, the more
565 followers, the greater the standing. But in view of the experience
571 with the adat community head's group of relatives who, even though on /110/ a lower level, gave the same representation of the matter, it is necessary to be careful here, too, so long as we must proceed entirely from unauthenticated reports.

178 The importance of the system of followers in the earlier
571 form described by Kooreman decreased. New forms arose; these are to be found in the big-city relationships of Macassar. In the country areas, the relationship of large landowner to day laborer is an example.

The system of followers in and around the city of Macassar
178 is observable wherever wealthy merchants earn their money
441 by means of the sale and purchase of rice and fish, sand and
571 stones. For their trade they employ a large number of people. This employment relationship can best be described as that of followers to their master in which the personal qualities of the merchant, the punggawa, are of overriding importance. Here, too, a follower avenges an insult done to his punggawa. Here, too, services performed -- frequently in addition to a fixed salary or piece wage -- are rewarded irregularly and in a general way. Here the punggawa also has a personal tie with a number of his people. When he dies his trade immediately goes down. His organization is built upon personal ties with his subordinates.

Large Landownership

491 Some characteristics of the system of followers can also
571 be found connected with large landownership (1), in the
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1. No figures are available to indicate precisely when we can begin to speak of large

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/110 cont./ landownership. The examples given here are taken from conditions where no doubt can exist about the existence of large landownership. A single individual in each case owned more than 20 hectares.

relationship of the large landowner to his representative (koasa), and of each of these to their respective laborers. In South Celebes there are, on the whole, sufficient grounds on the basis of which a large number of small farmers could be forced to work the land of others. The form of large landowner-
[554] ship encountered here must be understood from the point of view of relationships obtaining between high and low. The two factors, descent and personal qualities, with which we already have become acquainted above, are important in this respect.

A large landowner generally has a few hundred /111/ sawahs which lie distributed in various kampongs far removed from each other. The landowner himself, who usually lives far away from these, therefore employs someone to be his koasa in a kampong or, if this happens to be convenient, in a district. The koasa sees to it that the sawahs located there are worked. He, in turn, hires a number of people from that region as laborers. The latter receive as many sawah sections as they desire or are able to handle. The koasa's task is to see to it that the sawahs are worked, that this is done as well as possible, that the distribution of the harvested sheaves takes place according to the agreements made, and finally, that a reasonable number of sheaves reaches the landowner. The latter, therefore, must be able to trust his representatives. Consequently, he chooses by preference someone who already has a personal relationship to him and someone who

466 /111 cont./ furthermore has demonstrated that he is capable
471 of administering and working his own lands well. A koasa is
571 frequently an energetic personality. Such an individual in turn easily attracts laborers, either among his own kinsmen, or among the other kampong residents. Through his koasaship he gains in standing. The reason that the sanrang was higher for a girl than was customary in her group of relatives was explained by the fact that her father was a koasa.

One whose standing is solely based upon descent will not necessarily be a large landowner at the same time. After all, he frequently may not possess the personal qualities necessary to attach the best koasa to himself; inferior koasa, in their turn, attract inferior workers. The distribution of the harvest is less well organized, the number of sheaves that such a large landowner would receive in his house would therefore be scarcely worthwhile. A large landowner who might attempt to make working contracts which are too advantageous for him would find out that this is not appreciated. As a consequence of such a move workers who do not need his land to provide for their sustenance would either go to work the lands of others, or else start up for themselves.

Not every nobleman, therefore, is able to muster up the
[565] initiative and the organizational ability to develop a new complex of sawahs. This can only be done by a nobleman who possesses, in addition to the necessary descent, the personal qualities required for such an undertaking. If these personal qualities are present, many people, rather than setting out for themselves, develop a tract of land for him under the leadership /112/ of one of his koasa. The tie with the superior is then regarded as of great importance (1).

1. Sometimes a person who possesses much land employs a so-called koasa-lompo ("large representative") who, in his turn, hires local

466 /112 cont./ koasa, sometimes called,
471 for purposes of differentiation,
571 "small representative"
(koasa tja'di).

441 One who owes his standing solely to his personal qualities
471 obtains no more in returns from his land than a person whose
454 standing is based entirely upon his descent, as might be expected on rational economic grounds. During the postwar periods when many Makassarese merchants were earning large sums, one might have expected that many of them would have invested even a small part of their money in pices of land in the interior. One would have thought that they might have bought sawahs, or that at least they would have had large pieces of land entered in their name in the land-tax registers with the purpose of having them developed later. Nothing of this kind, however, appears from the Goa land-tax registers. The opinion of one of these merchants that he did buy jewelry with this money but no land because land is difficult to sell quickly if one needs money merely points to the direction in which the explanation must be looked for.

571 For a merchant who is not related to the nobility of Goa,
565 it is difficult to attach a good koasa to himself and through him
554 a large number of laborers. If he were to purchase several pieces of land, his share in the harvest would not be worth the trouble. An ordinary kampong individual prefers to work the land of a prominent man from the karaëng group. In that he has confidence; it strengthens his position. A tie with a nobleman always appears valuable. On the other hand, so long as economic necessity is not coercive and the personality of the large landowner does not convince him of his special personal qualities, there is no reason for the kampong man to work for this wealthy stranger. In principle, this stranger is regarded as an equal with whom one can therefore

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the karaëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng.
[582] Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
156 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the
178 present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis
[648] figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to
571 himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
634 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to maintain himself in his function.

/113 cont./
Slaves (ata)

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Matthes translates the term ata by "slave," "servant," "subject." This translation is still correct, even today. When the Prince of Goa speaks of his ata, it must be determined from the context whether he means by that his slaves, his followers, or his subjects, or possibly even his noble confederates. If someone refers to himself as ata in relation to the Prince, this is a self-abasement which -- especially if an important person is involved -- /114/ frequently amounts to an excessive elevation of the Prince and thus, at the same time, of the speaker himself.

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It is as difficult to translate the concept ata with a single term as it is to describe someone's social status in fixed, known terms. A translation is only possible if the relationship of the speaker to the one whose ata he considers himself to be is clear. Ata indicates a relationship. A resident of kampong Pakatto who calls himself an ata (subject) of the Prince of Goa turns out to own an ata (slave) himself.

Insofar as the term ata is translated by "slave," it appears that slaves belong to the highest social class. Friedericy reports that they were generally despised, but that court slaves occupied a privileged position compared to ordinary people (1). It seems that slaves cannot be placed in a fixed

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1. H. J. Friedericy,
Dissertation, p. 551.

social hierarchy. They do not form an integrated group, either. Each slave has individual ties with his master. Their position can merely be indicated by the relationship to their master.

The position of slaves in Makassarese-Buginese country does not give rise to strong sentiments. "Even

567 /114 cont./ though slaves were despised, insofar as I was able to find out, the treatment which they received cannot have been bad, " writes Friedericy (1). According to Friedericy,

1. Ibid.

around 1905 slaves displayed the following chief characteristics:

1. Slaves were made by kidnapping (in time of war), through purchase, and through judicial sentences.
2. Slaves were regarded as persons without rights.
3. Slaves had a special sunrang lower than that of other people.
4. For slaves, ties with their master, not those with their kinsmen, were of prime importance.

With respect to these points, an investigation into present-day conditions prevailing among this group yielded the following results:

178 567 1. Kidnapping, trade in human beings, and sentencing to slavery through judicial sentence have been officially forbidden since around 1905. These practices may have continued during the first few years after that date, but soon after they no longer /115/ took place (1). Consequently, no new slaves

1. This refers to the area of the self-governments, which did not come under the direct influence of the government until 1905. Only then could the "abolition of slavery" be carried out effectively there.

were added.

2. At present there are no people left who are regarded to be without personal rights before the judge. If there are, for instance, people who have no land of their own, it is never

178 /115 cont./ stated that they may not possess land, but only
567 that they do not need it because they are already being taken care of. Everyone knows that these people are free to move elsewhere to live and purchase or clear land. In several judicial proceedings it appeared that lower people were able to assert their rights against higher people.

178 3. In the above-mentioned regulation issued by the Prince
567 of Goa, which set the amount of the sunrang for different ranks
583 and classes in his realm, the sunrang for "the Prince's slaves" was fixed at 12 reals. No mention is made of other slaves. In the marriage register of the adat community of Borongloë, this sunrang for slaves was registered twice during the period from 1940 to 1949. However, they were not slaves of the Prince of Goa but slaves belonging to the adat community head and to a member of one of the prominent groups of relatives in kampong Pakatto, for whom the royal slaves' sunrang was entered.

4. Of a number of persons it may be said that they live with, and work for, their master. They have no land of their own. Their group of relatives comprises only a few families and is neither integrated nor traditional. They take part in the worship community of their master.

With these data before us, it is idle to debate whether someone is a slave or not, for example, because his parents were "slaves," and because a sunrang of 12 reals was paid for his marriage, but who, after all, is free to go wherever he likes, and has set up a trade in Macassar. While in his kampong he is still regarded as a hereditary slave because of his origin; in Macassar he is considered a clever tradesman.

178 The number of those who are regarded as slaves in their
567 own kampong is diminishing. No new slaves are being added to this number; rather it is decreasing. In some cases this process even came about /116/ through an official declaration of emancipation (sura' maradeka) issued by the master. This happened as late as 1939 in Mandar (1). In the majority of

178 /116 cont./ 1. Legally, of course, such a declaration of emancipation has not the slightest significance since the official emancipation of all slaves by the government.
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cases, however, the emancipation was brought about by the fact that children of slaves moved to other regions and there obtained the same opportunities as other independent individuals in their striving to rise. A family can be said to be still regarded as slaves in the kampong only if it is generally known that the respective parents were slaves, that at their marriage the slaves' sunrang was paid, and that this marriage was entirely regulated and provided for by the master, and if this couple has then continued to live in the same kampong, does not own any land there but works the land of the master, and further performs the customary tasks for him.

Put in general terms, this implies that in Borongloë, at
[582] present, contempt is expressed only when marriage possibilities are discussed. Then it appears that ordinary people (tau samara') prefer not to enter into marriage ties with such people. Their marrying chances -- and this applies particularly to the young men -- are limited. Further, I noticed a certain contempt only when, as an investigator, I made inquiries concerning their official position. The work that the slaves perform is the same as the work performed by many others who are regarded as followers.

114 In 1883, Kooreman did not mention slaves in his definition
567 of the concept of followers. For him, slaves form a group apart. Friedericy (2) in his analysis of Makassarese-Buginese

2. See Friedericy, idem., p. 582.

114 /116 cont./ society declares that the class of slaves is "really
567 secondary" and that it had "no appreciable task in the life of the society." Consequently, he eliminates slaves from his further discussion. From his data, however, it must be con-
565 cluded that slaves stood in a special relationship to the karaëng
567 and that in Goa they had no other ties among each other than the awareness that they all belonged to members of one and the same related group. The above-mentioned sunrang regulation in which the Prince establishes a special sunrang only for his
554 slaves favors this point. To mention another example in
567 support of this interpretation, the adat community head of
634 Borongloë does not speak to a karaëng about his ata, but about /117/ his people (taunna), because speaking of his ata would be an expression of haughtiness. In so doing he would place himself on a level with a karaëng and thereby make himself ridiculous. Toward his subjects he does speak of his ata, but even then he does so much less openly than the Prince (1).

[641]

1. In 1949 slaves in Borongloë had the active right to vote. In point of fact they participated in the election. Before the war I made no inquiries into this matter. On page 552 of his dissertation (1933), Friedericy reports that slaves were barred from the right to vote with respect to the heads placed over them. Here he is referring to the slaves belonging to the karaëng.

178 It seems that the possession of slaves is something that be-
565 longs to the karaëng group like a certain ritual or a certain
567 color, and that it is something which has been successively

178 /117 cont./ taken over by lower groups, like so many other
565 cultural elements belonging to the highest group. In this case,
567 the possession of slaves was not prohibited by this highest group to the lower ones, but at the same time it was not simply permitted, either. This explains why, in his first conversations with the investigator, the adat community head claimed the number of his ata to be very large. At the same time it explains why, when the ata question was repeatedly brought up, he later remarked that it was a little silly to talk so much about his ata.

Most of the external characteristics that distinguished slaves during Kooreman's, and perhaps still in Friedericy's, time have disappeared. A single characteristic to be found with only a few individuals today is still reminiscent of a complex which half a century ago occupied a much more important place in the culture.

Loyalty Oath

521 Whenever Makassarese men between fifteen and thirty-five years of age -- referring to those I have in mind -- are together, it is a part of etiquette to tell tales which give to the observer an impression of boasting and exaggeration. Successes with women (always unrecognizably indicated in the vaguest terms), successes gained in a fight, or a victory in a verbal battle, they like to elaborate on all these. A valiant deed or a regal gesture is not kept quiet. In describing a feast, the number of buffaloes slaughtered for the occasion, the number of guests present, and the length of the festival are always made to appear as great as possible. Earlier festivals, in these stories, invariably surpass /118/ those of present times in all respects. The size of the speaker's own group of relatives in the past is clearly represented in this manner to those now alive, and thus also to the younger men, who are always among the audience.

537 /118 cont./ This boastful tone also comes to the fore in
643 the loyalty oath (aru) made to the prince by lower chieftains or prominent followers at the inauguration of a new prince or at other very important happenings such as war. It is a combination of expressions of the greatest self-glorification and words expressing the most abject subjection to the superior. It is the same kind of self-abasement which in the end is nothing but a self-elevation, as has already been noted in cases where men of standing call themselves the slaves of the prince.

This oath is uttered with a drawn kris and amidst signs of the strongest emotion. Sentence after sentence is shouted rather than spoken. The oath following here belongs to the former adat community head of Borongloë. Among other occasions, he uttered it at the inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1937. The recording of the text took place in 1948 (1).

[114]

1. This translation has already appeared in the monthly magazine Oriëntatie for February, 1949. A number of improvements were made in it. The original text became mutilated and could therefore not be reprinted here.

537 Listen to me,
539 the most miserable servant of God,
643 the least among the warriors of the Prophet.
Where there is nobody, there am I
and where there is somebody, there am I
as his twin brother.
I am the man of the women,
the lover of the girls,
the man who is unshakably faithful to the adat,
who holds fast to the adat,

537 /118 cont./
539 who stands firmly for the truth.
643 I am always at work,
like a pack saddle that is never taken off,
like a saddle strap that is never loosened.
I am strong as a crupper which never tears, /119/
as a needle which never breaks,
as a hide that never yells when it is beaten.
Whether it is heavy or light,
I carry all.
If I am sent far away,
then nobody needs to help me at my task;
then one only needs to listen
to the report that I bring back.
For I am as a dove that does not
have to be lured but that comes by itself.
If I get work to perform close by,
then I need no help with it;
then one only needs to look on at my work.
For I am as a cock that does not need to be called,
but that comes of its own accord.
Even if there is but one single piece of rattan from a rattan mat,
even if there is but one single string of lontar,
if the Royal Council should sit on it, I will sit on it.
Even if rain and wind beat against me,
even if the whirlwind turns me around,
I am not afraid,
so long as I find protection with the Royal Council.
I am a descendant of people who persevere;
I am a descendant of people who do not fear death;
I am the most reliable of all confidants;
I am the best of all followers;
I am the most valiant man of Goa,
the hero of Borongloë.
Listen to the Berang River,
the never-breaking anchor cord of Goa.

537 /119 cont./
539 Listen to the mountain, the Bawakaraëng,
643 the never-loosening anchor,
such am I, too,
and only he who can be trusted in this way,
can truly be trusted.
If the Royal Council removes to the west,
then I will also go to the west;
if it removes to the east,
I will also go to the east. /120/
But if the Royal Council resides
with you, my Prince, in the ancestral gathering hall, then I
will remain below (1).

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1. That is to say, I will not take part in the conference; I follow. Makassarese dwellings are built on posts. If the prince confers with his Royal Council, the lower people wait under the house and listen in.

Opposition

571 Fairchild's definition of the concept "opposition" gives a good picture of conditions in South Celebes. He defines it by: "resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent" (2) /cited in English/. This term will be used here.

2. H.P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, New York, 1944.

571 /120 cont./ Opposition is inherent in the relations of men among each other. In the family the relation between father [593] and son -- and to a lesser extent that between brothers -- is strongly formalized. As a result, opposition within the family is greatly reduced in force.

Opposition is observable between relatives and especially between the prominent members of one group of relatives.

554 The relation between a high and a low and, likewise, 561 between an old and a young man, is also formalized. To con- 571 tradict a higher or an older man is prohibited. To speak in his presence soon becomes a sign of discourtesy. The manner in which these social relations are conducted makes a stiff impression.

571 Opposition is further observable between groups of relatives. Where there is an ornament, the worship communities are in opposition to each other. There is opposition between kampongs, between adat communities, and among the wealthy.

Within all these groupings, there are always latent oppositions present. They are merely not always noticeable.

571 Worship communities consequently do not always conduct 643 themselves as a unit (3). The opposition can frequently be [794]

3. A realm, that is to say, a local administrative and political unit, and the worship community around the ornament belonging to the prince of that realm, coincide to a great extent.

traced back to the family of the prince, for instance, if the individual who has been appointed prince on the basis of his descent, does not, at the same time, possess the personal /121/ qualities necessary for the effective exercise of his office.

643 669 /121 cont./ The prince is regarded as the person of purest blood and as the possessor, to the highest degree, of the personal qualities which the Makassarese expect from a leader. If a prince satisfies both these requirements, he would seem to be in a position to conduct a policy directed at increasing his territory and the number of his subjects.

If a prince does not satisfy these requirements, there frequently occurs a schism within the realm which begins in the royal family. The conflict between the person who formally is the rightful heir because he is the oldest son or because he is considered to be of the purest blood and, on the other hand, the person who possesses the best personal qualities is frequently already present at a succession to the throne. Such a schism constitutes a threat to the prince. The power that his kingdom can exert outwardly remains small. For in that case, his efforts are still merely directed at maintaining his position within his realm. A classic example of this is the fraternal war in Sidenreng in 1831 and the succeeding years.

Eerdmans (1) clearly indicates the reasons that led to the

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1. The quotation which follows here is taken from an important unpublished note concerning the history of the government of Celebes and the dependencies from the pen of the retired Assistant Resident, A. L. A. F. Eerdmans, who died shortly before the Japanese invasion. Other quotations from the same note, following below, will be indicated by "Eerdmans." It is hoped, that it will still be possible to publish the part of this work that was spared

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/121 cont./ in the war. Publication of the work had been decided upon before the war, but had not been carried out.

battle: "From the preceding it appears that La Pawawooi Mohamad Ali, Prince of Sidenreng, a very old man, had always faithfully upheld Dutch interests and had performed many and important services for the government. When his son, Petta Tjambange, married the Wadjo princess, Mapalakae Aroe Maenge, it was decreed that the son that might be born from this marriage would be successor to the throne of Sidenreng.

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"From this union was born La Patongai, Datoe Lampoele, who accordingly was presented to the administration at Macassar as successor to the throne, and recognized by decree. Datoe Lampoele, however, was a restless, adventurous person, whose actions and conduct caused offense in many respects. Moreover, he was greatly attached to Bone. /122/ One thing and another led to the fact that his grandfather, the old Prince of Sidenreng, became more and more estranged from him. The latter developed an increasing affection for a son of Petta Tjambange from a second marriage to We Nomba Daroe /sic/ Pamana, called the La Pangorisang, whom he decided upon as successor to the throne. Datoe Lampoele did not want to relinquish his claims to Sidenreng's throne and began to court the support of the Princess and prominent persons inside and outside of Sidenreng even during the final years of Mohamad Ali's life. Furthermore, he was able to count definitely upon the support of his father-in-law, Datoe Mario-ri-awa, and a number of prominent people from Wadjo and Bone. On the other hand, La Pangorisang had many followers of his cause among the great of Sidenreng, the Wadjo kinsmen of his mother, Datoe Pamana. Furthermore, he received support from the Prince of Barroe (Topatarai Soemagaroeka), his later father-in-law, as well as from the Princess of Sawitto and Rappang.

175 /122 cont./ When the old Prince of Sidenreng died on
643 November 7, 1831, and La Pangorisang made his appearance
669 as the new prince, a fraternal war soon broke out" (1). And

1. Eerdmans, pp. 515-516.

later:

"Through our intervention, La Pangorisang had been reinstated in 1835 in the districts taken away from him during the war. He had been reconciled with Datoe Lampoele, who was permitted to settle in Sidenreng. Quietly, however, he hoped for help from Bone in order to attain his goal sooner or later: Sidenreng's throne. Consequently, Sidenreng remained divided into two parties hostile to each other" (2).

2. Eerdmans, p. 520.

Signs of opposition are to be found on each level in a
662 multiplicity of forms. The system of followers strengthens
557 the position of the combatants. The striving is directed at
571 beating a superior with the help of as many inferiors by way of followers and as many equals by way of confederates as possible. One tries constantly to become the highest among one's equals. A certain unity of territory is always maintained in the struggle; opponents and allies are found by preference among one's neighbors. In this way, the entire Makassarese-Buginese country, each kingdom, each adat community, each kampong, and even each group of relatives, as well as each family with more than one man, is potentially a theatre of battle.

/123/ In each of these groupings, several individuals strive for more power within the territorially limited opportunities existing for them. In so doing, they are always faced with the competitive efforts of their equals among each other. For if someone, in a certain situation, believes that

662 /123 cont./ he can better serve goals for himself, his kin
557 group, and possibly for his country, by not keeping to a cer-
571 tain agreement, he withdraws. One cannot count upon loyalty between equals with respect to the agreements made among them. Loyalty unto death is to be found only between high and low (1).

> 1. Here, too, there are limits. Personal loyalty of a lower toward a higher person is held in esteem. But loyalty on the part of a related group of lower people toward a higher /group/ lasts as long as the former know themselves to be dependent upon the latter, and so long as they do not have a more powerful higher /group/ to which they can turn for help and protection.

Now, if we look a little more closely at a number of opposition phenomena on various levels, it appears that a general direction can be pointed out in spite of confusing differences.

622 The kapalakampong strives to keep his kapalaship for
554 himself and his kinsmen, for the person who has authority over a non-kinsman is higher than that non-kinsman.
602 Furthermore, his kinsmen, at least those within his kampong territory, share in the higher standing which he possesses in this way. With respect to the members of his own group of relatives and with respect to that of other groups residing in his territory, the position of the kapala is different. In his own group he belongs to the prominent men. In that capacity

554 /123 cont./ he hears everything that goes on. In his turn he
602 derives from his kapalaship the standing necessary to exert
622 influence within his group.

With the members of the other groups, his influence in
622 many cases extends only so far as is necessary to carry out the
[607] tasks enjoined on him by officials of the Inland Administration via the Self-government and adat community heads. This, therefore, frequently concerns administrative matters, but in view of the fact that administration and the exercise of actual power are not separated here, his influence is very great. For the residents of the kampong territory, the kapala is the man to whom they must pay their taxes. He is the one who regulates community labor, with whom the request for the clearing of a new plot of land must be registered in the first instance, from whom an aspirant kampong /124/ resident must request permission to settle, to whom guests staying overnight must be reported, and so on.

He must be known therefore in all such daily matters. He is the link between the residents of his kampong and the adat community head. Accordingly, it is important for all kampong residents to be on friendly terms with him. His influence soon ceases with non-kinsmen. He does not enter into affairs which are important to them as kinsmen. If he makes an attempt to extend his influence further, opposition arises. The opposition between the various group of relatives in one and the same kampong territory finds expression, among other things, in the exercise of the function of gurukampong.

793 The gurukampong is the lowest religious official in the hierarchy in which the kali stands at the top for the entire realm and in which the imam is subordinated to the kali for affairs inside the adat community. In his turn, the gurukampong is again subordinated to the imam for matters concerning the residents of his kampong. His task is to make the imam acquainted with births and deaths, marriages, and cases of people who want to get a divorce. He lends a hand at a birth,

793 /124 cont./ burial, and grave visits insofar as Moslem ritual must take place there.

602 793 The gurukampong therefore deals directly with the intimate kin-group life, and for that reason people prefer a kinsman to fulfill his function. A group of kinsmen living together in one kampong territory, in addition to the Kapala group, consequently has its own guru (1). In one kampong territory one finds,

> 1. In Bontoramba, the Mangenre group (18 houses) has its own guru. A number of other Buginese residing there are also helped by this man. The others, Makassarese, in cases when they require it, ask for help from the guru of the Kapala group.

therefore, in many cases one or even two gurus working for their own kin groups, in addition to the actual gurukampong. They try to enter into direct contact with the imam. This provides them with an independent position toward the guru of the Kapala group. [622] Sometimes (as in Bontoramba) the kapala permits this. The guru of the Kapala group must then content himself with that. But the kapala and his guru, as well as the imam, can oppose this attempt.

621 622 666 /125/ Where the Kapala group is not the only one in the kampong but by far and away the largest, a struggle can frequently be observed, even though it has not yet assumed any distinct form. Wherever two almost equally large groups live next to each other in a single territory, the struggle comes more clearly to the fore. An example of this is to be found at the election of a new kapala. Election takes place, according to the election regulation of 1927, by the majority of votes of the able-bodied men. The struggle is conducted, on the one hand, through attempts to attach the kampong residents who do not belong to either of the two competing groups of relatives to one's side, and, on the other hand, by strengthening the tie with the adat community head; or, if this is possible,

621 /125 cont./ by interesting a member of the high nobility in
622 the case. Their help is of importance because (although this
66L is not based upon the election regulation) sometimes they declare the ballot invalid, or else report afterward that only a test ballot had been held, in case the result did not agree with their wishes (1).

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1. The 1927 regulation of the election of headmen is therefore not applied as was intended by the European administration which introduced it. Majority of votes is, according to Makassarese feelings, not sufficient in itself to capture the kapalaship. To this end, the consent of their own head is also required. This regulation, therefore, does not preclude arbitrary actions on the part of the higher people, but it does limit them.

622 The kapala can strengthen his position by establishing
662 a link with other kapala. The proved means of doing this is
634 to contract a marriage. But this action would immediately result in a power formation within the adat community, which the adat community head does not like to see. To an even greater degree this is the case if a kapala were to seek contact with a neighboring adat community head. Such an act would suggest a certain enmity toward the kapala's own /adat community/ head, for it is an immediate threat of defection from
177 his own head to the neighboring head. Insofar as is known,
634 the latter situation rarely occurred, because after 1905 these
648 defections were no longer left to the free interplay of

177 /125 cont./ Makassarese forces, but had to be approved by
634 the officials of the Inland Administration. This administration
648 in practice only rarely permitted boundary alterations. It preferred to hold fast to the boundaries fixed in the years after 1905.

622 The kapala can also seek to establish contact with the kin
662 group of the /126/ adat community head. A marriage between members of the two groups of relatives seems to be possible (1).

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1. In this connection one can remark that it is always a man from the adat community head's group who marries a girl of the kapala group. Some difference in standing is always considered to exist between adat community head and kampong head, and therefore between their groups of relatives. Through the marriage, the implication is avoided that a man is marrying a woman from a group of relatives with higher standing than his own. A cousin (samposikali) of the adat community head was thus joined in marriage with a daughter of the kapala of Bontoramba.

622 In the succession to the kapalaship, a clear preference for the son, at least for a close

622 /126 cont./ kinsman of the previous kapala, is demonstrable. In 7 of the 14 kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë, the kapala changed between 1939 and 1949. Three of these were succeeded by a son, one by a son-in-law, one by a younger cousin, and two by someone from another group of relatives. In the first of these cases, the old kapala was a Sajid /Sayid?/, a stranger who was forced to leave the kampong and the adat community because of woman trouble. In the last case, the new kapala was a distant kinsman of the adat community head. This man had sailed across many seas as a KPM sailor. He possessed a quiet influence over people and was elected without much opposition.

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622 602 662 It seems, therefore, that the kapala and the prominent members of his group of relatives strive to maintain themselves in their own kampong territory, to strengthen their own position if possible, and to raise their own standing outside the region by establishing ties with equal or slightly higher groups.

634 602 662 The adat community head conducts a policy which inside his region is, in the first place, directed at making his own group of relatives into as strong a unit as possible, and, in the second place, to strengthen as much as possible his influence in the kampong where he has no kinsmen living. The latter is done by establishing a marriage tie, or by trying to have a

602 /123 cont./ kinsman or a trusted follower named as kampong
634 head. Thus, at an election for a kapala, the brother of the
662 adat community head was set up as a candidate against a member of the leading group of relatives residing there. This
[666] brother obtained a number of votes from members of the Rest group living there, but nevertheless lost the election. Only after the first ballot had been declared a test ballot, and the second produced the same result, did the adat community head give in.

634 The adat community head counteracts the formation of
661 power centers in his region. He looks with disfavor upon marriage connections between the closest kinsmen /127/ of his various Kapala, unless it is he himself who brings about such a marriage. Furthermore, he knows that an ornament which is in the hands of one of the Kapala groups always signifies a potential threat to him.

Insofar as he is concerned with affairs outside the adat
634 community, the adat community head generally endeavors
661 to establish ties either with his fellow adat community heads
643 or with his prince and his kinsmen. The prince looks with disfavor upon the former practice for it threatens to create a direct power center within his realm. He would be even more averse to a tie between one of his adat community heads and a neighboring prince. Although this need not be expected from the heads of the adat communities lying close around the center of Goa, in the marginal, mountainous regions
634 the situation is different. There it has happened that a local
643 head defected from his prince in order to follow another (1).
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1. "Although the mountain Makassarese continued for a long time to resist a union with the maritime Makassarese, and in 1817 under Aroe Mampoe submitted to the new Prince of Goa,

634 /127 cont./ Karaeng Lembangparang,
643 Aroe Bakara had neverthe-
652 less obtained some following among them. This following grew gradually and made it possible for him to cause the greatest part of the Goa mountain districts to defect from their Prince."
Eerdmans, p. 398.

These heads, living along the frontiers of the realm, frequently did not so much follow the most powerful of their neighbors, but rather the one who permitted them the greatest freedom of action in their territories. After 1905 the boundaries were also fixed in this area.

In the interior the prince tries to create as powerful a unity as possible in his kingdom by working for unity in his own related group in the first place and, furthermore, by extending as much as possible his influence in the adat communities under his jurisdiction.

The Prince of Goa conducted this policy successfully during the years preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War. In a short period of time he succeeded in having one of his kinsmen appointed as adat community head in two of these adat communities.

602 These two former heads' respective groups of relatives
634 went down in standing through this action. After all, they
558 derived this standing in the very first place from the headship, and now they seemed to have been pushed back into the rank
602 of the ordinary groups of relatives. At this moment they
634 merely endeavored /128/ to surround the new adat community
662 head of karaëng blood as much as possible with their own
557 people, so that they could still remain leaders among the

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/128 cont./ other groups of relatives in their adat communities, even though in this position they merely carried out the commands of the karaëng.

The karaëng, on his part, constantly tried to break through this tie which was, as it were, placed on him, by seeking contact with the prominent members of the other groups. The latter saw in this a chance to occupy a prominent position in the adat community through the karaëng, a position which they had not enjoyed previously. On the other hand, they did not dare to place themselves too much in the foreground in relation to the kin groups of the former heads, taking into account what might happen if the Prince's influence, at present penetrating more deeply, should again diminish.

The adat community heads who had remained in power felt themselves threatened by the Prince's political successes. "We are becoming unimportant," said one of them.

648 In a discussion of the relationship of the prince of Goa to his fellow princes, three different points must be kept in mind. First, territorially speaking we go beyond Goa in such a discussion. The entire Makassarese-Buginese region then becomes the field of investigation. Secondly, due to the fact that a number of events that took place at the courts of the princes were more or less regularly recorded during the last few centuries, we are able to use a number of historical data in this discussion which are unknown to the adat community heads and kampong heads. Thirdly, we must first indicate the position of the Netherlands East India Company and later the Government of the Dutch East Indies with respect to this opposition, which was ultimately intended to capture the hegemony of South Celebes.

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If we look at what Eerdmans reports about this, we get the impression that the conduct of the Netherlands East India Company repeatedly brought about a reversal in the power relations existing at that moment, but that this did not produce any alteration in the manner in which the princes

175 648 /128 cont./ conducted their policies. The princes saw in the Netherlands East India Company and, later, in the Government of the Dutch East Indies not the ruler who had to be driven out by the concentration of all forces /129/, but a new power center, which they drew upon in their mutual oppositions and which they utilized to realize their political aims.

The N.E.I. Company was attacked whenever its position was regarded as weak. As soon as the number of troops in Macassar was decreased, or a squadron had again departed from the Macassar roadstead, the tone of the opponent's letters changed (1). The N.E.I. Company was repeatedly defeated

1. E.g., in the conflict between the Queen of Bone, Bataritodja, and Governor Smout, around 1730. "The impudent conduct of Bataritodja was primarily caused by the decrease of our troop strength at Macassar. There was urgent need for military reinforcements on Java"; see Eerdmans, p. 291.

[183] but never destroyed. That fits in with the Makassarese habit of thought. It is regarded as sufficient if the defeated opponent is the weaker one in the ensuing discussions. Whenever the N.E.I. Company was attacked, it always found support from those who did not like to see an increase in the attacker's power.

This state of affairs lasted until 1905. At that time the whole of South Celebes was subjected to the authority of the Dutch East Indies Government. It was only then that the boundaries of kingdoms, adat communities, and kampongs were fixed. These boundaries have subsequently been adhered to as much as possible.

175 /129 cont./ It was only then that the government very
177 gradually began to place emphasis upon other personal
643 characteristics of the prince. The qualities which up to that
648 time had been regarded as very important for him by the Makassarese now became less so. On the one hand, the government deprived a forceful personality of the chance to conduct a policy of expansionism, and, on the other hand, it supported a weak personality whenever he was threatened in his dignity by neighbors or kinsmen.

175 Only then did the opposition in the form described by
177 Kooreman disappear, as it existed between the Prince and one
643 of his most prominent relatives who, together with a large
669 number of followers, built up power within the realm without the Prince's interference. In Kooreman's description, this state of affairs seems to be a phenomenon inherent in Makassarese society. At the same time, followers are described as good fighters who have no objection against a sword fight. Lower heads -- and with them all their subjects -- are also to be found among these. The silent endurance of the kampong residents who had to suffer from /130/ this counterforce is explained by pointing to the high blood of their leader whereby only a complaint registered with someone still higher, thus the prince, could have success. This is quite aside from the direct threat which is presented by such a group.

Finally, the prince himself did not act either in numerous similar cases when complaints reached him. Rather than risk a defeat through which he could lose his entire dignity, he tolerated this power within his kingdom. The leader of such a group made his appearance everywhere. As a close kinsman of the prince he also appeared in the palace. No such power groups existed when an active and forceful prince was the ruler, one who could lead his closest kinsmen by his personal qualities and who knew how to direct their energy for conquests outside his own territory. A small local "terror" of an otherwise dedicated follower of the prince was not held too much against him.

175 /130 cont./ In the period after 1905, when complaints
177 registered with the officials of the Inland Administration were
648 acted upon, the leaders of such groups, even those of high
669 nobility, were increasingly restricted in their movements. It became apparent that they were not safe before the administration officials if someone had registered a complaint about them. Very slowly, often unconsciously, the realization must have dawned upon them, that they had to choose between submission to the rules of the new order, which the government upheld, and resistance against this same government.

175 The activities of those who chose resistance became
648 increasingly more distinct from those of the first mentioned.
669 Those who continued to resist were forced to withdraw gradually with their followers into districts beyond easy access until they were finally taken prisoner or killed, after having been forced completely into the defensive and having been labeled bandit chieftain or gang leader. Such was the end of men like daëng Pabarang in the western part of Bone around 1910, and like Tolo (1) in Polombangkeng /131/ in 1915.

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1. "In the second quarter of the year mentioned (1915), the number of robberies increased disquietingly through the appearance of a number of notorious gang leaders in the former province of Goa. Among these leaders there belong Tolo and his dreaded lieutenants, Basareng, Baso Patjiro Daëng Mapata, (constituting part of the Goa royal family) Radjamang,

175 177 579 565 /131 cont./ Djappa, Bakka (the two last mentioned had been armed police servants and instructors in the use of firearms), and Abbassa Daëng Manromo Karaëng Biladji, stepbrother of Goa's previous prince. In a comparatively small region, these persons committed no less than 130 lootings over a period of a few months. The brutalities frequently committed by them in broad daylight were indescribable since they were convinced that, even if they were recognized, nobody would dare betray them. The native heads, including many regents, paid them royal respects, presented them with horses, and organized feasts at their arrival for which buffaloes and horses were slaughtered. In many districts a system of contributions, a tax, was even introduced which safeguarded the payer against inconvenience." Eerdmans, p. 1078.

175 177 They had become figures who no longer fitted into a social system that was based on the ideas of peace and order, legal security, and personal safety, upheld by the government (1).

000 1. Through a series of special

000 /131 cont./ circumstances the appearance of daëng Mangemba became temporarily possible in 1927. For this, see Z(entgraaff), Celebesproblemen, pp. 5 ff.

177 643 602 662 With the disappearance of these figures, however, the opposition within the circle of the prince and his closest relatives did not disappear. After all, this opposition has its basis within the family in the relationship between the brothers. What disappeared was merely the form of opposition described by Kooreman in 1883, a power within the realm under the leadership of a man of high nobility, based upon force directed against the prince.

The opposition itself remained dormant. In the years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War, it emerged principally in a number of questions concerning hereditary succession.

In 1949 it again became apparent, this time in parliamentary form. It appeared that relatives of the various princes and Self-government members had seats in the representative councils which at that time were set up both for the daërah (the South Celebes Council), as well as for a number of kingdoms (among others the Bone Council). Compared to their ruling kinsmen, these men of the nobility are progressive individuals, but in a number of cases their endeavors merely seem aimed at eliminating the ruling prince and at one of them becoming the prince himself. They conduct the traditional South Celebes policy merely under new names and in new forms.

177 648 In November, 1948, the High Hadat (Hadat Tinggi) for the entire region of the daërah of South Celebes was set up. It was intended as an administrative body in which the various princes should have a seat. Unity was thereby created which

177 /132/ corresponded completely to the line of developments.
648 The struggle for the hegemony of South Celebes herewith entered into a subsequent stage.

The princes of Bone and Goa became, respectively, chairman and vice-chairman of this body (1). It is to be expected

1. Concluded as of December, 1949.

that Goa will continue its struggle for the hegemony by endeavoring to capture the chairmanship of the Hadat Tinggi, an attempt that, if Goa should ever succeed in doing so, will subsequently be conducted in the same manner and with the same means by the kingdom which will then occupy the second position of power.

648 The people of South Celebes, and most of all the princes, know that they are part of a larger whole. Each power center situated outside South Celebes which wants to exercise influence in this area is regarded by the princes as a possible aid in attaining their ideal, hegemony. They are constantly striving for a single large kingdom encompassing the whole of South Celebes, where there will be peace. They think that this is possible to attain only for a prince of ideally pure extraction, one who possesses to the highest degree the ideal personal qualities.

Opposition is therefore conducted on the highest imaginable plane -- for South Celebes. The prince who has the leadership of the High Hadat will continue to strive toward the collapse of power of the other realms in order to strengthen his own position as well as that of his group of relatives, and in order to give them a greater durability. The possibility of conducting opposition will, however, always continue to be present with one of the other groups, if only for the reason that no prince can be of ideally pure extraction or can possess the ideal personal qualities.

/132 cont./
Acculturation Phenomena

177 Cultural elements derived from western Europe and based upon the principle of equality cause difficulties when they are introduced into South Celebes. Only a few of these elements will be mentioned briefly to illustrate their conflict with the class structure. The most important of these are the public auction, soccer games /voetbalspel/, and the parliamentary form of government. Here we shall only indicate one aspect of this matter.

For colleagues to consult each other on a basis of equality,
177 /133/ independent of status, cannot be reconciled with the
554 idea that it is impolite to tell a higher person that one does
576 not agree with him. A school inspector is higher than a teacher and so he knows better, such is the train of thought. At a conference convened around 1940 on behalf of the Department of Education, a Makassarese school inspector introduced a topic. The answer to the question whether there was agreement with what had been said consisted merely of a general "jo karaëng" (yes, sir). None of the teachers present dared to voice a different opinion for fear of being regarded as impolite.

The presence of two persons, one higher and one lower, who had been invited for the same meal by a Dutchman, produced various difficulties. The lower person waited until he was addressed before saying anything, and then he merely expressed agreement with what had been said. At most he would repeat the same thing in other words with a tone of assent. He would not take a single dish on his own initiative, but would wait until his host or the higher person pushed one in his direction, and even then he would eat only a few mouthfuls. As a result he had eaten practically nothing, when he rose from the table.

177 554 576 /133 cont./ Even modern Makassarese find these forms of conduct stiff. They make fun of them but are incapable of changing them, and rather than be impolite they leave the table hungry.

177 554 576 437 A public auction in the Makassarese environment is merely a caricature of what the Western jurists who initiated it had in mind. If a higher person bids, lower person does not dare to outbid him. Accordingly, he asks a man of higher status, an equal of the first bidder, who is favorably inclined toward him, to make a bid for him.

177 554 576 622 437 The head of the community concerned does not like to participate in the bidding personally. He runs the chance of being unexpectedly outbid by an ignorant stranger in Makassarese country. This signifies a challenge to him, and he must continue to bid much more than the object is worth to him in order not to suffer a defeat in the eyes of his subjects. And if the competitive bidding is done by a Dutch lady, as might occur in a small administrative settlement, then he is left merely with a laugh about such a "challenge."

177 554 576 626 A soccer game is based upon the equality of the players. But if a karaëng takes part in the game, there can no longer be any question of equality /134/ (1). When the karaëng

1. The fact that, according to a newspaper report from the Netherlands, Prince Bernhard had gained third prize in a steeplechase was regarded as a gross discourtesy on the part of the two winners.

shouted "Run out" (bakkai) to his goalkeeper, the forward of the opposing team who was running toward him interpreted this as a command directed at him; he stopped, and the

177 /134 cont./ goalkeeper of the karaëng's team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaëng had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaëng
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he, and not the karaëng who was the loser in this collision. It is understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
576 showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams, high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive" in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaëng can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

175 /134 cont./ Shortly after the formation of the federated
648 state of East Indonesia, the Makassarese Nadjamuddin daëng
602 Malewa became prime minister. He belonged to a related group of officials living in Macassar and, aside from possessing a particularly keen intelligence and /135/ quick mind, he was endowed with those personal qualities which the Makassarese regard as indispensable for a leading figure.

Each individual with particularly good personal qualities creates a tension in his group of relatives. The tension which the Nadjamuddin aroused was simply of special dimensions.

The unity of this group of relatives was reinforced by the pressure from outside. After the formation of the new federated state, there developed in the ministries at Macassar a silent struggle between the various population groups -- Ambonese, Balinese, Makassarese, Menadonese -- for official positions. Under the pressure of the others, the Makassarese joined forces.

The new premier understandably found no Parliament that was able to comprehend the place ascribed to him in western Europe. The clearly defined rights and obligations, tied as they are in Europe to the ministers, could not be directly communicated here. As a result, the premier again resorted to the ancient Makassarese pattern of government.

Nadjamuddin ruled via his kinsmen and followers, who were active as officials in the ministries. In the Makassarese view, therefore, they constituted at the same time the highest social class.

The idea that this rule would be merely temporary, since, after all, it was dependent upon political conditions, was foreign to them.

The fall of Nadjamuddin as prime minister was conceived by the Makassarese as an impairment of his social standing and therefore also of theirs. The feelings of siri', (1) which came into being through this state of affairs

175 648 602 /135 cont./ 1. See Chapter 3, third part.

led them to turn away from the other population groups. The separatist tendencies of the time, which here assumed a political form, have their basis here.

Expectation of Salvation

668 In South Celebes expectations of salvation display a number of characteristics which in various points agree with the phenomena described above in this chapter. That is the reason for treating them here. The general traits are the following.

[787] A man or a woman prophesies that the days of the existing rule are numbered. All princes, Dutchmen, foreign Easterners /136/ will be killed or go away. Natural disasters and eclipses of the sun are close at hand; taxes will no longer have to be paid, and feudal services will no longer have to be performed (1). The person who makes these forecasts

1. There arose "a commotion because a certain Baso Oewa Taéna, who also called himself Baso Daëng Magassieng, predicted an eclipse of the sun, during which Battara Gowa (Sangkilang) would appear and would marry his daughter to him, Baso. After streams of blood had flowed and all Europeans and foreign Easterners had been removed, a mighty

668 /136 cont./ kingdom would arise, over which he would rule as prince." Eerdmans, p. 1089.

rouses the people, telling them to prepare themselves for
[751] the new era. To this end he offers dijmat /sic; "charms"/ for sale, so that the wearers will be invulnerable and will be able to face the coming disasters safely. He teaches them special si[illegible] which they will be able to recognize each other in [illegible]re and by which they will also be recognizable to him w[illegible]val is foretold and who will make the prophec[illegible]rue. As a result he will also be able to make a di[illegible]tion between them and the rest of the people (2). Sometimes the prophet declares that he himself will

2. "In the wanua /districts/ of Mario riawo and Pettodjo-Soppeng, a certain La Maddidi claims to be the resurrected Petta Barang (Daeng Pabarang) who within a short period of time will take over the rule of the land. All those who at this time already submit to him, that is to say, become his followers, will later not be overwhelmed with misfortune. As followers they receive a symbol (djimat), for which they must pay 2.50 guldens. This will protect them against the time when Petta Barang will become the ruler." (1948). Taken from: Bestuursrapporten /Administrative Reports/, 1949.

G68 /136 cont./ become the prince. He will claim that he is a descendant of a certain well-known historical figure whom he mentions by name, or else that the spirit of a certain deceased person has been reborn within him (3). In each

3. See Z(entgraaff), Celebesproblemen. Reprint of a series of articles from the Soerabaiasch Handelsblad of February 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, and March 2 and 4, 1929, p. 51.

case the named persons are well known as people who successfully fought against a prince or against the government.

There is anticipation of a prince who will rule in a powerful realm where peace will prevail (4). The person

4. "About six months ago, a certain La Djumma, a native of the kampong Barang Barru, spread the rumor that the world would only be peaceful again when Puwang Mallinrunge (Petta Barang) became the ruler, something which would occur not too long from now. All those who were not acquainted with a certain ritual upon the arrival of Petta Barang would be killed. Those who would

668 /136 cont./ want to learn this ritual from him would have to pay him 10.25 guldens."
Taken from:
Bestuursrapporten, 1949.

who makes these forecasts /137/, may be any status or either sex (1), and does not even have to be a Makassarese (2).

1. "In the beginning of 1858, a certain Rantepatola Daeng Matene Karaeng Bontosoengoe and the daughter of the, to us, familiar Aboe Bakara Karaeng Data (son of Sangkilang) and sister of Karaeng Borong, Regent of Tanralili (northern districts) at Bontonompo (Goa), amidst an aura of mystery tried to foretell an imminent great war which was to cost the lives of many people, as well as the arrival of ships on one of which would be Karaeng Data. When she learned that the Prince of Goa was making arrangements to have her arrested, she fled to Kalongkong (Galesong southern districts), where

668/137 cont./ she continued the same performances and prophecies." Eerdmans, pp. 616-617.

2. "In September, 1919, peace was disturbed in the department of Soenggoeminasa for a short period of time by a Chinese, a certain Tjoa Tiong Leng, who also called himself Karaeng Baba and who pretended to be a descendant of Karaeng Data, son of Sangkilang, and therefore tried to get a following as a pseudo-Battara Gowa. Before this following was of any significance, the charlatan and his foremost accomplices were arrested." Eerdmans, p. 1094.

And further: "In November, 1915, the Buginese population of several kampongs in the subdepartment of Kendari were called together by a certain Hadji Abdurachman. This person claimed that he had received the order to call them together from Turkey. He advised the population to keep weapons handy because the

668 /137 cont./ Turkish Government would shortly come to replace Dutch rule, and the 'Companiya' had to be driven out of the land." Eerdmans, p. 1087.

The person who predicts the coming of salvation is the leader of the group, but he frequently lacks the noble blood and just as frequently the personal qualities which the Makassarese otherwise expect in a leader. His followers are those who purchase the djimat and who learn the prescribed ritual. They do not have the feelings of loyalty toward him either which are otherwise customary in a relationship of followers. It therefore seems better not to speak of a followers' relationship in this connection. The only tie which exists is based upon the belief in his prophecies. To proceed against such a group with armed force always brings rapid success. They practically never offer resistance. Actual overthrow of the existing government is not the prime target at which these people aim. If the forecasts are not realized soon, they wait. But once the leader has been imprisoned, the group collapses and the movement fails. [648 643] Such a movement was not only aimed against the government, but also against their own princes, when the Netherlands East Indies Company still occupied a completely unimportant position in Makassarese life. The princes at that time took just as effective countermeasures whenever such a movement was in the offing.

/138/ The expectation of salvation in South Celebes centers on the arrival of one of those strong personalities who in the history of the country played an important role by fighting successfully against the prince ruling at that time or else against Dutch rule. It is hoped that he will now succeed in his former striving, and that he will be able to drive out

668 /138 cont./ the present-day rulers, only to become the prince himself in place of those who have been driven out.

181 The ideal of Makassarese-Buginese culture which is unconsciously present in people's thinking could be described
182 as a large kingdom comprising the whole of South Celebes
668 where peace prevails under a powerful and good prince. This formulation is based upon the striving, inherent in every bilateral related group, for expansion and steadily continuing inclusion of all surrounding groups until as large a grouping as possible has been attained, whose limits for the present are those of South Celebes.

182 We mentioned earlier a strong horizontal mobility which can be explained by a conflict in personality structure
565 and at the same time by a great insecurity about the
154 individual's standing which has its source in the absence of a clearly delineated vertical articulation. Unrest and insecurity are therefore always present, even in times of peace and order.

154 The established ideal is unattainable, but the individuals content themselves with this so long as they have the
181 opportunity to continue striving for this ideal in the "ordinary"
182 ways present in the culture. But as soon as this possibility
668 no longer exists in their opinion, and when the individual, perhaps unconsciously, believes that he is unequal to the circumstances, then the otherwise usual tension between ideal and reality becomes too great. The individual then seeks to attain his ideal in an extraordinary manner, which almost every culture provides.

The expectation of salvation is a hypertension phenomenon. It is an attempt to actualize in a short period of time the distant ideal which for a number of individuals had become too unattainable, whatever the reasons for this may have been.

/139/

Chapter III

Sex

593 In the chapter concerning kinship, the relationships of the members of the family among each other were treated separately. The relationship of brother to sister occupied a special place in this connection.

Their separation implies that their interests lie in different areas, that is to say, that both their activities as well as the places where they reside are different. These differences also form the pattern for the relationship between men and women in general.

562 The vertical tendency described in the previous chapter demands of the men that they be in a constant relation of opposition to other men. The violent actions and responses [831] that are expected of them go hand in hand with ideas about great sexual potency, which is ascribed to them. The high [157] demands made of men coincide with anxieties about not being able to fulfill these demands. A sense of inadequacy can be observed repeatedly.

157 In the first part of this chapter, modes of conduct, 562 attitudes, and personality norms of the two sexes will be described. After that, a number of inadequacy phenomena will be discussed. Prostitution as an expression of maladjustment on the part of women, and polygamy as an actualization of the vertical tendency by a man with exceptional personal qualities, will be briefly mentioned at the end.

581 In the previous chapter we referred to the central position which marriage occupies in Makassarese society. In the choice of marriage partners, the older people apply standards of selection based upon kinship, status, and personal qualities. They intend to bring about a normal sexual union between man and wife. The description of the marriage

581 /139 cont./ feast, in which this purpose finds expression, and the difficulties which crop up on this occasion are the topic of the second part.

558 /140/ As a companion phenomenon, the vertical
562 tendency includes the sense of siri', that is, the sense of going down in social standing in relation to someone else. The fact that a woman must not go down in standing means that the slightest impairment of her social standing arouses the most violent reactions. There are various ways of escaping such a reaction. Marriage by flight is an example. It will be discussed extensively, among other things, in the third part of this chapter because it forms a spectacular phenomenon in Makassarese society, one that constantly leads to difficulties in the practice of administration and jurisdiction.

First Part

852 Immediately at birth a difference is made in the ritual between a boy and a girl. The parappo, the essence of the offering to be presented, differs with respect to the number of betel leaves of which it consists, depending on whether it is intended for a boy (6) or for a girl (7). Children play
857 together up to the age of eight to ten years. Informants
855 said that girls were always treated more gently than boys, for instance, that they were not beaten.

Not until the age of six years, so far as I was able to
857 observe, were little boys taught that they are not allowed
867 other things than girls /sic/. Boys of that age accompany their father to the pasar; girls stay at home. Boys are sent away when young girls (tau lolo) are getting dressed and making themselves up. When little girls are naughty, they are threatened with: "I'll make you sit with the boys." Boys are not threatened with having to sit with the girls. They would find it momentarily unpleasant, so I was told, but they are freer in their movements and would therefore

857/140 cont./ be able to run away again more easily. Little
867 boys are allowed to be somewhat rowdy and boisterous during a festival, but girls are forbidden such behavior: "Are you
[262] a boy?" an older girl then snaps at her. Little girls may not eat a certain kind of fish so that later, when they are grown up, they will not become man-crazy. At various festivities
[777] they receive "pitjuru," luck-bringing /141/ charms so that when they are grown up they will marry and have many children. The sexes are sometimes separated as early as the
[871] age of seven to eight years when children go to the religious instructor (guru ngadji), where they learn to recite the Koran. Then the girls receive instruction from the guru's wife in the back of the house.

One of the first frustrations of children after weaning
593 is caused by adult men, especially the father. When a man
867 enters the house, women and children withdraw to the back part of the house. When there are guests, care is taken that the children make no noise. When an important man is in the house, this rule applies even more strictly. Little children who then make noise are threatened with: "He is angry at you." An old woman repeated to a three-year-old who quietly sat next to her, "He sees you, he is looking at you." The importance of the situation was imparted in this fashion; and a certain fear as well as a certain veneration for the superior found expression in this way.

867 The difference in /social/ level between children is
554 revealed partly by what is less tolerated in one than in another. When a karaëng comes for a visit to the house of the adat community head, his little son may run around and perhaps even sit down behind his father, but the children of kinsmen and servants remain in the back rooms, and the women take care that they are quiet.

864 A little girl learns from early childhood that it is not good to show herself naked: "Where is your sarong?" she is asked. This applies to boys only one to two years later.

864 /141 cont./ Not until he is circumcised, at the age of seven to eight years, will a boy always wear a pair of pants under [304 his sarong. Adult men bathe in the nude, but in so doing 852] cover their genitals with the hand. Women keep their sarong on when they bathe. One of the first things that a Makassarese woman observed with surprise on Java was the fact that there the women bathe naked in the river. A girl always appears before her mother with her sarong. Young girls do tease each other at the well, "almost," when a sarong almost slips down. But if the sarong had really slipped off, the other would have denied this and would not have [576] spoken about it any further. This is how a girl knows her friends. Only those who do not like her would talk about it to others and make her ashamed (siri').

857 Children play "marriage." They put on rags and cloths. /142/ One of them is the bride's mother and helps the others, and they make sand cakes. The children may begin to quarrel and the matter often ends by a girl getting a shove or a blow which hurts so that she cries and runs away angrily. Sexual activities were definitely not observed. When an almost three-year-old boy was asked: "Why don't you play bridegroom" (buntimmako), he closed his eyes and stood motionless. The picture of the bridegroom, but above all, that of the bride, who, dressed in her most beautiful clothes, remains seated motionless for hours on end with cast-down eyes, had made the strongest impression on this three-year-old.

857 Boys and girls tend to play together up to the age of eight 858 to ten years so long as it works out. Up to that age girls 867 are also allowed to run around freely in the yard. But even before the appearance of puberty the separation is intensified. Boys learn that they must sit still and be quiet when the old 858 men speak. "After all, you are no longer a little child," 867 they are told. Around the same time, thus long before the

858 /142 cont./ first menstruation, the girls are "caged"
867 (nikappara'); the separation from the other sex is thereby completed. From now on she is also subject to the many restrictions in social relations which obtain between men and women in general and between unmarried men and women in particular. "She is already staying at home" (ammantammi ri balla') is an indication of the age of a girl when she is around ten years old. At this time she enters
[291] the group of women, where she belongs to the young girls (tau lolo), who are also called "the red jackets" (badju' edja), after the conspicuous red jacket of slightly transparent material which they wear.

867 She learns that she must withdraw at the arrival of male visitors, that she may not be conspicuous, and that she must lower her voice. The girl who enters the front room (kale balla') even though there are guests is told off with a disapproving "she dares." A girl who talked loudly was angrily asked: "Who do you want to hear your voice?" If
[864] a girl shows her desire for a man by being conspicuous and by talking loudly, she is considered late (man-crazy), one of the most undesirable qualities in a girl.

857 A young girl only leaves the house in the company
867 of older women. Little excursions are holidays for her. She dresses carefully for these occasions; she makes herself up, blackens her eyebrows and the hairline on her forehead,
855 /143/ and powders her face. The older women guard and protect her. In their presence a young girl is safe. If she is alone at home or in the yard and a man enters the yard accidentally, a dangerous situation is created because this encounter, regardless of the intention of both parties, is
[626] considered a breach of established forms of social intercourse. If a neighbor woman were to see and talk about it, so that the girl's brother hears of it, the latter would feel siri' and act accordingly.

858 /143 cont. / Boys seem to go through a difficult period
867 at the age of approximately eleven to fourteen years. Before that, despite small differences from the girls, they were considered to be children, and as such they quite naturally stayed in the women's rooms. But around the age of ten to eleven, the older women make it plain to them that they
561 no longer belong there. Compared to women, however, men
562 have less unity. For them the difference in age plays a much more important role. It prevents the smooth interaction between older and younger men, because the older expect
561 obedience and a certain respect from the younger. The young
855 boys therefore find no unity in the group of men which makes them feel at home. At the same time they do not possess
858 the sexual maturity to participate in the boasting conversations about conquests and sexual achievements that are customary in the circle of young men. They are physically not yet strong enough to participate in brawls and great work schemes, and therefore they cannot talk about their exploits. They do not count among the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds. At the same time these twelve-year-old boys have not yet had much opportunity to associate with each other. So they first look for their age mates. They roam around, they are little noticed, and they don't feel at home anywhere.

Division of Labor

462 The domain of the women is house and yard. There they cook, wash, weave, and take care of the children. They leave the house only to pay visits or to run over to neighbors, who are also the closest kinsmen. When male visitors arrive they withdraw into the back part of the house. There is the kitchen; there they have their own separate
462 entrance. One could regard the women as a group whose
476 members /144/ help each other with daily household problems,

462 /144 cont./ whose older members supervise the younger
476 ones, and at the same time protect and lead them. This group forms a unit with respect to the group of men, but it does not act jointly otherwise.

462 The activities of women tie them to house and yard. Among their tasks are pounding rice, preparation of daily meals, festive meals, and offerings. Furthermore, they are charged with the spinning of yarn, weaving of sarongs, laundering and maintenance of clothes, and the care of small children. Except at harvest time women do not work in the sawahs (1).

[243]

1. A poor district, such as the vicinity of Takalar where plantings frequently have to be done several times because the first attempts fail, constitutes an exception. There the women help with planting.

[443] Older women who need a job on the side, sell home-made cookies at pasars and festivals. Sometimes they keep a small coffee warong /shop/.

177 At the present time a comparatively large number of
462 these activities have been taken away from the women. Spinning practically no longer occurs. Commercial yarns
[283] have taken the place of homespun products. During the Japanese period a temporary revival of spinning was note in a number of districts where the imported yarns could not fill the demand. Weaving decreased because of the large
[286] import of cheap sarongs. Only better ones continued to be woven at home. Where rice mills are established, pounding
[252] at home becomes an unnecessary drudgery (2).
[256]

177 /144 cont./ 2. As yet there is no rice
256 mill in Goa. In the colonists' kampongs, 200 kilometers north of Macassar, the men do the pounding for the landowner, but not for their own consumption. Rice-pounding wages are high.

461 The spare time which women gained was not used
855 toward new objectives. It was devoted to small children who are not let out of sight for a moment. In the house or in the yard their own mother or one of the neighbor's girls
461 is always with them. During the rest of the time women
574 visit each other. This promotes companionship and strengthens their mutual ties. They exchange kampong and family news and drink coffee on these occasions. These visits are always paid in little groups of a number of older women and a few younger ones, nicely dressed, accompanied by one of their closest male kinsmen.

/145/ Men's work is in the sawahs in the broadest sense,
462 from manufacturing agricultural implements to carrying in sheaves of paddy. Furthermore, it is their job to work in the garden, to construct and repair the house, as well as to do all the little tasks in which wood or bamboo must be
443 cut down or worked. They run errands at the pasar (1) and
462

1. In early July, 1949, the visitors to the Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) were registered as 62 women and 904 men.

443 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They
462 go around alone or with a number of men of their own age. Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 The activities of men and women therefore complement
562 each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more helpless, if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding gardens.

562 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that
554 of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the
576 meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status
571 with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the
521 others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator may place himself in the center of the story since, after all, those present share in the standing he won in this manner. The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them. Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people, and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men, four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression.
562 Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and
571 go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned. Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are free in their actions and speech.

521 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally.
562 They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the
571 same time about topics which they would also discuss at an
576 ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 The forms of social intercourse between men and women
673 are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized
834 by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

These strict rules do not apply to children and older
[561 858] people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small
[687] dagger/, which frequently results in death.

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

Young women and men often evade each other
571 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
626 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
834 of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
177 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
834 new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

177 /147 cont./ store, the Arab and Chinese storekeepers in
834 Macassar know that they cannot turn directly to the young girls to recommend their wares but that, for this purpose, they have to address the escorting man or older woman, while the younger ones talk among each other and thus make their wishes known. One who does not take these feelings into account runs the risk of being passed over at a subsequent visit to the store.

571 The separate domains of the sexes in the house and the
834 division of labor contribute to the fact that the prohibition against contact is carried out to a great extent in daily life. The strict sanction imposed on their violation lends a forced
[626] character to the relations between young men and girls. Contact may only take place in complete secrecy or, by way of exception, if it is expressly or silently permitted. In that case it is still tied to special regulations. There is never any uninhibited association. Some of these occasions will be described here.

527 After harvest, so-called pounding festivals (1) are
571

1. Called Adengka ase lolo, "the pounding of the young paddy."

[374] regularly held. These take place during the evening in the yard before the house by the /148/ glimmer of an oil lamp, preferably when there is a bright moon shining. For this, the pounding block is hung up in rattan strings, and while
[533 the girls pound, two or three of their closest male relatives
534] beat with sticks against the transverse axle of the block in a rapid and powerful rhythm. This sound is audible at great distances; the purpose is to attract young people from far and near to come and look. What they see is four girls

527 /148 cont./ dressed in red jackets, nicely made-up, and
571 decked with jewelry, pounding with precise movements, eyes cast down. After some time they are replaced. Under the surveillance of a couple of older women, four others descend from the house and take over the pounders while the first team again goes up, always with an escort and with eyes cast down. From behind the barred windows of the front rooms -- on this occasion the entire house is the domain of the women -- they peep outside where in the half-light of the yard the men walk around, sit, talk, and smoke (1).

[273]

[554]

1. Little drinking is done. If there is rice wine (ballo'ase) present, the number of bottles is limited. Only the higher guests receive a bottle and share some of this with the others. Serious drunkenness does not occur. Makassarese who drink ballo' proceed to tell taller and taller tales and become increasingly provocative in their remarks. At such times they avoid the company of a higher person.

527 It is reported that formerly a group of young men from
574 another kampong, attracted by the provocative sounds, would
177 once in awhile make an attack and try to run away with one
571 of the young girls. This would then give rise to a general brawl. The young men of the house group would then defend their young sisters and cousins against an attack from outside. Nowadays such a thing no longer occurs. The festival has become a comparatively dull display since fighting and

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten,

Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
584 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
602 who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia' tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free companionship, it seems to take very little to make a Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
571 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
834 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
848 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang
583 cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

583 /150 cont./ "Please find what is good for me." And by
584 "good" (badjika) is meant a normal marriage; "bad" (kodia) means marriage by flight. The older woman thereupon tries out the mother. Whether this couple will subsequently marry or not then further depends upon whether or not an agreement concerning marriage has been made with respect to one of the two.

584 When a marriage which she herself has desired comes
834 about, the girl shows aversion to the man, as is expected of her. Externally, nothing distinguishes this marriage from one that has been contracted against her wishes.

583 When older people act against the wishes of the younger,
584 and the young man urges a flight, the girl can consent to
558 this. But if she refuses, he can get his way simply by
626 making her siri'. In most cases the threat of siri' alone seems sufficient.

584 One who is unable to use an older woman as intermediary must find another way of establishing the desired contact with a girl. He may, for instance, seek out the company of her brother. He plays raga with him and goes with him to the movies (this example is derived from one of the kampongs
[574] surrounding Macassar). In return /151/ his friend may ask him to stay and eat or sleep. If he keeps this up long enough, he may get an opportunity to attract the girl's attention, that is to say, to perform a service for the mother or run an errand for her, even though this reaches him through a third person.

His intentions do not remain entirely concealed. If her mother likes him, if no arrangements have been made regarding this daughter, and if the information gained concerning his kin group is not unfavorable, she may very briefly let her daughter be alone with him unnoticed. But she remains watchful. "Don't make me siri'," she says to her daughter.
584 When they are alone together, there is no immediate con-
834 versation, even less is there an immediate physical contact.

584 /151 cont./ But an atmosphere of intimacy is created pre-
824 cisely because it is forbidden and dangerous. The desire to get married seems to be strengthened by it.

584 The examples described are a number of ways in which young people try to bring about a marriage with a marriage partner chosen by themselves by means of forbidden contacts.

Personality Norms

157 Norms for the personality of men are different from
562 those for women.

A man must be combative and courageous, always ready to challenge someone or to answer a challenge. He must be skillful in debate and a good teller of tall tales. In these stories the emphasis must always be placed on the fact that he, his group, or his prince, did something better than another group or a neighboring prince. In these stories he must also have great success with women and be capable of great sexual achievements. One likes to compare a man to a cock, proud and always ready to do battle. A man is sometimes conceived of as rough. He is always wandering.

562 Man is devoted to woman; he praises her in vague, idealizing terms.

539 Nampa' ri udjung Borinu, — When I had come to the farthest point of your land,
157

riappa pa'rasangannu — to the remotest point of your land,

nanailalang — then my soul was already in you,

sumangakku, makkaraëng — worshipping you.

157 /152/ The woman must be delicate and tender, shy
562 and withdrawn. She is more devoted to herself. She tries, but as passively as possible, to draw his attention to herself.

157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku	My implanted, straight flowers,
539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku	My blooming tjampaga flowers.
Natjiniku ianu	When N. N. sees me
Nadjandjangku mole mole.	He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that
157 a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in
182 men are at the same time those which they need for success in striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.

554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

[177 192]

1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het," /"an 'it' person." -- Ed./.

838 /152 cont./ become apparent that it is not altogether correct to translate the term kawe kawe by homosexual. Lack of a better one led me to use this translation for the time being.

The distinction connotes that homosexuality is accepted as abnormal, but nonetheless as an existing phenomenon just like an albino or a deaf-mute. In 1949 there were no men living in the kampong Bontoramba who were regarded as kawe kawe. In all of Borongloë (around 14, 000 inhabitants), there may have been five. Compared with other adat communities, this number will probably /153/ seem small. The reason for
[684 this is that the adat community head to whom, as a believing
634 Moslem, these kawe kawe were already a thorn in the side anyway had threatened to cut off the hair of each one (some of them wore their hair down to their shoulders) because one of them had made a young girl pregnant. As a result many of the kawe kawe left Borongloë. Only a few stayed. I was repeatedly able to observe one of them. Here follows a brief description of his outward appearance and behavior. His name was Taking.

Taking was thirty-five years old and lived with a married brother. They were a poor household, but only when it was completely necessary did Taking work in the sawah. Usually and by preference he would spend his time in the back part of the house with the women. In his manner of sitting and speaking and in clothing he was scarcely distinguishedable from them. At the kin-group festivals in the house of the adat community head, he worked hard in the kitchen, helping with preparations. On such occasions he frequently did the unpleasant work of keeping the strongly smoking fire going, work which generally is performed by lower women. At the ritual at the climax of the festival, however, he was, along with a number of older women, relatives of the head, the one who participated in its arrangement. Both the kitchen work
[554 and the conduct of the ritual were in the hands of women at

838 /153 cont./ this festival. Lower women performed the first
[554] task, higher ones the latter. Taking participated in both.
Outside the house he behaved like a man. He would go
[482] on his way without escort, but whenever he was carrying something at the same time, he would do so by preference on his head (like a woman) and not on a yoke over his shoulders (like a man). When called upon as a witness in a legal case, however, he appeared completely in man's clothing with a black cap (topi), and upon that occasion had some good-natured fun poked at him. In everyday life, his presence in the women's group was accepted as a matter of course. According to my information, this dated from his childhood years. I was able to observe a little boy called Jusu at the age of about seven years. This is the age at which a difference starts to arise between boys' and girls' games.

Jusu by preference played with the girls of his own age.
[857] The latter permitted this without poking fun at him. A high noblewoman took him into her house and into her following. /154/ He would go with a couple of her nieces his age to pay visits and attend festivals. The acceptance of a kawe kawe into the women's group from his childhood years on explains the naturalness with which he is treated.

Details concerning Taking's sexual life could not be obtained. It was believed that he desired no contact with women. Concerning his relationship with other men only jokes were made. His reaction at the mention of anal coitus was one of decided aversion, and at the mention of mutual masturbation his reaction was neutral.

In addition to the commonly occurring kawe kawe, I once observed a woman in the adat community of Takalar who did not feel at home with those of her own sex. She wore her hair like a woman, but her sarong like a man. She preferred to work in the sawah with the patjol /hoe/ (typically male work). She carried burdens on a yoke over her shoulders the way a man does, and she would go alone to pasars and

838 /154 cont./ on roads. Her kinsmen accepted these transgressions of the sex prohibitions without further ado. Apparently they did not think of the forbidden contact situation in which she found herself.

838 793 644 From a description by Matthes, it appears (1) that in his

1. B.F. Matthes, Over de Bissoe's of Heidense Priesters der Boegineezen /Concerning the Bissu or Heathen Priests of the Buginese/.

time (around 1870) a number of bissu lived at several courts of the princes. These were men who dressed and behaved partly like women. They took care of the ornaments and performed the ritual belonging to them. One old bissu, a senile man, who was only charged with guarding the ornaments [178] still lived in the palace of the Prince of Goa in 1939. At that time women were already performing the ritual. In 1949, he seemed to have died. The guarding services had then also passed into the hands of the women.

178 838 644 The disappearance of the bissu at the courts could, among other things, be a consequence of the dawning realization that, according to Moslem law, homosexuality is prohibited. The reason that they had disappeared as much as a generation ago at one court and, at the other court, continued to exist until recently could possibly be found in the differences in strictness of religious ideas held by various princes.

838 793 /155/ Only in the little place of Segeri, 75 kilometers north of Macassar, can a number of bissu still be found to this day. There they take care of the ornament and perform the ritual pertaining to it. A number of them are married and live in their own house with wife and children. They dress

838 /155 cont./ and behave in everyday life completely like
793 normal men. At the performance of the ritual, however, their dress and behavior is half-male and half-female, like that of other bissu. The latter, the unmarried ones, live together in the ornament house.

In 1948 the then assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes supplied me information which might clarify why kawe kawe prefer to occupy themselves with the ornament ritual. According to the description of the ritual, performed at the inauguration of the new head of the bissu (Puang Matoa), one of them leads the new head to the ornament of Segeri, a plow, and at this point he makes an announcement the significance of which the assistant reproduced as follows: "It is neither known of the person who is here brought to the sacred object and who touches it, nor of the object, who is the man and who the woman. If the sacred object is a man, then this person is a woman, and vice versa" (1).

1. The Buginese original of this announcement could not be obtained.

From this it would appear that it is believed that the ornament and the head of the bissu must be of different sex, that the sex of the ornament is unknown, and that, therefore, only a person who can be either man or woman can be the head of the bissu. The general occurrence of this, albeit merely vaguely conscious, belief could explain the attraction
[554] of the kawe kawe to the ornaments. There they found a social recognition which they lacked elsewhere.

838 Dr. Slot, who has examined a number of these bissu for their physical characteristics, reports that their sexual organs were completely normal; there was no question of hermaphroditism. A number of secondary sex characteristics can be called feminine. Among these he reports a hyperextendability of the elbow, little muscular development, and broad hips (2).

838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië, Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 548 Kawe kawe can be encountered in Macassar and in the large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes who make themselves available in exchange for money for the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as male prostitutes.

535 857 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for [534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana) and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time [533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary between young men and women. In this dance they are to a certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded [838] [832] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 535 838 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a

177 /156 cont./ sudden great popularity (1). The onlookers, men,
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1. So great was the interest in this dance that teachers complained about the sleepiness of their pupils during the day in school (report by the ex-teacher Noeroeddin to Dr. A. A. Cense).

according to reports principally married men, showed their enthusiasm by stuffing money in large sums down the necks [648] of the little dancers. After some time the dance was prohibited by the administration. Only after the capitulation of the Dutch East Indies in 1942, have Masri representations been given again.

The name of the dance probably betrays the land of 171 origin /157/ (1). Lane (2) first gives a description of a dance
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1. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Dr. G. F. Pijper.

2. E. W. Lane, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London and New York, 1908, p. 389.

by women who at the same time are prostitutes, and then reports that the only thing which is really disapproved in it is the fact that women perform this dance. Consequently, men may also take the place of women as performers of this dance. They are usually young men, accompanied by the rabab. They represent women, but in order to prevent people from

171 174 /157 cont./ thinking that they are really women, they are dressed half as man and half as woman. Their general exterior is more feminine than masculine. They imitate women in the use of make-up, they wear their hair like women, and veil themselves.

So much for the account given by Lane. The correspondence with the Masri dance described above seems clear. However, why this dance spread to South Celebes just around 1928 remains obscure.

121 838 The data given above invite a number of observations. As a starting point, I want to take the conclusions of Kinsey and his associates concerning homosexuality. They call the "homosexual" an important subelement of sexual activity, "primarily because it is an expression of capacities that are basic in the human animal" (3).

3. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, Philadelphia and London, 1948, p. 666.

Furthermore, I want to make use of the proposition established by Margaret Mead (4). She speaks of the social

4. M. Mead, Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, London, 1935. See among others, pp. XX ff.

personalities of the two sexes, to which men and women in a certain culture are reared to conform, with more or less success. Among other things, she points to the fact that not all men possess to an equal degree the qualities which are

121 /157 cont./ demanded of them in a certain culture, and that
838 therefore there are among them those "who have voluntarily given up the struggle to conform to the masculine role and who wore female attire and followed the occupations of a woman."

It appears that in Makassarese society a number of male
838 individuals at an early age turn away from those of their own sex and attach themselves to the girls. They adapt themselves to these /158/ in clothing and behavior. The older ones accept the fact that they are different from other boys. When they get older, they continue in their attitude. This entails certain consequences with respect to their sexual life.

Sexual contact with their female peers is regarded as out of the question. A kawe kawe is accepted as a matter of course into the group of women. If a kawe kawe comes from outside and is not yet known, then the men and old women at first watch him carefully, so I was told. In case of sexual contact with a woman, the kawe kawe is, among other things, threatened with expulsion from the group of women. Consequently, he would have to spend his time regularly in the group of men where he does not feel at home emotionally. It is possible that this fact restrains him from attempting sexual contacts with one of the women. To satisfy his sexual needs, he is therefore dependent on men.

I am not acquainted with any cases of men who became kawe kawe after they had passed puberty. The social separation of the sexes at that time may already be too great for the transition to be regarded as still possible.

838 One does find the phenomenon that men at the courts
793 partly dress and behave like women, in an institutionalized
644 way, for the ornament ritual. The possibility of the kawe kawe to be both man as well as woman -- in social life --, is here an imperative.

A kawe kawe tied to this institution is called a bissu. Even a "normal" married man seems to be capable of being

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793/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance
178 of the bissu institution, however, At present, insofar as they
838 did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as
548 prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

114 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and
589 women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated
885 who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

1. Volkstelling 1930,
Part 5, p. 54.

114 /159 cont./ on one reads that "if sexual maturity of the girls
589 is regarded as the criterion of marriageability and thus also of
885 adulthood" they would be adults at the age of about fourteen or fifteen years (2). In South Celebes the tendency exists to

2. Ibid., p. 55.

regard boys as adults if they have their own kampong pass (soera' kampong). This implies that they are also called for community labor. At that time they are approximately eighteen to nineteen years old. As a result of these criteria, which differ according to sex, the men are regarded as adults at a later age than women.

114 In the 1930 census report a high percentage of unmarried
589 men and women is registered for the province of Goa (28.2 per cent and 28.8 per cent respectively). It is explained that the average age at which marriages are contracted is higher than elsewhere (3). This age, however, is not known.

3. Ibid., p. 66.

So long as the birth registers do not make possible a check of the age at which people are married, an explanation like this is premature.

The high percentage mentioned is, in my opinion, rather
589 to be explained by the fact that a large number of men and women never marry.

In order to ascertain this number, I asked two informants /160/ at different points in time, with respect to each unmarried person, one by one, whether according to them they still had chances to marry. The result was that for 15 men and 24 women, it was assumed by both informants that they would never marry. Their opinions were divided on 4 men. These 15 men were all approximately thirty-five to forty years or older. The 24 women were thirty to thirty-five years or older.

589 /160 cont./ The total number of men in kampong Bontoramba
[162] at that time amounted to 382, as against 405 women. Therefore, the total number of "unmarried people" amounts to 5 per cent of the total population, and the percentage of "unmarried" women is a little higher than that of the men. This fact requires an explanation. A number of general remarks will precede this.

589 Among the 15 men there were four deaf-mutes unsuited
732 for normal work. Among the 24 women there were three deaf-mutes (1) in addition to one blind and one albino woman.

1. The large number of deaf-mutes, seven in all, is too striking to pass without comment. The nose-, throat-, and ear-doctor at Macassar, J.C. Engelen, had the kindness to examine these individuals at my request. He reported that all suffered from a form of perception deafness, a kind of nervous deafness, and that the affliction must have begun at an early age or else must have been congenital. He regarded an infectious disease suffered in childhood (mumps or measles) as a possible cause if the affliction could be supposed to have begun at a youthful age. He

589 /160 cont./ believed that a connection
732 with the system of endogamous marriage need not be excluded, but that data were lacking to pronounce an opinion about this. These deaf-mutes are all approximately between forty-five and fifty-five years of age. Therefore they belong, as it were, to the same generation. They stem from three different pairs of parents (two brothers, a brother and sister, and a brother with two sisters). They also have brothers and sisters who are normal. They all belong to the "Kapala group."

Eleven men and 19 women seemed to be physically and psychically normal.

589 Lolo bangko (old maid) (2) is the customary but unflattering

2. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 147.

term applied to an older, unmarried woman. These women perform the ordinary feminine tasks in the house. The men with whom one talks about them maintain that these women would find it unpleasant if they had to marry, and that they would cry if their marriage were announced to them. These

589 /160 cont./ same men, therefore, continued to believe in the reaction expected of women when the marriage is announced to them, as the real manifestation of their feelings. In a kelong recited by women, one hears a different tone, however:

589 539 /161/ Lolobangkomi denangku; djappomi padja bungkenna

My friend has become an old maid; her first sarong is already worn-out (1)

1. This refers to a custom by which the first sarong a young girl weaves, after she has just learned to do so, is kept for her bridegroom.

mattajang guru; mana palukka tania'.

in waiting for a man; not even a thief was there (2).

2. That is to say, she did not even carry out a marriage by flight.

589 With respect to older unmarried men, it is believed that they could have married but that they did not want to do so. People are satisfied with that; they are not urged to marry. The few older unmarried men who could be observed for some time every day, seemed like quiet, contented individuals who performed all kinds of little tasks in the house, rendered small services to their housemates, and sometimes even looked after the little children. Their standing in the group of relatives [554] is not great. Men who enjoy status in their related group are always married.

589 /161 cont./ In the 1930 census report, the suggestion is
114 made with respect to the "East of the Archipelago, " "that the continued unmarried state of a woman in the native society is regarded as more or less undesirable or dishonorable" (3). I

3. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 66.

have been unable to find a single indication in South Celebes pointing to the correctness of this last qualification. For the
581 woman concerned it is regarded as "undesirable" that she does
589 not marry. It is believed that only through marriage does one become a "complete person." Attempting to bring about someone's marriage signifies that one means well for this person. But one prefers to see a young woman unmarried rather than to see her marry a man who is not regarded as suitable.
[554] Suitability is judged almost entirely on the basis of his social standing.

By the same token people prefer to see their son unmarried than to see him contract a marriage contrary to parental wishes. Not to marry may be undesirable for an individual, but it is always regarded more highly than to marry an undesirable partner.

114 "Among the Makassarese, " the report goes on (4), "who
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4. Ibid., p. 67.

565 have strict difference between the social classes, the number of unmarried women /162/ among the higher classes is great because there the bride price and the "balandja" (the expenses of the wedding feast) are so high. " Now this "bride price" among the kinsmen of the Prince of Goa amounts to 28 reals or 56. -- guldens, and that of the small man to 20 reals or 40. -- guldens. The difference of 16. -- guldens does not

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583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
589 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
[582] in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary argument to explain the fact that a large number of women remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also used as an "explanation" for the existence of marriage by flight. It is safer to assume that in times like those after 1929, the number of marriages by flight increased somewhat through a gradual adjustment toward new relationships with regard to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance, cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts, and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
178 previous one.
435 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
583 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
585 same amount as a number of years before. The members of

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435 /162 cont./ such a group did not like to admit this toward
583 the outside world, however. It is true, therefore, that during
585 this time it repeatedly happened that a marriage did not take place, on account of the amounts which in their own opinion should be spent on the wedding feast.

But this state of affairs did not last long. Initially, it was still agreed among kinsmen that the old amount would be maintained outwardly, but that in reality they would be satisfied with less. Outwardly, the social standing of the group of relatives thereby remained on the same level. But gradually the amounts were adjusted to the new conditions, though little or nothing was thereby changed in the intent of the feast or in the entertainment of the guests.

/163/ By the same token, scarcely any difference could be observed between a wedding feast in 1940 and one celebrated in 1949 in the same group, even though in that period the valuation of sawahs and buffaloes increased by about tenfold. While in 1940 one buffalo and one goat were killed for the feast, in 1949 one buffalo and two goats were killed for the occasion. In 1949 one naturally never heard the complaint, either, that a marriage could not come about because of the excessive expenses of the wedding. In its striking frequency, this complaint remained confined to the beginning of the 1930's. The high expenses are nevertheless still named today as an excuse whenever other reasons which one does not like to mention make a certain marriage undesirable (1).

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1. Kampong Bontorambo numbered 22 widows and 13 widowers who had not remarried, that is, fully 4 percent of the total of 787 residents. Only two married men and two married women appeared

[162] /163 cont./
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[587]

to be remarried widowers and widows respectively. It is possible that these latter figures are in reality somewhat larger. For the investigation of this problem was made difficult by the fact that generally one finds it unpleasant to be reminded of an earlier marriage. At present, this result proves no more than that few widows and widowers remarry. The possibility is taken into account that the decease of the marriage partner is a consequence of a bad personal quality on the part of the survivor, without the latter having to be conscious of it. One is afraid that this quality will stay with him, and for that reason one regards a marriage to a widow or to a widower as a less desirable marriage. In the rare cases that such a marriage was contracted, a special ritual was performed. By this it is hoped that the bad qualities will disappear, but the chance of this happening is not considered very good.

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The census report of 1930 (Part 5, p. 58) gives as the reason for the infrequent remarriage of widowers the high bride price and wedding expenses. This argument is even less valid since the widower can, if he wants to, be satisfied with a "small feast" (nikka' tja'di).

589 /163 cont./ Today, just as fifteen to twenty years ago, a comparatively large number of men and women remain unmarried. The above-mentioned reasons may be of influence upon the number of those who remain unmarried during a certain period of time and in a certain group. An explanation of the same phenomenon during this period in the lower classes must be attempted separately.

581 Marriage seemed to be one of the most important events in the related group. The older people who bring about the marriages unconsciously apply a criterion of selection in the choice of those they are bringing together in marriage. The young man of whom they expect that he will contribute to the standing of their group has preference. This must be someone, therefore, who is always prepared to outdo others /164/ and to guard against the impairment of his own standing. Outdoing 156 other men and the conquest of women are two matters which in 584 the Makassarese conception go together in a man. The young men who possess these qualities to a strong degree frequently take the initiative toward marriage themselves, however limited the opportunities for this may be. Furthermore, there is a large number of men who do not get to take the initiative and begin to refuse when their marriage is announced to them, but who in the end let themselves be persuaded. There are those who externally let themselves be persuaded but who continue to refuse sexual union and in so doing cause the marriage to fail (1).

1. See below, pp. 273ff.

156 Finally, there are a number of men who refuse to marry and upon whom the parents exert little further pressure. These 589 are the ones of whom it is believed that they would contribute little to the standing of the related group. Their fear of being inadequate in sexual relations with their wife, just as they are

156 /164 cont. / inadequate in their social relations with other
589 men, could be the reason for their refusal to marry. The fact that the older people do not consider these individuals capable of contributing to the standing of the group could be the reason why they are satisfied with their refusal.

[584] No initiative toward marriage of any kind may ever proceed from a woman. The docile, withdrawn girls are set up as an example. I believe, but would like to see this confirmed by further investigation, that among the unmarried women these docile types are still the most frequent. The more aggressive personalities who possess to a lesser degree the qualities most valued in this society seem to marry sooner. An old woman explained why a particular girl had been allowed to marry by reasoning that otherwise one might have difficulties with her later. By this, the old woman most probably was thinking of the possibility of siri' problems arising. The fact that these characters marry, while docile individuals frequently remain unmarried, points to the fact that the older people in their selections follow the path of least resistance. The types from whom the most difficulties are to be expected have a better chance of marrying.

[581] The men with the personal qualities that are most /165/ appreciated and the women with the personal qualities that are least appreciated have the best chances of marrying.

565 It is believed that the karaeng always possess a high de-
156 gree of the personal qualities appreciated in a man. Their
581 opportunities to marry are greater than those of an ordinary man; a marriage to a lower woman is a frequent phenomenon. Figures dealing with the unmarried in this group are not available, however.

The Koro Phenomenon

826 Koro is the Makassarese name for the disease symptom in
158 which a man believes that his penis is shrinking and will turn

826 /165 cont./ inward, while he is convinced that he will die if
158 this should really happen (1). Koro literally means "to shrink."

1. The signs reported with respect to women are: the breasts become flatter, the nipples shrink, and the labia have a tendency to recede. Only women help the female patient. The phenomenon is less frequent with women than with men.

Van Wulfften Palthe and Slot regarded the phenomena as expressions of an anxiety neurosis (2).

2. See Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, 1935, Vol. 75, pp. 836 ff. and 811 ff. respectively.

The description of one certain case, as it was reported
[595] by an informant, ran as follows. A man of around forty-five years of age, married and with children, had taken a second wife. He had kept this fact a secret from his first wife because he was afraid of her jealousy. After a certain length
158 of time had elapsed, however, his second marriage nevertheless became known. One evening when he had come home
826 tired and sleepy, he was overcome with tremors and broke out
755 in a cold sweat of fear. He had the feeling that his penis was becoming smaller and smaller and that it was suddenly going to turn inward. Upon his shouts for help, neighbors came running in to him. One of them held the penis tightly in order to prevent it from receding, and another man went

158 /165 cont./ to fetch a sanro (Makassarese physician). After
826 some time had elapsed, and the sanro had performed a number
755 of rituals, the feelings of anxiety disappeared. For this day, the attack was past.

Women are kept away from a male koro patient. It is believed that their presence would cause the dreaded event, the receding /166/ of the penis, to take place, and it is believed
[761] that in that event the patient would die. People mention without much trouble a number of instances of individuals who supposedly died of koro.

Slot reports that koro occurs among adult Makassarese and
158 Buginese of each social class and both sexes. The phenomenon
755 may appear in groups. It is not the consequence of a modified libido. The Makassarese combat it by using influences regarded as positive, for instance, by using the flowering cluster of the male lontar palm as medicine and through the avoidance of negative influences, among which the turtle is mentioned (1).

1. The thought of the disappearance of this animal's head under its shell gives the patient an unpleasant association according to one informant.

158 Finally, Slot explains that the cause of koro may be a sense of guilt, but that this cause is ethnologically determined because the admissable and the inadmissable are here differently interwoven than in western Europe. He speaks of feelings of guilt while van Wulfften Palthe believes that it is anxiety feelings that lie at the base of the koro phenomenon.

Now that the koro phenomenon has been described from
158 the psychological point of view as an expression of anxiety,
181 one may attempt to indicate from the ethnological point of view how this anxiety can have its genesis. To this end I

158 /166 cont./ should like to mention the vertical tendency
181 which demands of the Makassarese a constant striving to surpass other men and to be a great conqueror of women. The anxiety about losing the ability for this, or else of falling short in this aspiration, could very well form the basis for the koro phenomenon.

Prostitution

548 Prostitutes are unknown in Makassarese kampongs. There are no women under thirty-five to forty years of age who live
626 alone without kinsmen, and if a woman lives with others in
558 a house, it is impossible for her, for reasons discussed at length above, to receive men more or less regularly, or to have contact with them outside the house. So long as she lives in a house with others, even a single contact situation would cause the young male house mates or neighbors to become siri'. The older women who do not wish to risk any difficulties on behalf of this stranger in such a case will try to send her away in time -- for instance, to a head who lets her marry -- before a brawl could come about through her /167/. Once she is out of the house, there is no reason for the young men who, after all, are not related to her, to be siri' because of her behavior.

Her conduct impairs the social standing of her group, and for that reason she is unacceptable in the rural kampongs. There is little evidence of moral disapproval.

548 Prostitution is an urban phenomenon. Prostitutes live in
[369] Macassar as well as in the larger pasar places such as Parepare, Watampone, and others.

The pasar place of Bontomanai, the center of trade for Borongloë, did not seem large enough yet to accommodate permanent prostitution. It was said of one of the daughters of a prominent man in Borongloë, who had gone to live in Bontomanai with a distant relative, that she received men who

548 /167 cont./ gave her little presents. Her father declared her dead, but her brothers did not follow his example. Consequently, there remained the threat of danger. After a few months she fled to Macassar with a man. An ordinary marriage by flight was therefore the end of the adventure of this woman who broke the ties with her parental house in order to gain greater freedom in Bontomanai than would have been possible in the midst of her own relatives.

156 548 It should not be expected that among prostitutes in the large city one will meet the modest, withdrawn types who, in the country, are held up as the ideal to the young girls. Rather one can expect among them those who submit with difficulty to the many restrictions imposed upon them. Further research would have to take place here.

I would venture to suggest that while in western Europe the innocent, misled, middle-class girl is found as well as the girl who becomes a prostitute for economic reasons, in South Celebes where no economic coercion leads to prostitution, women with aggressive characteristics, probably the adventurous type, practice prostitution.

Polygamous Marriage

162 595 As of April, 1940, there were 34 polygamous men among more than 13,000 inhabitants (1) in the adat community of

1. There is no sense in giving figures for polygamous marriages in the kampong Bontoramba. In 1940 there were none, and in 1949 new figures could not be collected after the war for lack of time.

162 /167 cont./ Borongloë. In the 1930 Census Report (2)
595

2. Part 5, pp. 70-71.

figures for polygamous men in the province of /168/ Goa are not mentioned separately. With respect to the Macassar subdivision outside the community, it is stated that the percentage of "adult polygamously married men" is low, in this case below 2. Now, if we estimate the number of men in Borongloë at 6, 400, and the number of married men at a quarter of this, 1, 600, then the percentage for Borongloë would be more than 2. This could still be reduced further. For among the 34 polygamously married men there are 7 foreigners, to wit, 3 Indochinese, each married to two Makassarese women, 3 Buginese, and 1 Sajjid /sayid?/. The latter, who came from a kampong situated along the southern coast outside Goa, returned there as early as 1941. Of the remaining 27, it can be said that they were natives of Borongloë.

595 For four of these 27 polygamous marriages, the second marriage was carried out in the festive way. In the other 23 cases it took place after silariang. Of these four one involved the exceptional case that an approximately sixty-year-old, comparatively poor man married, with the assent of his first wife, a young girl, who subsequently came to live in the same house with them. The other three were "normal" [556] cases in which a well-to-do man with a certain personal authority contracted a second marriage against the wishes of his first wife and had a separate house built for this second wife.

In three of the 34 cases, a man was married to three women. Two of these men, the Sajjid and a Makassarese, had been able to carry out their second, as well as their third, marriages, only by means of silariang. The third, the adat community head, had himself arranged his second and third marriage.

595 /168 cont./ In view of the fact that according to Moslem law the conclusion of a second marriage is just as simple as the first, there must be other reasons why so few polygamous men were registered in this region. Such a reason is, in the first place, the opposition of the first wife.

[581] [558] One of the worst things that can happen to a woman is that her husband takes a second wife. One of the wishes for a newly married couple is the hope that they will grow old together. It was said of a childless old couple who had been together all their lives that this was proof that they were happy together, and it was regarded as a cause for rejoicing and an example for the younger generation. In the "little [585] games" /169/ that take place during the wedding festival, the woman must win. This reflects the wish that later she [593] will also have the upper hand in her relationship with her husband. And in answer to the question what this referred to mostly, it was stated that one thought of the provision of the necessities for daily meals and the taking of a second wife.

The reaction of the first wife is very violent. She declared that she would rather be cast out than suffer a co-wife (maru) by her side. She leaves the house without the knowledge of her husband -- which under normal circumstances would weigh heavily against her -- and returns to her parents, preferably with her children. In such a case there is no intention of leaving the man permanently. A statement by one of these women leaves no room for doubt about that. When she heard that her husband had contracted a second marriage, she did not leave for the distant kampong of her parents until she had made the vow: "If I come back here, I shall sacrifice a hen to you (ancestors)." In such a case it is possible for the woman to return only if her husband comes to implore her to do so. Her desire to come back prevailed. Sometimes, especially if the second marriage comes about [586] through silariang, her negative attitude is successful. In one case the man went to visit his second wife less and less. The

595 /169 cont./ latter, after a certain period of time had elapsed,
[586] asked for a divorce on the grounds that she was no longer being supported by him. In another case, the second wife escaped with another man (1). But sometimes the man

[684]

1. Officially this is called adultery, and the man should behave as though he were siri'. In reality he agreed to the divorce nor did he make an attempt at stabbing; nor do his relatives expect him to take the initiative which might lead to her being sentenced by the judge for adultery.

chooses the second /wife/.

595 In the majority of cases, however, the first wife accepts
578 the new state of affairs. But her relationship with her rival remains notoriously bad. Abuse, hateful remarks about the stupidity, the low blood, or about certain physical characteristics of the other woman, are common expressions of her feelings. These she airs more to her female housemates, however, than to her spouse. Older women teach her that the latter is inadvisable. In one of the old lontar of the Prince of Goa there occurs the following rule which aptly characterizes the conditions /170/: "This is the rule concerning murder.
[682 If we murder our co-wife, no matter where, and if we tell this
672] to the people who come running to the scene, saying, 'I have killed my co-wife,' then there will be no revenge taken upon us." (1)

1. This translation was saved as part of the prewar manuscript. The lontar from

595 /170 cont./ which this rule was taken
578 could not be traced down, just as it was not possible to find the Makassarese text.

595 The two wives each has her own house. In 24 of the 27 polygamous marriages, the two houses were even in different kampongs. If it is said of a man that he owns two houses, this means that he has two wives. The wives live each in her own house together with their children and a single kinsman, leading their own lives. They never see each other. They are thought to ignore each other. When they go to pay visits, kinsmen take care that the one does not come where the other is. At festivals the second wife always yields to the first, but in actuality she always gets just as much of a chance to be present, even though it is just for a short period of time. In practice, the two women know everything about each other that can be regarded of any interest at all.
[521] Female "friends" tell the news, especially the bad news, that each wife wants to hear about the other. In the course of many years the sharpest edges are often worn off this relationship. The children of the one go to the house of the other with their father. An instance where the two women at a greater age visited each other from time to time remains an exception, however.

It is expected that the husband takes his first wife's feelings into consideration and that he will do nothing that could
[593 remind her of her rival. An old example is that a man must
576] put away the contents of his betel box before he comes to the
276] other wife, because filling this box is, all the way up to the highest social circles, a special task that a woman performs for her husband, so that a woman, upon seeing the fresh betel leaves, is immediately reminded of the other woman (2).

595 /170 cont./ 2. Little betel is chewed
[178 by the generation that is
276] now thirty-five to forty
years of age or younger.

Nor does he ever name the kampong where the other wife lives as his destination when he leaves. To speak the truth would be an unforgivable rudeness. But a man who, in the opinion of his first wife, already was too much away from home was told: "When a man goes out a great deal, a wife is lazy with the cooking."

/171/ Co-wives display a stronger than normal desire to attach their husbands to themselves, in comparison with [593] monogamously married women. They make sure that the meal is ready when he comes home, that a clean sarong lies in readiness for him, and that his guests are especially well [574] entertained, since a man finds it pleasant if he is known as a good host. On the other hand, they know how to make their anger apparent to him by the same means, by letting him wait for his food, by neglecting to care for his clothes, and so forth. Among older men it can be observed that they stay for a longer time with the same wife. In the majority of cases this appears to be the first wife.

The second wife is always lower than the first; at least she is regarded as lower. This circumstance makes it easier for the first wife to be content with her existence. The great dread of a woman who was not related to her husband appeared to be the fact that now she would become the second wife because he married one of his nieces. As regards descent, however, she was regarded as his equal, and there was in every respect an acceptable reason why his niece should not be regarded as his equal.

595 The opposition of the first wife is not the only reason
606 why a second marriage comes about only with difficulty.
607 Another reason is based upon the opposition of the relatives.

595 /171 cont./ The latter feel responsible for the successful course
606 of affairs in his first marriage, and accordingly they have an
607 attitude of disapproval toward a second marriage, since a
[581] lasting monogamous marriage is, after all, regarded as one of the ideals of a successful marriage. When a second marriage has come about through silariang, they show their disapproval and frequently support the first wife. They yield only if the man appears to have enough authority to prepare and to carry
[554] out his second marriage independently with his "own people." That is to say, he has a house built for his second wife, or else he buys one; and secondly, he is able to organize a wedding festival on his own, even if it is a small feast. If a man enjoys that much standing and if he possesses that much organizational talent, then his relatives are not merely content
[557] with this second marriage. On the contrary, then they even prize him because the festive celebration of a second marriage is a sign of his personal standing by which his kinsmen also rise in standing. /172/

In such a case, therefore, the first spouse can expect little support from his relatives, and only consolation from her own closest kinsmen. The latter merely try to minimize the importance of this event, which is sad for her personally, and to make her accept it as well as possible. There is no question of any moral disapproval of the man's action. Such is the situation in the adat community of Borongloë.

In the karaëng related group, more second marriages are
565 contracted, especially with women of lower blood. These
595 men have less resistance to overcome. In the kampongs of the ordinary man everyone wages his struggle to gain more standing, and thus for a good marriage for his children. In general, common people do not like to have a girl marry a man who is already married. But if the difference in blood is generally recognized, as it is between a karaëng and a girl
[557] from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in standing.

565 /172 cont./ standing. This is what underlies their thoughts
595 when members of the karaëng's kin group declare that lower people consider it an honor to give away their daughter in marriage to a nobleman.

A border line where people like to see their daughter or sister marry a superior who is already married, and where the superior is actually regarded as almost an equal and therefore the marriage is not desired cannot be exactly determined. The boundaries between the classes /standen, here statuses?/ are too vague for this.

554 Exceptional qualities are therefore demanded of a man who has two wives. Through the conclusion of a second
595 marriage he shows that he raises himself above his other relatives. This fact is not appreciated and is therefore counteracted unless he otherwise contributes particularly to
[626] the social standing of the group. If this should be the case, and and if he is able to show this through organizing a second marriage independently, then it is even accepted with a certain pride. There are always a number of men with less exceptional characteristics who wish to take a second wife. The silariang institution gives them the opportunity of doing so without their having to ask the help of their relatives. In these cases, however, his relatives accept this marriage with greater hesitation.

/173/ Second Part

Sexual Union in Marriage

582 In the first part of this chapter, the criteria of selection were pointed out which the older generation applies on the basis of younger people's personal qualities in the choice of

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;

[589] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should

[581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will become apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse

581 only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For

833 a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

[155] With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those

[156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

833 /173 cont./ The characteristics of being not good, if the not wanting emanates from the woman, are the same as when the man is the one who /174/ refuses sexual intercourse. The two women whom I was able to observe, however, lead me to suggest that the reason for their refusal is the idea that they regard themselves as too good for their husbands.

The Makassarese attitude with respect to these phenomena is different.

585 An informant named the "tete" as, in his opinion, one of the most important aspects of the wedding feast. Tete literally means "bridge." The bringing together of man and wife is regarded as a period of temporary uncertainty, and it is hoped that from this a state of lasting security will arise. Ritual is performed because it is believed that it promotes the coveted cessation of insecurity. There is always a positive [804] and a negative aspect present. This finds expression, among other things, in the names of leaves and wood types used in the ritual. Some of these have the meaning of "becoming larger," "increasing," while others mean "fending off" and "holding back."

833 We have already mentioned that the environment accepts a kawe kawe as he is. One does not have the idea that it is his fault that he is the way he is. Similarly, it is accepted of a man or woman that he (she) does not want to be "good" with his (her) marriage partner.

It is believed possible that the one who refuses sexual 833 contact has been affected by a spell /sprenk/. But people can 789 never say with certainty who it was that spoke it at best; it is only possible to suspect people of it. One proceeds from an interest that this person is believed to have in seeing the marriage fail, and one combines this with conduct observed in him or her of which it is stated that it deviates from the customary and therefore might have a special (in this case, bad) significance.

833 /174 cont./ Such a person is kept isolated from attempts
789 which are applied to make the marriage a success nonetheless.
683 In view of the fact, however, that one can never be sure that a certain individual has not uttered a spell against the prospering of the marriage partners, one never hears of stronger reactions, such as the meting out of punishment.

Even though it is accepted of a man or woman that he
833 (she) does not want to have any sexual intercourse with his
832 (her) spouse, one does not simply rest satisfied with this situation. After the actual wedding feast is /175/ over, one searches for ritual in order even yet to bring about the desired result.

In addition to many well-known and easily observable traits, the ritual generally has details which differ with every individual who performs it. These details need not be apparent. What makes the ritual a success in a certain case may be present precisely in the nonobservable details. It is never possible to know beforehand which detail it is that will bring success.

Different people accordingly test their powers in a case where the marriage partners are not good together. The ex-Imam of Borongloë was successful a number of times, after others had failed, when a few years after the marriage was concluded, he repeated the Moslem rite. This is called "marrying anew" (nikka' poleang). This ritual was unknown in a number of regions in South Celebes. Personal initiative in clearly observable ritual matters is to be found here.

585 The wedding festival consists of a multiple ritual of which the subordinate elements are performed over a period of time from 3 to 14 days and in a more or less fixed sequence.

Several actions that are forbidden in everyday life are here performed for the first time, surrounded as they are by ritual. As such we should mention the first touch of the woman by the man, the first meal together, being bathed together, and wearing a single sarong together. The older

585 /175 cont./ people attach great significance to the way in which these actions are performed by the young people, because they believe that they can discover from them the person's inclination toward the marriage partner, and upon this in turn they base the further (ritual) measures that must be taken, all of which are geared finally to the "good" union of man and wife.

In addition, little games take place during the festival, in the form of small contests between bride and bridegroom. At the same time, care is always taken that the woman wins. It is said that this is an expression of the wish that later in 562 daily life the wife will be the boss in the house, because a 593 couple is then regarded as happiest (1).

1. The relationship between man and wife in marriage is aptly characterized by saying that the wife stands on the index finger of the man (bainea ammentengi ri pandjodjona buranea), that is to say, that the wife must do what the man says. In actuality this idea is put into practice only with respect to certain points, for instance, where the siri' feelings play a part. A married man must therefore decide whether a sister or a sister-in-law living in the house with him may go to a festival, whether she may still go to school, and so forth. He may turn away a marriage request. In such matters he has his way. Thereby he feels responsible

562 /175 cont./
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because, if something should happen, he is the one who would have to take action since he is the protector of the siri'. Therefore, his wife complies with his commands in these matters. But in other respects it is apparent that the woman is the boss in the house, and that the man is content with this situation. When discussions had to be conducted concerning the arrangement of a circumcision festival, the parents of the little boy to be circumcised were still too young to do this completely independently. The man's father indicated the large lines according to which the festival should be held. But he conducted these discussions not with his son but with his daughter-in-law. Only when the arrangement of the festival had been discussed in detail was this communicated to her husband, who now gave his official consent. Whenever man and wife are not agreed as to whether a large festival or a small festival should be held upon the occasion of some event or other, or if the man wants to buy a bicycle for his son while his wife wants to

562 593 /175 cont./ buy clothes, then the latter acts according to her own wishes. At such times the man becomes angry, but he soon comes to accept the situation with the sigh that, after all, these are only unimportant matters. Questions involving siri' are, in his opinion, ultimately the important points, and accordingly he makes sure that these continue to be under his jurisdiction.

585 184 /176/ No two wedding festivals are alike. The respective groups of relatives each have their peculiarities which find expression in details of the ritual. Within one and the same related group, each of the leading personalities leave their stamp both upon the organization of the entire festival, as well as upon the execution of the individual rituals. They show thereby that they can not only follow existing rituals, but also that they can add new rituals to these already existing.

Whoever has gone through several wedding festivals will have been struck by the great differences between them, as well as by the many traits they have in common. In the description that follows here of a number of subelements of the wedding ritual, I have followed, in the main, the notes that I took down at a single festival. In this case I am not striving for completeness. Otherwise the ritual would have had to be described much more fully. Behind each detail there again loom new ones.

/176 cont./

Elements of the Wedding Ritual

The Announcement

584 The announcement to a young girl that she is to marry is made with great care. An older woman is enlisted for this pur-
[554] pose, /177/ one who herself has many children and who has done well in this world. For instance, the wife of a kapala or
[177] someone who has higher blood coupled with personal standing. The parents hope that some of their luck (pitjuru) will be imparted to their child. The girl is taken to the woman and is addressed quietly and in a friendly manner with a few, well-chosen words. "We intend to make you a complete person" (nipadjari tau); "we want to make you into one single whole" (nipakalepu).

When her marriage is announced to her, a girl always cries. A somewhat simple type who remained seated quietly was even incited to do so: "Cry, child, otherwise people will laugh at
[539] you" (ngarruko 'ndi, nakakaliko sallang taua). Not to cry is regarded as a sign that she longs for a man.

A girl who has heard that she must marry generally draws the sarong over her head and sobbingly lies down in a dark corner of the house. She refuses all food and remains there until she is taken up by her female relatives in order to undergo a certain ritual. At that time she keeps herself as passive as possible and thereby shows that the idea of having to marry makes her very unhappy.

It is also expected of a young man that he will be sad when he hears that he must marry. Eh, tenc'na, "What, is he glad," (that he is going to marry), was the disapproving reaction of an old woman when the boy remained completely quiet. The kinsmen repeatedly make remarks to him designed to put him in a sad mood. "Think of your mother." "Now you probably will no longer think of us. Now you will only call your wife's kinsmen your kin group."

/177 cont./
Water Sprinkling (appasili)

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Appasili (1) is the name of the ritual in which water is

1. See B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 597.

sprinkled over the object of the ritual, a thing or a person, by means of a number of leafy twigs which have been tied together. It is done at various moments of the wedding festival. Thus, water is sprinkled on the vessels that will be used during the festive meals and during the /178/ setting up of the chief pole of the pannjambungi (1). It occurs also at preparations that

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1. The pannjambungi is the extension which is built onto the front part of the actual house on the occasion of a wedding festival. During this time it serves as the men's quarters and as a place where the male guests are received. At such a time the house proper, including the front room (kale balla'), is reserved for the women. I hope to be able to describe this part of the house in greater detail later. W.H. Rassers has already repeatedly pointed out the great interest attaching to this part, the last time in his study, "Inleiding tot de bestudeering van de Javaansche kris /Introduction to a Study of the Javanese Kris/," Mededeeling der Kon/inklijke/ Ned/erlandsche/ Akad/emie/

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585 788 [114] /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen, Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde, N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/ /New Series/, Vol. I, no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 [593] The person who performs this ritual is frequently the "bride's mother, " (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 824 [801] The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but sometimes variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 824 789 1. These names are rapidly recited, one after the other, when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

585 /178 cont./ "The medicinal plants
824 bowagang palili, parempasa',
789 and lowe are all able to defend against evil." Palili means: "cause to get out of the way" (Ibid., p. 223) Parempa' means: "to ward off" (Ibid., p. 122). Of "lowe," Matthes states that it is an old name for the "nagasari," a shrub that was also used for fences (Ibid., p. 373). The word buagang has the same meaning. When a kampong head, after a theft, turned to someone with the
[672] words, "If the thief is found in your house, you yourself will also be punished," the reaction was: "buagang," that is to say, "May that misfortune not overcome me."

the meaning of "gay" and "sweet" respectively.

585 The water used for sprinkling comes from a pot. In the pot it has already undergone ritual treatment. At the bottom of the pot there lie some money, a number of betel leaves folded
[824] in a special way (kalomping), and an appropriate number of pieces of areca nut. This water has been made pure (badji', literally, "good"). The burning /179/ incense vessel (padupaang) has been moved around it, puffed rice (bente) has been scattered over it, and a spell has been uttered during the ceremony. The object of the ritual is now sprinkled with this "good water" while a spell is uttered again.

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Steaming

Steaming (barumbung) is a ritual which prepares bride and groom for their future union. At that time they are still each in his own house. Under the house a pot with water is placed on [801] the fire, and seven different kinds of leaves are placed in it. The steam is conducted upward through a hollow bamboo pipe toward a hole in the floor in the hindmost part of the house. The bride (or the bridegroom) is seated above this hole, completely wrapped in a sarong. The bride's mother scatters puffed rice over her and moves the incense vessel around her, three times one way and once the other. While doing so, she mumbles a spell. When the bride has sat in this way for some time and has perspired profusely, she is bathed. This is repeated for three days on end. It is believed that in this way even the evil that is deep within her will come out with the sweat so that only the good will remain. It is hoped that thus she will be able to face the coming period of uncertainty in the best possible condition.

Plucking the Eyebrows

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The plucking of eyebrows (bubu') is likewise done before the couple is brought together. On this occasion the bride's mother removes the hairs which would make the eyebrow "not good." It is believed that a person's character is revealed in
826 his glance, and also by the features around his eye. In view of
828 the fact that even an exchange of words between young men
[834] and women is prohibited, the casting of glances is practically the only thing that can be done with impunity. The slight arching of an eyebrow and lowering of the eyelids have their significance. To be greedy of eye (balala matana) is regarded
585 as an inferior quality of a young man. In this ritual the im-
826 portance of the eye and the play of the eyes accordingly finds
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585 /179 cont./ expression. At the moment, so important for the
826 individual, when he meets his marriage partner, "the eye and
832 its environment" must be as good as possible, as one informant expressed it. /180/

585 Awaiting the Karuntigi Leaves

Awaiting the karuntigi leaves (amatamata karuntigi) (1) is,

1. B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 246.

in the first place, regarded as an important social event. On this occasion the bride (and likewise the bridegroom, each in his own house) sits on the wedding bed. It is the eve of the Moslem wedding. Many guests are present. Next to the bride a sister or cousin, as well as the bride's mother and a number of other older women are seated. All of them are in festive dress. They help the bride, fan her with cool air, move a hand, place a leg differently, or change the position of her head, so that she will not get any cramps in these parts of her body. For a bride must remain seated passively, completely immobile, and
[534 with downcast eyes. The incense vessels burns, the drums are
533] beaten, and rojong songs are hummed. Before her stand a number of little bowls. One of these contains the finely cut leaves of the karuntigi (2), a second contains oil, a third powder,

[824] 2. The leaves, it is always stated, are of a reddish color.
[822] Red is the color of fire and life. Personally, I have never been able to observe anything but an ordinary green color. The leaves are chewed beforehand.

and a fourth water.

585 /180 cont./ The higher guests come at this point and stand before the bed, one after the other. They take some karuntigi between their fingers, mix this with oil and powder, and amidst the mumbling of a spell, they smear this mixture on one of the fingers, on the arm, sometimes on the forehead or the neck of the bride. The place where the mixture is applied and the [777] manner have their significance. However, this ritual is not [554] performed by all the guests, but only by the higher and by a 887 number of older ones who themselves have many children and many sawahs, in other words people who seem to possess much "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means) and who now, on this occasion, want to transfer something of this to the bride. When a great [554] number of guests come "akkaruntigi," this raises the social standing of the host.

In the afternoon of the day following the "akkaruntigi," [178] the bridegroom leaves -- according to a very old, but at present no longer observed, custom from the lap of his mother --, amidst a great deal of lamenting on the part of his relatives, for the bride's house in order to arrive there around sundown. Only men are present on this occasion. On the way and especially upon arrival at the bride's house, a loud dikir is heard. It is said that formerly at that moment a greeting of welcome was addressed to the bridegroom by one /181/ of the wife's relatives who for this purpose stationed herself at the top of the ladder in front of the door opening. The only time [178] that I experienced this a certain embarrassment could be sensed. This was considered very old-fashioned. The number of those in Borongloë who are familiar with this address is small. The Pinati of Bontoramba gave me the text here reproduced, independent of any festival. The four-line verses reported at the end, in which bridegroom and bride are introduced speaking, were actually incorporated into the address, according to him.

126 The text was checked for uniformity in spelling with the 585 assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes. The

126 /181 cont./ latter here followed the system suggested by
585 Professor A. A. Cense. In the translation, I tried to transpose the frequently figurative text into as good Dutch as was possible. It was not my intention to take strict responsibility for the translation.

585
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Pakkio' bunting	Address to welcome the bridegroom
1. Iadende', iadende',	Happily, happily,
2. nia' todjemmindjo maë	there now finally comes
3. bunting salloa kutajang,	the bridegroom whom I have been expecting for such a long time,
4. salloa kuminasai.	for whose arrival I have been hoping for such a long time.
5. Nampako riudjung borikku, riappa' pa'rasangangku,	Now that you have come to the outermost point, to the border of my land,
6. nakurappoiko tjini', kutimbarangngikō pangngai.	I give you my best wishes and my love.
7. Nampako kuasseng nia', nakuitungko labattu,	Now I know that you are there, that you have really arrived,
8. kunragi memang berasa' ri- mangko' kebo',	I am preparing four-colored rice in a white bowl, /182/
9. kummatta memang rappobau' ripalakku,	then I will hack a betel nut into little pieces on the palm of my hand,
10. kunnanro memang kalomping ritalang bulaëng;	and I will place a folded betel leaf on a golden bowl;
11. kutongko intang, kubelobelo djamarro';	and I will cover all this with jewels and adorn it with emeralds;
12. intang matjora massingarri dallekannu,	glittering diamonds shine upon your face,

585
539

/182 cont./

13. bulaëng ti'no' assuloi pattjini'nu.	pure gold illuminates your visage.
14. Lakukapeangko anne sumanga'nu mabellaja,	I will wave to your soul which is far away, to turn around,
15. lakukiokangko pole tubunu 'lampa salaja.	I will call back for you your body, which is wandering around aimlessly.
16. Badji' kuallekonne bungabunga tamalate;	I draw you toward myself like a flower which will never wilt.
17. late bunga, tamalate tjinikannu.	A flower wilts, but one can never get enough of looking at you.
18. Kutannangkonne tope talakka' riaja';	I shall make you into a sarong that will always be warm.
19. lakka' tope tamalakkakko ikau.	A sarong may become loose, but you stay.
20. Sangkontu sanrapammamako bulang sampuloa ngngappa',	You are like the full moon,
21. nasusung pale, natinriang wari-wari;	with the evening star by its side which at the same time is accompanied by the morning star; /183/
22. wari-wari kapapasang, pale mannuntunga bangngi.	a morning star which shines through to day break, and an evening star that continues to glitter throughout the night (1).

1. Thus something special, something that has never before been seen.

/183 cont./

585 539

23. Nisailenu kau, tamalladjunu nitjini' ma'mole-mole.	One looks at you, one never gets enough of looking at you.
24. Kukio' Daëndjakondjo, kukanro ana' karaëng.	I call you a man of the nobility and honor you as a prince.
25. Nutuli manai'mo maë riballa'na matoannu, rituka'na ipara'nu,	Come enter the house of your parents-in-law, along the steps of your brothers-in-law and your sisters-in-law,
26. matoang tuna, ipara' kamasemase;	your lowly parents-in-law and your pitiable brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law;
27. mangngondjottommakonne tuka' tallu anronna, patampulo baringanna;	go along the ladder with the three uprights and the forty rungs (2);

[554]

2. These and the following references point to the fact that here one is in the house of a very prominent man.

28. mandjapputtongko pole tjottjorang nita'-buta'bu;	hold on tight to the banister of the ladder, which is divided into joints like sugar cane;
29. nutuli manai';	climb steadily upward;
30. mannjorong pakke'bu nigiring-giring;	push against the door which is provided with little copper bells;
31. mangngondjot tongko dasere' nidjaling kawa', nia'lanro bassi kalling;	step onto the floor boards which are tied to the transverse boards by means of wire;

/183 cont./

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32. mateteongko pallangga nibatang rappo;	also run across the beams of the floor that are made of the stems of the areca;/184/
33. mannosotongko padongko' nitau-tau	pass under the large attic beam which is provided with a few upright beams;
34. nutulimo kalau', rawanganna timbaonu, ammempo ribenteng polonnu.	walk on to the west (that is, the high part of the house), and sit down under the canopy of your bed against the smoothed head pole.
35. A'lapara' tappere' bo'dong;	Sit down on the round little mat;
36. andjo'djo kari kanang;	just point out, left and right, what you desire;
37. mansuro-suro rapannu, mampattudju sangkammannu.	just send off your equals to run errands; let them work for you.
38. Naremba-rembako pole ana' rara patampulo;	Forty young girls will keep you company;
39. nisarimanangko pole lonrong beru ma'bakka';	you will be helped and served by adolescents;
40. benteng polong kanasako, kanako benteng pakkai', kai' topena pasikaiki badjunna.	?
41. Nai' manaung tunibarangbaranginnu; assulu' antama ata maballa' balla'nu.	Your pledgees will run back and forth; your household slaves will go in and out.
42. Numa'djarang, numattedong, numa'djangang rassi lerang;	You will possess many horses and buffaloes, as well as a coop full of chickens;

/184 cont./

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43. nakatumbangngangi pole palampang ase berunu;	you will pile up so much young rice that the barn in which it is kept will collapse; /185/
44. nakatepokangi padongko' ase toanu.	you will possess so much old rice that the great ceiling beam will break under its weight.
45. Tamanraikko ri Ambong nukoasa;	You do not travel on Ambon and yet you are mighty(1);
46. takalaukko ri Djawa, nukalumannjang;	you do not travel on Java and yet you are wealthy(1);

1. The meaning is: "you do not trade, and yet you are mighty or wealthy."

47. tama'botoroko numammeta.	you do not gamble, and yet you win.
48. Assare-saremako sallang rimatoang kasi-ási,	You will also help your poor parents-in-law,
49. appiturummako pole riipara' kamase-mase.	you will also give something to your pitiable brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.
50. Nai'tuannu, ssalla' dasere' dalle'nu.	Your good fortune rises upward between the boards of the floor.
51. Kuminasaidjakondjo sunggu; kutindjakkiko mate'ne;	I hope that you will be fortunate; I make the vow that all will go well with you;
52. nusunggu todjeng numate'ne todjentodong.	and see, you are really fortunate and things are really going well with you.

/185 cont./

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53. La'bu bannang ri Djawa, mala'buang umuru'nu;	Long is the thread from here to Java, but even longer will be the duration of your life;
54. luara' tamparang, luarangngang nawa-nawannu;	wide is the sea, but more expansive are your thoughts;
55. tinggi Bawakaraëng, matinggiampa tuannu.	high is the mountain the Bawakaraëng, but even higher is your good fortune. /186/
56. Le'ba' gentung timbaonu, le'ba' tantang pakkalli'nu;	The canopy of your bed has already been hung, and the curtain of the bed has already been drawn;
57. timbao nikida-kida, pakkalli' niura' tallu.	the canopy is adorned with golden spangles, and the curtain is provided with three strips.
58. Le'ba' basami ba'ra'nu, le'ba' gusu' langiri'nu;	The powder for your face has already been moistened, and the water for the washing of your head is even now ready for use;
59. tattannangi pole tjapparu pa'minnjakkannu.	the pot with hair oil, which is destined for you, stands even now in readiness.
60. Nutulimo ntama ribili' kamua liku, kamua kallang-ngang rapa';	You will enter a little room that is pitch dark and seems like a whirlpool.
61. mannoso' badang; mannimba' bangkeng patjiko.	you will penetrate a body; you will open the rim of the hole.

/186 cont./

585 539

62. Nukana-kanami sallang saraka ripamminangngang;	You will recite the formulas of the bed;
63. tappau'-pau'mi pole bungabunga rikatinroannu.	the flowers in the bed spread their scent.
64. Nusipoke-poke genre, nusita'ba' rappo toa;	You will extend to each other the folded betel leaves, and you will throw ripe areca nuts to each other;
65. nusipattoa-toai, nusipa'loaloai, nusipattjammo-tjammoi;	you will grow old together, and you will live together until you are forgetful and toothless;
66. sitanro takkang, sibuttju' pa'dengka-dengka.	until you will give each other a cane and until you throw an areca pounder toward each other. /187/
67. Lino-linopi anging, pakkeke mappasisa'la'.	Only after everything has become quiet (when the wind has died down), will you be separated by death.
68. Numammana'-mana' sarre,	You will get children just like the sarre plant (1),

[824]

1. Names /sic/ of plants that are well known for their many offshoots and rapid increase.

69. numa'borong unti-djawa,	you will form a forest of of pisang djawa,
70. numattju'la' ase-bakka'.	you will have offshoots just like the rice plant that is called ase-bakka'.

/187 cont./

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71. Pinruang tudju, pintallung tassalapangngi.	Two times seven and three times nine.
72. Manai'ngasemmi maë Anrongguru ningainu, Gallarrang nipangngalikinnu, Kapala nipaemponu,	They will all come to your house, your respected heads, your adat community heads, for whom one has respect, and your kampong heads, who are gladly welcomed,
73. battungasemmi pole bidjannu pammanakannu, bella-bella mbani-bani, tja'di-tja'di lompo-lompo, ana'-ana' tau toa.	all your kinsmen will come from near and far, big and small, old and young.
74. Nipanai'mako ripangkapangka bulaëng,	You will be brought to a golden palace,
75. nipaempomako ritappere' paramadani.	and you will be made to sit on a beautiful carpet.
76. Badji' nangai Na'bi, napudji Alla Taäla.	The Prophet loves you, and God praises you. /188/
77. Sipoko' bu'ne tantanna dje'ne' matannu;	Just as a berry tree drops its fruit, so there will be many tears shed for you;
78. sipoko' tjamba pammatti'na iloro'nu.	you will be envied just as a tamarind tree is envied its fruit.
79. Kupattannangngangkonne anggoro' rigantironu;	I will plant a vine for you under the outermost lower edge of your roof;
80. kupa'lamungangko pole lemotanning ridolangang,	I will also plant a djeruk tanning for you in the middle of the open sea,

/188 cont./

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81. nakatjinnai Somba, napammattikang iloro' Bate-salapang.

which even the Prince himself will covet and for which the mouths of the members of the Royal Council will water.

82. Bunting nilekkakko paleng tunipalele bellakang;

Now you will really go away, bride (1), you will change houses;

[591 795]

1. Here the one who speaks turns to the bride. It is a custom that after the Moslem marriage ceremony the couple goes to the house of the bridegroom's parents, at least for a few days.

83. niërang ri bori'maraëng, pa' rasangang nampa nuondjo'; bori nampa nula'bakki.

you will be brought to another land, the land which you will enter for the first time; the land toward which you are traveling.

84. Nukamma todong djonga,

You resemble a deer that anxiously peers over the hedge,

85. mattoa' ri sampa' mangagajangan tunumalo.

which shyly looks at the passersby.

86. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea: Nampa' 'lampa riballakku, nakudjoli pakkibukku, nakugulung tapperekku kupattantuna, kalengku lammantang puli.

The song of the bridegroom goes: Now I am leaving my house, now /189/ I am locking my door and rolling up my mat, because I am convinced that I shall not return.

/189 cont./

585 539

87. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea:
Takundjunga' sallo lolo, kurunrung balu baine, tamammonea', tope taero'na mmakku.

And the song of the bride goes:
It is not for nothing that I intentionally remained unmarried for a long time, I accept no tope whom my mother does not love.

88. Nakana pole kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea:
Ka'de' kutjini' Batara, kudupai allo-allo, nadjo' djokangku, lebanga ripa'maikku.

The song of the bridegroom again goes:
If I should see God, I would burn incense for him every day since He has shown me the one whom I love.

89. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea:
Kade' nania' erokku, tea' sadju' risa'bea', tea' salasa ri badju montjong buloa.

The song of the bride goes:
If I should have a wish, then it would be: do not make the silken jacket unhappy and do not disappoint the green jacket (1).

1. The jacket here represents its wearer: a young girl, therefore the speaker herself.

90. Nakana pole kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea:
Nampako mattju'la' lebong, nakurompong-rompong memang lompoko nai', kutambai pa'rompongku.

And the bridegroom in turn says:
And if then you grow up like a young bamboo, then I will take care that no one will come near you (2); when you are fully grown I shall strengthen my protection.

/189 cont./

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[241]

2. Young bamboo shoots are protected against goats and buffaloes.

91. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea; Apa kitjini' rinakke, nakke le'leng nakke kodi, nakke tja'di simbolengku.	And the bride says: What do you see in me? I am dark and ugly, and my hair knot is small. /190/
92. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea: Manna le'leng manna kodi, manna tja'di simbolennu, titti' matangku, kala'busang pangngaingku.	And the bridegroom says: Even though you are swarthy and even though you are homely, and even though your hair knot is small, you are the apple of my eye; after you I will love no other.
93. Nakanatosseng kelonna Daëng bunting bainea: Sikatutuiki' tope, narisassa mole-mole, taënamonne, parekanna maloloa.	And the song of the bride goes again: Together we shall take good care of our common sarong; we shall wash it repeatedly; my work as a young girl has now come to an end.
94. Nai'ngasemmaki' maë.	Come in, all of you (1).

1. Literally, "Come upstairs, all of you."

The Wedding Ceremony According to Moslem Rite

585

After this address or, in the case where this address is not recited, when the dikir is held up at the foot of the house steps,

585 /190 cont./ the bridegroom goes up the steps and into the house. At the high side of the house in the front room the bridal bed is usually made up. On this the bride is seated with her back turned to the entrance. Behind her the bridegroom takes his place. Immediately after this, the Moslem wedding ceremony (nikka') is performed.

The Imam of the adat community who performed the 793 wedding ceremony here described recorded in Makassarese in 585 detail the points of the ceremony that he considered the most [115 important, after the ceremony had taken place. The translation 126] of his report follows here.

'When I was about to marry Rahimi and Sija I asked 585 Rahimi's best man what the name of the bridegroom was, and Bandong (2) answered: 'the name of the bridegroom is Rahimi.'

2. The best man's name.

"Thereupon I asked: 'What is the name of his father and of his mother?' And then Bandong answered: 'Rahimi's father is called Palu, and his mother is called Sati. Both are still alive; they live in Bontobaddo (3).' /191/

3. Name of a section of kampong Bontoramba.

"Then I further questioned Malla (1): 'What is the name

1. Name of the bride's father.

of the bride?' And Malla answered: 'The name of the bride is Sija; I am her father, her mother is called Sani; she is deceased.'

"Thereupon I again asked Malla: 'What is the amount of the sunrang?' And Malla said: 'Twenty-four reals.'

585 /191 cont./ "And I asked further: 'How was the sunrang paid?' And thereupon Malla answered: 'Eight reals in cash and one section of a sawah situated in Bianreng (2) bordering

2. Name of a sectionof kampong Bontoramba.

in the north on the sawah of Rapi, in the west on the sawah of Bagenda, in the south on the sawah of Djumadi, and in the east on the sawah of Genda. This sawah was given for an amount of 16 reals.'

"Thereupon I took the bridegroom's thumb in order to conclude the marriage.

"I asked Malla: 'Do you consent to the marriage of these two?' And Malla said: 'It is good.' Three times I asked this.

"After that I performed the ceremony. As witnesses there were Djuma, the guru of Bontoramba, and Massulukang. I held onto the hand of the bridegroom and recited the vow before him: 'Asjhadu anla Ilaaha Illallah wa asjhadu anna [539] Muhammadan Rasulullah (I truthfully testify that there is no other God than Allah taäla; and I also testify that the Prophet Mohammed is the messenger of God).'

"Subsequently I said: 'I pronounce you, Rahimi and Sija, the daughter of Malla, man and wife; your sunrang amounts to 24 reals.'

"And Rahimi said: 'I agree to be joined in marriage with Sija. I am paying a sunrang of 24 reals.' Three times he said this.

And the witnesses said: 'We agree.' Thereupon I let go of his hand. Rahimi was then conducted to his wife by Bandong in order to make her fortunate by his touch. The upper arm of Sija was touched by Rahimi:

The kampu was placed before me. It contained: 20 betel leaves, 2 areca nuts, limestone, and by way of wedding money, 8.25 guldens (8.-guldens in paper money and 25 cents). I gave 1.-gulden to each of the witnesses.

585 /191 cont./ Thereupon I was asked to come and eat outside in the pannjambungi."

So much for the Iman's report. /192/

The First Touch

As has already become apparent from the Imam's report, the best man (tau lalangang) takes the bridegroom by the hand immediately after the nikka', and leads him to his bride, who is seated a few meters before him on the ground with her back turned toward him. Here he touches her for the first time in the presence of all kinsmen and guests. Older women have previously talked to him and told him that he must be gentle and friendly with his bride because his luck is dependent upon this in his later life. At the same time they also tell him what is expected of him at the moment of this first touch. The spot where he touches her (arm, neck, cheek, or ear, and so forth) and the way in which he does this (calmly, gently, indifferently, angrily) are considered important in this connection. From this, the older people deduce the young man's feelings with respect to his wife, and at the same time they determine on the basis of this how she will henceforth have to conduct herself toward him, scolding, instructing him further, and so forth.

The Pushing Game

585 524 This same evening "amèsu" sometimes takes place. This is a "pushing game" (1). The guests sit around in a circle; the

1. B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 697.

higher guests sit in front. Within the circle is the couple, likewise seated upon the ground. One of the higher guests knocks on the ground. The couple must push themselves toward him in

585 /192 cont./ a seated position. The one who reaches him first
524 receives a "pitjuru," a luck-bringing object, sometimes in the form of a coin or ornament. However, care is always taken that the woman wins. On the other hand, she is not allowed to win directly. If she or her husband is very close to the one who knocked, another one will knock who is seated at the other side of the circle, and then they must again push themselves thither. But once the highest guest has knocked upon the ground, no one knocks anymore. He does this only when the man does not have a chance of getting to him first, so that the bride therefore receives the pitjuru from him. "Amèsu" is, therefore, as it were, a game in which the young couple compete with each other, but whose outcome is already fixed from the outset. It is com-
[554] pared to a cock fight. It only takes place when there are high guests present at the festival. It is pleasant for the person who gives the festival if "amèsu" takes place, for that means that he had /193/ high guests, and that means that he is in their favor. For the young man, this pushing competition is un-
[522] pleasant because he always loses to his bride, and people openly make fun of this.

The First Joint Meal

585 The day after the nikka', man and wife for the first time "eat" together. Ritual and play are here closely interwoven. There is no question of ordinary eating. One of the older women takes a handful of rice with coconut oil and sugar, briefly holds this above the incense vessel, mumbles a spell over it, and then gives this to the young woman to eat. Coconut oil, that is to
[824] say, fat, is a symbol of wealth; sugar is a symbol of love and sweetness. She is told to bring this handful of food momentarily to her mouth, and then to offer it to the young husband seated next to her. The people around watch to see how he reacts. If he opens his mouth quickly, this means that he likes her. "Your cock is conquered," the men at that point laughingly

585 /193 cont./ comment. But if he hesitates or turns away, he is urged to accept the food. For, ultimately, the older people like nothing better than to see him lose, and it is believed that he loses if he does what his wife demands of him, namely when he accepts food from her.

The First Joint Bath

Again a few days later the couple is bathed together for the first time. Here, too, ritual and play are of more importance than the fact of the bathing itself. Together, the couple sit -- the woman wrapped entirely in a sarong -- on the house steps, which in daily life forms the link with the attic but which for this special occasion has been placed on the floor in the pannjambungi (1). Under the rungs of the ladder lies a cleaver

[342]
[251]
[769]
[417]

1. The attic is an important place in the house. There the rice is kept. In case of shortage of living quarters, the young girls are sometimes housed there. The ancestors descend through it when they are implored to do so in a ritual manner. The ladder to the attic has a special form. The two uprights proceed from a single branch that rests on the floor and which splits into two, approximately 40 centimeters above the floor.

as well as one of the sections of the loom, objects which man and wife respectively always need in performing their daily activities. According to informants, /194/ the significance of this is to further the wish that man and wife will now also

585 /194 cont./ become familiar in these common things. The content of twice nine young coconuts are now poured out over them, and the passili ritual is performed on them (1).

1. This bathing festival generally takes place three days after the arrival of the bridegroom in the house of the bride. During almost three times 24 hours, the bridegroom is forbidden to step on the earth outside the house. If he violates this prohibition he is scolded: "Why do you do that? Do we have to become unlucky?"

Thereupon they must "see which of them is the first to have the ground under their feet as they get up from the ladder." Whoever wins will be boss in the house in their [493 562] marriage. The bridegroom usually runs right across the pannjambungi down the front steps. The bride is quickly carried to her little room where a lump of earth has previously been placed in readiness. It is always declared that the bride has won even though it is practically impossible to ascertain the actual outcome. But nobody is interested in the latter anyway.

After this the couple goes to spend a few days in the bridegroom's house. There festivities again take place, and subsequently they again return to the wife's house.

Being "Good"

Another small family festival takes place there,/in the wife's house/ in conclusion, a week or two after the nikka'. This

585 /194 cont./ festival is the being "good" of man and wife (pabadjikang). There are no further guests present on the occasion. Only the mutual housemates of man and wife are invited. Together the young man and wife are seated on the bridal bed (2). The wife has betel and areca nuts in her hand.

[482 554]

2. The woman was carried to the bed by her oldest brother. A second brother carried her back again at the conclusion of the ceremony. These brothers evidently regarded this as an honor.

He must ask her for them; she must surrender them to him. In public, therefore, she complies with a request made by him. If she begins by refusing, she must be "bribed" by him. He promises her a present. Sometimes he is urged to take the betel and areca nuts away from her forcibly. The element of competition becomes clearly apparent here. Just as in the case of the eating ceremonial, comments are made by those present. Here the man must win in the end. He must obtain the betel and areca nuts since this indicates that man and wife are "good" (badji') with each other, and that is ultimately the purpose of the entire wedding festival.

The pabadjikang was not celebrated in former times, [178] according to one of the informants, unless sexual intercourse had already taken place /195/. At present it is celebrated, at least in Goa, even if no sexual contact has taken place, as for instance in the case of a child marriage.

585 833 Several men who had been married for years stated proudly that they had immediately been "good" with their wife. By this they meant that shortly after, possibly the very evening of the nikka', coitus had taken place. Here physical prowess

585 /195 cont./ is not the issue, but rather the tactfulness in
833 getting the wife to perform the sexual act. They had thus satisfied the wishes of those around them. Their masculine pride
[156] was flattered because they had shown that they were good conquerors of women. This characteristic is particularly prized in Makassarese. A woman always shows herself averse to a man, even to her husband. It is the latter's art to win her for himself through a pleasant outward appearance, a well-chosen word, a strategic touch, and very little physical force. That is how the ladies' man Sawerigading (1) does it.

1. See R. A. Kern, I La Galigo, p. 333.

The art of conquering women that Sawerigading possessed to the highest degree is at most held up as an ideal to the young Makassarese. Even before the wedding ceremony takes
581 place according to Moslem rite, one of the older women con-
593 ducts a number of conversations with the bridegroom. She talks,
521 and the young man listens. She tells him that it will be difficult for him to make his wife happy, but that his happiness in his future life will be dependent upon this. She also tells him that he must not be rough with her. She asks him whether he knows what he must say to his wife later on and whether he knows what to answer when she asks him something. She tells him what questions he can expect and what his answers should be to them. They do not like to talk about this. I could only obtain a single example of this. "Where do you place me?" (Keremaĕ nupatinro) was given as an example of such a question, and the answer was supposed to be: "I place you above me" (Irateangkuko) (2).

2. It is possible that the only informant who drew my attention to these questions

521 /195 cont./ and answers owed them to
581 tarekat influence, and that
593 therefore they are not in general use. Elsewhere, people denied knowledge of their existence. Nevertheless, a report of these questions and answers seems to be in place here.

521 Such a conversation between older woman and bridegroom
585 bears an intimate character; it is regarded as of great importance for the future /196/ life of the bridegroom. The older one must have the confidence of the younger. The bride learns the questions and answers from one of her kinsmen, suitable for this instruction, and if the man and woman concerned are not related to each other, the older people establish contact concerning this matter in order to be sure that enough of a connection exists between the questions and the answers.

This conversation conducted in whispers between older and younger persons is not so intimate that an older man might not interrupt it with the question, "Are you being examined?" And there is general laughter. All the older people know what the two are discussing there. The instruction given to the
[831] young man is not so serious that an obscene remark could not be interjected.

585 Frequently as soon as the evening following the nikka',
833 when the guests have already returned to their houses, the bridegroom is taken by the older aunt to the partitioned-off shed where his bride is. The old women are still awake at this time. Some of them urge him to enter. They call him "my cock." Others try to hold him back from it, but this is mere make-believe. In so doing they are holding on to the idea that they must protect the young girl, as is the case in

585 /196 cont./ ordinary life. In reality, however, they all
833 hope that bridegroom and bride will be "good" with each other as soon as possible, that is to say, that coitus will take place. The old women listen at the walls.

If the young man expressly refuses to enter and join his wife, the older people rest satisfied, at least for the time being.
[626] But they show their disapproval and renew, possibly even the following evening, their attempts to make him go in. The same situation obtains if the bride resists once the bridegroom has been led in to her. If she knocks violently on the door, she is let out.

585 The older people talk to the marriage partner who seems
833 to refuse sexual contact with the other. They point out that in
626 previous marriages young married couples again and again submitted to what is now demanded of him (her). The bride is told in such a case that all women have at one time undergone this experience, that her mother was also married in this way. The end of the conversation frequently consists of the questions so difficult for younger people to answer: "Surely you don't want to make your aunt (that is, the speaker) ashamed?" (namely, by sticking to the refusal /197/ and thus causing to fail the marriage that she is trying to bring about). To
[888 contradict an older and sometimes at the same time a higher
576] person is discourteous. The individual who does not wish to capitulate in such a situation can do nothing but remain silent.

Because of the strictly maintained separation of the sexes,
834 young unmarried men and women live in separate worlds.
585 When they are brought together, it is to be expected that it
521 will be difficult for them to talk to each other. Whatever they have learned and applied up to that point is no longer of any use. The prepared questions and answers thus serve, one could say, to facilitate the very first contact. Formally, they are an element of the ritual to bring man and wife together and to get them used to the fact that now other forms of social intercourse obtain between them than before. In

834
585 /197 cont./ content, they have the purpose of teaching the
521 parties the attitude which they must adopt toward each other.

834 If one compares the crying, passive Makassarese bride
who clearly demonstrates her aversion to her husband, with
585 the happy, beaming Dutch bride who looks up to her bride-
186 groom with full confidence, it is clear that every opportunity for misunderstandings is present. Then the criticism of an old Makassarese who had attended the wedding reception of a Dutch couple and had seen how man and wife finally were driven off together in a car amidst the cheers of the reception guests becomes comprehensible. In all these expressions on the part of the woman, he merely saw a display of her feelings of desire for her husband, and he found this quite indecent.

The fact of their leaving together signified to him that there was nothing more to prevent this man from giving in to his sexual desires. From the bride's conduct it seemed to him all too clear that the bridegroom would not have to make any effort to gain the bride for himself. The effort, tact, and considerateness displayed on this occasion are, to the Makassarese, the essence of the relationship between man and wife. Based on what he observed, this old man could only conclude that what was most important for him, was lacking among the Dutch.

177 Now the difficulties which arose at /198/ the marriage of
585 a young Makassarese man of high nobility to a girl from one of the prominent Makassarese Indo-European families also become understandable. In her house the atmosphere, dress, and so forth was to be European, and in his house it was to be Makassarese. This had been agreed upon beforehand by both families. In her house, therefore, the bridegroom was dressed in a tuxedo, and she was dressed in white with a short train. He was the gay, energetic bridegroom, and she the radiant

177 /198 cont./ bride who clearly enjoyed the bouquet of white
585 carnations that she had received from him. Arm in arm they stepped into the car which took them to the next event in the festivities at his family's house.

There their gaiety collided with the Makassarese world which demands of the woman that she cry and show herself averse to her husband-to-be. The bride changed her clothing; she received the Makassarese bridal costume with the head-dress belonging to it, and was made up in a manner appropriate to it. When a moment later her bridegroom appeared and risked a joke, he was angrily put in his place. She turned away from him, and, as a good Makassarese bride, she henceforth sat motionless with closed eyes amidst the women, and at appropriate moments she displayed her aversion to her bridegroom in a self-composed manner, completely in accordance with the manner in which the Makassarese feelings must be expressed in this situation.

Child Marriage

584 The marriage policy of the older people permits even sexually immature children to marry. In so doing, they believe that they are keeping a marriage, judged desirable by them from not taking place. The reason that a marriage desired by them does not take place is to be found, in the first place, in the opposition of the individuals concerned -- the opposition of as yet sexually immature children practically does not have to be taken into account --, and in the second instance, in a request made by a higher person.

554 A request by the religious official or by someone with
565 karaëng blood in his veins to an ordinary kampong man can
584 be made on behalf of a kinsman belonging to this higher person -- and in that case there will generally be no reason for refusal --. But it may also be made on behalf of a lower person, one of his followers, or for a close associate. Refusal

554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaëng related group, that only a small number are contracted in that of the adat community heads, and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives. The marriage registers are particularly useless for this pur-
582 pose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling out the marriage registers know that the administration does not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this girl, a very special figure ahead of his time, had recorded the birth dates of his children in a notebook, and therefore a check was possible in this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

582 /199 cont./ cohabitation, frequently with permanent physical
593 or psychic injuries for the rest of her remaining life. By child marriage, therefore, we understand here a marriage in which at least one of the two partners is not sexually mature. But then the conception of the matter given above is incorrect in two respects as regards South Celebes. In the first place, the bridegroom as well as the bride is not yet sexually mature in two of the four cases at my disposal. After the sealing of the marriage, the children did not live in the same house. They are supervised by the older people, and not until the girl has menstruated and the boy has begun to "crow" -- and this is sometimes the case only after several years, -- does ordinary cohabitation take place.

In the second place, even if the man is sexually mature and the girl is not, it is not necessary to be too fearful of the evil consequences of a child marriage. A man, after all,
[832] is /200/ taught that he must be tender and loving to his young wife, and that he must try to win her for himself gradually. Rough conduct in this respect on his part is disapproved even in an ordinary marriage.

582 It is clear that in child marriage in South Celebes the possibility of ill-treatment of the overly young girl is not excluded, nonetheless the possibilities for this are very limited. Child marriage has not been institutionalized here. It is contracted in cases where the older people have a stake in keeping the influence of the young individuals upon the choice of their marriage partners to a minimum.

However, in so doing, they still do not have the certainty that this marriage will also become "good." A girl
[833 who was not yet sexually mature at the contracting of her
593] marriage to an adult man resisted him for a number of years after menstruation had already set in. This was accepted by the husband as well as by her kinsmen. This is a case of a married couple where one partner desires no sexual union, and thereby causes the marriage to fail. In a section concerning

582 /200 cont./ child marriage this means merely that a child marriage does not necessarily have any particularly bad consequences.

Refusal of Sexual Union in Marriage

586 We have only spoken above of a marriage where the prescribed Moslem rite has taken place. In the same way, we shall now mean by divorce the separation of the marriage partners according to the rules of Moslem dogma. However, only a certain aspect of the Makassarese ideas concerning these subjects is reproduced by this.

585 At the wedding feast, the elders concentrate their efforts upon the bringing about of sexual union between man and wife. Not until this has taken place, is it really believed to have been brought about.

After some time it appears that in a number of these 593 marriages the partners nonetheless are not "good," that is to 833 say, that they do not have sexual intercourse. In the present-day stage of observation, however, this comes to light only if they do not live together for extended periods, and avoid each other. This state of affairs may last until the death of one of them. Only in a few cases, generally if one of the two [586] wants to remarry, does divorce according /201/ to Moslem law take place. This is not much more than a formality which legalizes an already existing situation. The "being good" of man and wife constitutes the center of Makassarese married life. The difficulties seem to lie there.

833 Only after the normal festivities have been concluded can it become apparent whether the goal has been reached or not. The pabadjikang ritual in itself provides no guarantee that sexual intercourse of man and wife has actually occurred. It is possible that the young man or woman goes through the entire wedding festival in the customary fashion, that is, more or less tacitly, but continues to refuse the sex act and

833 /201 cont./ thus causes the entire purpose of the marriage to run awry. In such cases it is said of the man that he refuses sexual contact with his wife (tena naero' ri bainenna; literally, "he does not want his wife"); such a refusal may just as well emanate from the wife.

Sometimes it is clear that someone does not desire con-
[584] tact with his spouse because he himself has made another choice and now still wants to force his kinsmen to permit him to marry her (1). In other cases a bride or bridegroom declares

[586] 1. In a case which took place in Macassar in which a young man refused sexual intercourse with his wife because he had his mind set upon another girl, the marriage was dissolved after more than three years. At that time his father consented to his disposing of his wife. Shortly
[587] thereafter he had to marry a second wife, just as little by his own choice as the first one. He led a normal married life with this second wife. She presented him with two children and died a few years afterwards. Only then did he marry the woman whom he had chosen eight years earlier.

that the appearance of the marriage partner does not please him (or her). But in still other cases, not a single reason can be detected.

Sometimes it is believed in such cases that the individual who refuses has been affected by a spell emanating from

833 /201 cont./ someone who does not want him to contract this marriage. Sometimes it is also believed that the ritual was not performed in the correct manner. Even where a man specifies his own choice and where the appearance of the other one /the spouse/ does not please him, it is believed possible to sway by means of spells and ritual the one who refuses sexual intercourse, so that the negative attitude will be abandoned. These attempts are continued for years after the contracting of the marriage. Favorable results of these attempts will be reported. Thus it appeared that shortly after such a ritual, carried out almost three years after marriage, a sudden reversal in the young woman's attitude became noticeable. Previously she had always withdrawn upon the arrival /202/ of her husband and had ignored him. Then all of a sudden she had thrown a bath sarong in his direction, and after this first sign of rapproachement, the relationship had soon become completely normal.

585 833 In order to join a couple that was not "good" together, the ex-Imam married them again. This is called "marrying again" (nikka' poleang). It is believed that in the original marriage ceremony a mistake was made, that is to say, that a formula was incorrectly recited or a ritual action neglected. As a result of this mistake, it is thought, the marriage had never been able to become completely successful, and a repetition of the marriage contract will be able to avoid this error. This marrying again which is sometimes called a "remedy" (paballe') is of no significance according to Moslem law. It is not recorded in the marriage registers. No further festivities take place upon this occasion. Even the sunrang is not paid again; only the nikka' is repeated (1). I was

1. The one who performed these wedding ceremonies was the ex-Imam of the adat community. Thus he is

585 /202 cont./ thought to be acquainted
833 with the formulas that are correct in the Moslem view. It is possible that this is a local development. Elsewhere in South Celebes I did not hear of such marrying again.

able to record three cases of this. All three took place from one to three years after the first wedding ceremony; and in all of them the couple shortly thereafter was "good" together.

833 It is believed that the individual himself is not responsible for his unwillingness. Therefore, nobody is angry at him.

If the young man is unwilling, his wife's kinsmen are not [602] angry at him. They receive him in a friendly manner when he comes to visit at their house. His wife remains shy and [593] withdrawn toward him, just as every young woman is toward her husband. She is not angry either, nor does she feel insulted by his refusal.

593 The man, too, is not angry. He sometimes brings some-
606 thing for his wife which she can use in the household, as is
833 customary between man and wife and as he would do if they were "good" together. Frequently, he spends the night at a married brother's or sister's house, by preference not in that of his parents, because the latter very clearly show him that he should not sleep in their house but with his wife. A certain amount of pressure is therefore exerted upon him. "People who act like that have a short life, " it is said.

In case the wife refuses, there is a similar situation./203/. She is similarly told that women in such circumstances do not live long. "If a woman continues to refuse her husband, her [761] bier will creak" (1). Her husband is not angry at her, nor

593 /203 cont./ 1. That is to say, then
626 she will soon die.' For
833 when a corpse is placed
[761] upon the bier made of
bamboo, the bier creaks.

does he feel shame because she refuses him. Her kinsmen feel a little embarassed (siri' siri') because they brought about the marriage and therefore also bear responsibility for her refusal, so they are extremely friendly toward the young man.

586 The belief that the performance of ritual can cause a
[833] man or wife to give up his (her) refusal to have sexual intercourse entails that one waits for a long time before officially dissolving the contracted marriage. This is usually done with the mutual consent of the older people. Only when the latter have given up hope, after at least a year has elapsed, that the marriage could still become "good," is one of the two spouses permitted to marry someone else. Only then is the divorce of the first marriage registered.

In the case of couples who have been living separately for a long period of time, people often do not exactly know whether the Moslem marriage dissolution has already taken place. Little interest is shown in this.

The unwillingness of a young man is thus accepted, even though people are not simply satisfied with this right away. But one does not accept his giving the talak /formal repudiation. -- Ed./. A case of a young man disposing of his wife against the wishes of his older kinsmen was unknown in Borongloë. Informants believed that he would disgrace his kin group by doing so.

593 Even though a couple is "good" together after the wedding
833 festivities are over, this relationship may not be lasting in a number of cases. After a shorter or longer period of time, no more sexual relations take place in such a case. This

593 /203 cont./ phenomenon can likewise be caused by either
833 the wife or the husband. People frequently give some unimportant incident as the reason. One man stated that he no
586 longer wanted to have sexual relations with his wife because
593 she had become angry at him when the lombok /red pepper/
833 that he had brought for her splashed into her eye as she was grinding it. Since then, man and wife no longer lived together. The latter would, however, at times get what she
593 needed for her /204/ daily sustenance from his warong
586 /shop/. Now and then they would speak to each other, and sometimes she would ask him whether he would not come and look at their child. They did not quarrel, and no repudiation took place. When their child, who had stayed with the woman, was about to marry, she let her husband know, but he told her that he was leaving the consent and arrangement of the festivities to her. Neither of them remarried. This situation lasted until the death of the man.

In another case where a married couple had been living separated for years, the reason given was the fact that the wife wanted to continue living with her own kin group and did not want to go with the husband to his. "They live separated" (sisala pamantanganna), it is said in such cases.

A few figures may make the relationships here described a little clearer.

586 On July 1, 1948, the number of persons residing in kampong Bontoramba who were divorced according to Moslem
[162] law and had not remarried was three, two men and one woman. The latter had been married to one of these two men. The wife of the other man lived elsewhere.

In addition, the number of people living in separation
586 but not (yet) divorced according to the law, amounted to
593 six, five women and one man. The latter was married to
[162] one of the five women. The husbands of the other four women lived elsewhere. Two of these four women had been married through silariang and were later deserted by their husbands.

586 593 162 /204 cont./ Of the total of seven marriages in which the partners did not live together, though they were not divorced according to Moslem rites, four were childless.

Four of these seven married couples belonged to the Kapala group (525 persons) and three to the Mangenre group (90 individuals).

The number of divorces among people residing in the adat community of Borongloë (around 14, 000 persons) who were recorded in the registers designed for this purpose from July 1, 1948 to July 1, 1949 amounted to seven. The percentage of divorced adult women was, according to the 1930 Census Report 1.7 per cent for the whole of Goa (1). My

1. Verslag van de Volkstelling, 1930, Part V, p. 69.

figures are too small to be expressed in percentages./205/ However, they show clearly that even in comparison with other districts, the number of divorces in this region is small.

Selection of Marriage Partners on the Basis of Kinship

582 We have already pointed out that marriages between members of the same family /nuclear family/ are forbidden.

Marriages between housemates are regarded as unfavorable (1). The marriage of a widow's son to the daughter of a

1. Unfavorable in this section is a translation of the Makassarese word, bambang, which means "warm."

582 /205 cont./ widower, where the widow and widower had remarried and lived together in one house with the children from their respective first marriages, was not carried out in the city of Macassar until the Kali of Macassar declared that no Moslem legal objections existed against this marriage. In Goa, after some hesitation, such a marriage was not sealed. The chance for an unfavorable outcome was regarded as too great.

[584] Where two young people living in the same house have a chance of being married, as happens once in a while in the populous houses of headmen, one of them is sent elsewhere beforehand and is made to marry from there.

A marriage between relatives who do not belong to the same generation is regarded as unfavorable. Husband and wife are regarded as belonging to the same generation. If, [601] genealogically viewed, they belong to a different generation, 593 there arises in the beginning of the marriage an uncertainty with respect to social forms and terms of address, which after a while disappears as forms and terms are adapted to the new relationship. Where man and wife stated that they were members of the same generation, whereas later it appeared that a difference of generations existed between them, it was found unpleasant to be reminded of this irregularity in kinship relations. The conflict which had already become buried revived, as it were, by such an observation.

Where a difference in generations between man and wife is observable, in almost all cases the man belongs to the older generation.

The marriage of a man to a cousin of the fourth degree (samposikali) or to a cousin of the tenth degree is regarded by many as an "ordinary" marriage, but a few regard it as [565] unfavorable. In /206/ the karaeng group of relatives, marriages between relatives of the fourth degree occur with greater frequency than in Borongloe. In these circles greater

565 /206 cont./ value is placed, as they say, upon keeping the
582 blood pure and the goods together. There this marriage is therefore not regarded as unfavorable. In the higher classes, one can observe the tendency toward contracting marriages between closer relatives.

587 A marriage to someone who has already been married (a widower or divorced man) is regarded as unfavorable. The fact that the first marriage failed is ascribed to a lack of "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means), unless a special reason can be shown. The idea that an individual is as he is, and [828] that he himself can change little about this, explains fears that the second marriage will fail for the same reason. Attempts are made to dismiss any thoughts of the first marriage by having the second marriage take place from another house, by choosing another bride's mother, and by making other changes. The best attitude imaginable is therefore thought to be that of a remarrying bridegroom who said, "I am going to begin a new life." This man was prepared to react differently in this second marriage than in the first, at which time he submitted with great aversion to all the ritual, gave his bride a rough tap on the back at the first touch, and in all possible ways made his dislike of this marriage apparent.

A woman prefers not to marry a man who has already been married, as the following verse (kelong) testifies, where a young woman is introduced saying:

[539]

> "I would rather be a fallow
> piece of land, an unplowed
> sown field, than having a
> buffalo run over me who has
> already been under the yoke
> once."

Actually, it would be very crude if a girl were to recite [576] this verse. This is only done by older people when it suits them at a certain moment in their marriage policy.

582 /206 cont./ The marriage of an oldest son in a family to the oldest daughter of another is regarded as unfavorable (1), even if both are cousins of the sixth degree, for instance.

1. Makassarese: Ulua siagang ulua nabambang.

/207/ If a couple is married, the marriage of the husband's brother to a sister of his wife is considered unfavorable. This is called "piling up bamboos" (tambung palapa). This [565 184] marriage occurred in the karaeng group of relatives. The marriage partners were first cousins, probably a sign of a limited choice of marriage partners. It is unclear whether this marriage was also regarded as unfavorable by karaeng.

When a couple is married, the marriage of his sister to a brother of the wife is considered unfavorable. This is called "the closing of the crossbeam" (sisuluru palangga). Instances of this in Borongloë are unknown to me.

The marriage of a man to the sister of his wife is forbidden. This prohibition is based upon Moslem law (1).

1. See T.W. Juynboll, Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet volgens de leer der Sjâfi'itische school /Guide to the Knowledge of the Mohammedan Way according to the Dogma of the Shafiite School/, third edition, 1925, p. 185.

The marriage of a man and woman who as children were nursed by the same woman is regarded as prohibited in some cases. The prohibition is based upon Moslem dogma (1).

1. Ibid.

582 /207 cont./ Suckling kinship is thought to exist where a child under two years of age has been nursed by a woman five times to its full satisfaction. Among the Makassarese, nursing 853 by the mother occurs at irregular times. If the child so much 582 as makes a sound, it is put to the breast. If the mother does not have enough milk, she is helped out. Preferably a sister or a cousin (samposikali) of the mother takes the child to her breast. Under these conditions it is difficult to prove that a young man or a young woman some twenty years before were both nursed by one and the same woman. Among religious families in the city of Macassar, women take care that they do not nurse a child of a sister or cousin lest difficulties arise later when they arrange marriages. In one of these kin groups, a marriage did not go through even though preparations were far advanced, because the suspicion had been uttered that bride and bridegroom had both been nursed by the bridegroom's mother. The young man was then married to a younger sister of the bride. /208/ In Borongloë nothing was noticed by me [184] of the awareness of this marriage prohibition based upon suckling kinship (1).

853 1. A mother of several children whose milk had continued to flow frequently nursed her grandchildren of approximately the same age as her youngest children. The nipple of an old woman who no longer produced any milk was used by the recently born child of her daughter as a pacifier. When a woman is pregnant 853 (when the menstruation has 862 stopped for several months),

853/208 cont./
862

she begins to wean her youngest. The reason for still nursing her child of about two-and-one-half years who is able to walk, according to the mother, was that she was not yet pregnant. A child that already walks and plays but who still drinks from the mother's breast often turns out to be her youngest. A woman had continued to feed her first child (seven months old) while she was expecting her second. When the milk flow decreased, this child regressed considerably physically, since it was still taking little extra food. Only after the birth of the second one, when the mother was feeding both children, did the first one regain strength. This case must be regarded as an exception, however.

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Weaning is done by means of a bitter fluid smeared on the nipple, which brings quick results. A woman was urging her child to suck even though she had just previously smeared her nipple. Later, when it was offered the breast, the child refused violently.

853
[565]

A wet nurse (anrong pasusu) is only to be found in karaeng circles. She is spoken of as

853 /208 cont./ amma'daëng (mother daëng). Being a wet nurse is called hereditary, in the sense that one likes to see that where a woman has a nurse, the daughter of this nurse is again the wet nurse for the daughter of this woman. A young mother of high nobility is said to be modern if she nurses the child herself. A marriage of a noble person with someone who is related by suckling kinship to him is out of the question.

[565]

[582]

582 Finally, it is considered natural to marry a kinsman. In the case of marriage to someone who is not related there is mutual insecurity. Such a marriage always has a practical purpose. People want to extend the circle of their connections, and sometimes it is believed to serve one's aspirations to rise best of all in this fashion. But in the case of such a marriage, the chance of failure is considered greater than in that to a kinsman. "Do not creep out" (teako alamba' assulukii) is said to one who has plans of marrying off his child outside the kin group.

[557]

Since a marriage to a non-kinsman, to a person of a different generation, and to a contemporary of the fourth and the tenth degree, is always regarded as unfavorable, there remains merely the possibility of marriage between contemporaries of the sixth and eighth degree. That is the marriage which, according to the figures given above (see pages 29 and 30), is, at the same time, the most frequent.

582 /208 cont./ In case of a marriage which is regarded as
585 unfavorable, extra ritual is performed in order to assure a favorable outcome nonetheless. /209/

Selection of Marriage Partners according to Status (Hypergamy)

554 Marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden.
582 It is simply regarded as impossible. "It cannot be" (tena nakulle) is the reaction to such a suggestion.

835 Any contact of a man with a higher woman is also strictly
554 prohibited. This is indicated by the same term (salimara'), used to denote a sexual relationship between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ which is known as incest.

It is believed that if salimara' takes place the country will be overcome with misfortune. It is said that the paddy will no longer grow and that no more children will be born in
[731] such a case. In the case of crop failure or an epidemic, one accordingly looks for people suspected of having committed salimara'.

The guilty couple must be punished by death. In the old
684 lontar one reads that the blood of these people may not touch the earth; they must be drowned. The hadat (native court of
[692] law) punished this offense during the last decades with the banishment of the couple for a few years to different places outside the realm. After the period set by the court of law had elapsed, these people did not return to their kampongs; the danger of being stabbed to death in spite of the judge's sentence still seemed to be too great (1).

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692

1. This is a direct consequence of the fact that under the influence of the administration these offenses were always very lightly

684 /209 cont./ 692

punished by the native courts of law. Incest and, a fortiori, the contact situation of a man with a higher woman is not entered as an offense in the Penal Code. As a result, persons guilty of incest cannot, on the whole, be punished through government jurisdiction. In these districts the administration gives them protection in the form of a very brief punishment pronounced by the magistrate's court (elsewhere the district court, old style), coupled with the advice not to return to the kampong. This applies equally to violation of rules concerning contact between a man and a higher woman.

554 582 Prohibition of hypergamy is a well-known phenomenon in many cultures. In South Celebes the sharp reaction to transgression is the only striking thing. An explanation of this circumstance therefore will only be attempted.

554 A Makassarese occupies toward his equals and near equals a position of constant opposition. A fixed vertical articulation has not come about. His female relatives, and primarily his sister, constitute for him the point of departure in his striving to /210/ rise. They are a fixed point for him in this respect.

554 /210 cont./ A woman "may not go down." Impairment of
[558] her social standing constitutes for her male relatives, and especially for her brother, an affront to their striving to rise. They are injured in one of the very few fixed points which they possess.

565 A Makassarese stands in a relationship of cooperation to a superior or an inferior. High and low have common interests. Together they are best able to realize their own aspirations to rise. The lack of an opposition element lends their mutual relationship an emotional security which is absent elsewhere.

An expression of competition between an inferior and a superior entails an impairment of existing relationships between high and low. The reaction to such an impairment is generally
554 a sharp repudiation. The superior tries to maintain existing
565 relationships because these give him emotional security which he lacks elsewhere, because his attempts to rise can only be successful through his tie with inferiors, and finally because his rights and duties towards inferiors provide him with advantages that he does not like to be without.

684 Violation of contact prohibitions between a man and a
554 higher woman also signifies for a Makassarese an impairment
565 of an important, fixed point of comparison in his striving for high /status/, and an impairment of the existing relation between high and low. Thus it means the impairment of two elements that are of essential importance to him in his culture. He faces a situation with which he feels himself unable to cope, and in his opinion there remains nothing else to do than to kill the person who has done this to him (adjallo').

That a violation of the contact prohibition between a man and a higher woman is indicated by the same term as that between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ probably means only that it is regarded as equally serious.

554 Such violation is therefore more serious than if contact
684 prohibitions are violated between equals or near equals. In the

554 /210 cont./ latter case, a marriage may still take place.
684 Then there arises a relationship between "the people who feel siri'" and "the fleers," a relationship which opens up the /211/ possibility of circumventing the killing that is also prescribed in this case. Ultimately, though only after years, a reconciliation can come about. This entire complex will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

Third Part

The Siri' Phenomenon

554 Vertical mobility occurs by means of opposition relation-
571 ships. Men between fifteen and forty years, and especially the younger ones among them, must face each other in a lasting relationship of challenge and outdoing. Each challenge and outdoing demands a reaction. The person who does not react, that is to say, the one who does not participate in what is regarded as important in this culture, has little social standing. The feeling of someone who is outdone is indicated by siri' (1). Someone is siri' when his social standing is

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1. Matthes (Woordenboek, p. 583) translates the word siri' by "ashamed, diffident, shy, shame, sense of honor, disgrace." But to a Makassarese, siri' has an entirely different meaning than these words have for a Dutchman. The meaning fits equally little that of the

554 /211 cont./ Indonesian word malu.
571 An attempt at definition
[114 will be made below. For
196] the sake of clarity, how-
ever, I have left the term
untranslated in a number
of cases.

impaired and when another person knows this.

A man is inclined to regard immediately as outdoing any accidental event at an encounter, or a lucky word on his part, by which he raises himself above the other person, at least in his own eyes. The other, when he hears this, is also siri'.

The reaction may consist of a counterchallenge, a returned insult, by which the original challenger in his turn becomes siri'. It is never possible to determine precisely who "began." The mutual opposition is sometimes explained by an event from the past that is regarded as of great importance, for instance, a murder. But with that the question concerning the origin of the mutual opposition is merely put off.

There exists the possibility that the outdone person will
[579] respond by stabbing. The consequence of outdoing can therefore never be foreseen. It remains charged with real danger. Many stabbing brawls in South Celebes are proof of that.

/212/ One of the most spectacular challenges is the theft
554 of cattle, horses, or buffalo. Its purpose is, in the first instance,
571 to show one's courage (kaporeanna); only in a few cases are
685 economic motives at the bottom of this. Sometimes a warning is uttered beforehand: "I am coming" (that is to say, "to
[578] steal your buffalo"). Stealing cattle is done to find a reason for a brawl. A successful buffalo theft is considered a triumph and at the same time a challenge. A cattle theft at the expense of the prince is therefore a great insult.

554 /212 cont./ The idea that the person whose social
571 standing is attacked must react, because whoever does not
177 react is low in standing, has led at present to the relative popularity of various modern sports. The English idea in sports that one should be a "good loser" in everything is foreign to the Makassarese. To lose demands a reaction. One does not like to take part in a sport where everyone can directly see by the outcome who has won. In soccer matches standing is already harmed by the first opposing goal. The desire to score with a countering point thereby becomes so excessively great that both individual achievements as well as team play suffer from it. A trailing score is therefore difficult to equalize. Soccer circles in Macassar use this fact to point out that Makassarese have poor morale in competitive situations.

554 In the previous chapter we explained that a woman
558 may not lose any standing. Her position is a fixed point for
689 the men who are constantly outdoing each other. An impair-
627 ment of her standing immediately calls for the most violent reaction, namely, the death of the challenger. Whoever does not react is "matesiri', " that is to say, "socially dead." This is expressed by saying that such a person is no longer "of use, " or that he is generally despised. Killing is used because what has happened is felt to be so bad that no other reaction is considered possible.

However, there are many reasons why a man in such a case prefers not to kill. Fear of the long prison sentence that awaits him or personal feelings of sympathy for the person who committed the transgression are among them. The tendencies to kill and not to kill are both present. And now their relationship is so much off balance that a man is not expected to go and find the person who made him siri' /213/ with the purpose of killing him, but to make a clearly observable attempt to do so in case of an encounter.

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an
558 attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number
689 of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise, in social standing is touched at the core through impairment of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

558 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women, and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the silariang complex. A number of its aspects will now be discussed.

684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings about siri', is always held against both man and woman. Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger. For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house, and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which
[583] therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated in the literature by "siliariang" marriage.

684 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for
627 contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only
588 be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who caused siri' in this way must be killed, because only in this way can the challenge be answered and the siri' feeling of the challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

554 /213 cont./ On this occasion there is always a superior,
588 functionary or someone of higher blood present, because only
627 then does an inferior control his siri' /214/ feelings. It would
684 be a great discourtesy to act according to one's own opinions against the wishes of a superior and on top of that in the superior's presence. In a conflict of impulses to kill or not to kill, the presence of the superior makes not killing acceptable.

A superior, however, cannot without further ado impose his will upon inferiors. More clearly than elsewhere there appear here the limits of power that a superior has over an inferior. Coercion on the part of the superior to bring about a reconciliation has as a consequence not only the fact that no reconciliation is brought about, but it even intensifies existing difficulties. Below, we shall see examples of this.

588 After reconciliation there is no more question of siri';
607 relationships are again normal. But during the entire period,
684 from the moment of the flight to the reconciliation, the relationships between the fleers, tumannjala ("people who have made a mistake"), and the wife's male kinsmen, the tumasiri' ("people who are siri'"), is bound to various rules. In practice there are many generally accepted ways of meeting the difficulties that have arisen through these siri' feelings, which will be described below. One repeatedly comes upon situations, or hears opinions defended by those involved, which are comprehensible only on the basis of ideas concerning challenging and killing. This does not mean that each silariang marriage is intended in the first place as a challenge, but it is regarded as such. Subsequent conduct is in accordance with it.

627 A man who has been made siri' by a violation of sexual
684 prohibitions is therefore expected to kill the one who has transgressed. But it is not a matter of indifference how this killing takes place. By preference, it must be done in a manner worthy of a man, that is to say, by a stab with a knife (badi') in the open.

627 /214 cont./ One who acts in this manner does not do so
684 in blind rage. He knows exactly whom he wants to stab. In such a case one speaks of adjallo' (1). A man whose sister

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1. See above, p. 74. It is completely incorrect to speak in such a case of "amuck"; this term covers an entirely different psychic state. Compare Professor van Wulfften Palthe, "De psychologie van de amok /The Psychology of the Amok/," Fakkel, 1941.

fled years ago and who stabbed her to death at an accidental encounter showed no remorse for his deed, but nonetheless was saddened about her death. He lamented the fact that he /215/ had encountered her. Given this encounter, however, he had been unable, as he saw it, to act in any other way unless he wanted to be regarded as a man without honor. Thus he was in a situation in which he saw no other way out than to kill.

Led before the judge, a defendant in a similar case
627 generally confesses without hesitation. In answer to the
671 question how he came to do the deed, he reports that the
682 victim -- in the most fortunate case the maltreated person --
684 made him siri', and he regards this as sufficient motivation because every Makassarese immediately understands this involves his female relatives, and, on the basis of that, sympathizes with his deed.

Once they are sentenced by the judge, the defendants
[695] rarely appeal. They accept the decision without further ado. They regard their deed as an honorable male act and not as a misdeed. Toward the judge who must sentence them they want to confess nobly, and they do not want reduced

627 671 682 684 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation. Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she [626]

1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often remarried very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lale).

588 A man and a woman who flee together generally get married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet "a socially recognized union between members of the opposite sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question. The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter, [428] and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from her parents (1).

428 /216 cont./ 588

1. The religious judge (sjarat) acknowledges the share of the inheritance which is due her, but in the case of an "ordinary" division, that is to say, a division which takes place without the religious judge, her existence is officially ignored. At the most this relationship is used as a pretext, without being expressly stated as such, to leave the estate entirely or partially undivided.

593 684 627 [539]

The first person eligible to act when a woman has taken part in a contact situation is her brother. A little poem illustrates this:

Sari'battangadji todjeng,	Only the brother is the true,
iadji kalli' madjarre';	he alone is the strong fence,
pindu' tjikali	where cousins
naempoi ranggasela.	of the sixth and fourth degree waver.

There is no mention here of the girl's father. He is the one who must give the official consent to the marriage and later to the reconciliation, but if his son does not agree, he [602] gets into difficulties. Officially, all male kinsmen of the woman are siri' when she has fled, but those who take an active part in such a case are, in the first place, her brother and sometimes also a cousin of the fourth degree, or a follower (2) of her father. The boundaries cannot be sharply

2. "His siri' is that of his master," it is said.

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602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
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3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/, " Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri', /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
114 great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status, nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

538 684 [114] /217 cont./ 1. The suggestion I made in 1938 to the effect that a deeper knowledge of the Makassarese marriage arrangement would clarify the reasons that lead to a silariang marriage has therefore proved incorrect. See /Ibid./ Vol. 149, p. 334.

Silariang is inevitably preceded by a violation of rules concerning social intercourse between the sexes, regardless of whether this was intentional or not. Only when one continues to search for the reasons leading to the transgression of these social rules, does one find the desire on the part of the individuals whose marriage is prevented by social or economic factors and who therefore resort to silariang.

521 684 Even if nobody else knows of this transgression but the man and the woman, the latter can still not be sure that he will not boast of it in order to appear as a "ladies' man" among his companions. Boasting of success with women is typical of young men (tau rungka). They like to suggest extensive successes, even though actually little more has happened than that a number of significant glances were exchanged, and a few remarks of a general nature but, in his opinion, cleverly stated were made in her presence. At the same time, a young man has a valid reason for remaining vague when he makes such boasts, for if he were to be too explicit, so that another could understand to whom he is referring, his bragging immediately imperils the girl. Then her brother might hear of it. The fact that people "talk [626] about her" is one of the worst things that can happen to a young woman. In that case she must certainly flee because [558] her brother or cousin can do nothing but stab unless he wants

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

When she is being discussed, one of the older women,
[571] sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say,
[602] they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to
[502] see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
[626 558] without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

588 /219 cont./ Along with the request for consent, the wali is frequently asked whether he wants to receive the sunrang. And his answer that he does not wish to receive the sunrang must be interpreted in the same way as his statement respecting the consent he is asked for: he desires to deny [578] every tie with the woman who has made him siri'. She should be dead; for him she does not exist. At the nikka' the wife therefore receives the sunrang herself. Later, at the reconciliation, the sunrang is then offered to her kinsmen after it has been freshly prepared. Thereby one maintains the fiction that only then does the ordinary marriage take place.

Independent of all rank and status, the amount of the [583] sunrang at the marriage of a woman who has fled is always 20 reals (1).

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1. Of the total number of marriages (107) contracted over a period of time of one year (from January 7, 1948 to January 7, 1949) in Borongloe, there were 19 silariang marriages, or around 18 per cent. This percentage seems to be normal for Goa. In 1947, 1492 marriages were registered in the entire province of around 200, 000 residents. Of these, 283 were silariang marriages. According to reports, the percentage [184] of silariang marriages is much higher in other districts, such as Djeneponto.

588 /220/ In the case of a silariang marriage, the man must
684 pay a fine (kasalaang). The person performing the marriage ceremony records this payment in the marriage register. The money is kept and offered to the wife's father during the reconciliation. The latter does not want to accept the fine directly during the performance of the marriage because in so doing he would again recognize a tie with his daughter that he does not want. He therefore often asks the imam, the man who has performed the wedding ceremony, to accept this money as a "good gift" (sidakka'). That is the practice in Borongloë. Elsewhere, the marriage official hands this fine over to the wife's father directly after the marriage has been performed.

177 A few observations can be made concerning the origin
627 of this local difference. This fine formerly used to be called,
684 "cutting off what is pointed, " or "making blunt what is sharp"; this meant that after the receipt of the fine no reason for stabbing was thought to exist any more (1). The fine was

1. Cf. C. T. Bertling, "Huwelijk en huwelijksrecht in Zuid-Celebes /Marriage and Marriage Law in South Celebes/, " /Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 147, p. 203. /Batavia, 1938. /

regarded as an element of the reconciliation, and for that reason was not paid until that occasion. Makassarese feelings linked the receipt of the fine to the end of the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship.

177 Shortly after the South Celebes expedition of 1905, the
627 number of stabbings based upon a silariang affair seems to
648 have been very large. At that time the administration looked
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197 /220 cont./ for means to limit this number. In 1906,
627 Governor Kroese issued a circular letter in which he made the
648 suggestion designed to cause the fine to be paid directly at
684 the nikka' and to be accepted by the wife's wali, in cases of silariang marriage. He hoped that the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship would be directly removed in this way.

However carefully the suggestion may have been handled, the pressure that was exerted was nonetheless too strong. Since that date the fine has in fact been paid at the nikka' in a great many districts, but the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship nonetheless has remained in existence. Only when we keep in mind these historical facts can we understand why, in a certain region where the wife's father accepts the fine at the nikka' but the sunrang not until the reconciliation, 'making blunt what is sharp' now indicates this sunrang.

684 /221/ According to Moslem law, the wife's wali may
582 refuse his consent to a marriage on the basis of the fact that the woman is of a higher status than the man. In an ordinary case such a difference is reason for refusing a marriage request, even if a different reason is given: "It is not seeming that they should marry" (taena nasiratang), is the usual
[588] expression. If the wali in a case of silariang refuses to give his consent on these grounds, the imam separates them, unless the couple desires to carry through the marriage. In that case the affair goes before the judge. If the decision states that the woman is higher than the man, they are separated. Rather than seeing her married to a man of lower blood, the kinsmen will take her back again though she made them siri'.

684 After such a separation by authority of the imam or judge,
695 there no longer exists any tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship. The functionary concerned reports to the tumasiri' that the

684 /221 cont./ affair is herewith ended and that neither man
695 nor woman may be subjected to any more difficulties. In practice, however, the man, at least initially, does not show his face in a kampong where many of the woman's kinsmen reside. For safety's sake he does not do so until, for instance, she is married to another man, and feelings with regard to him have quieted down somewhat.

626 The feelings with respect to the woman who has been
684 taken back home by her own kin group have not yet completely calmed down either. She has committed a mistake which lies more in the area of the salimara' than that of silariang. She is familiar with the danger connected with it and therefore takes care to conduct herself as inconspicuously as possible, so that her male kinsmen will be reminded as little as possible of her existence. In the few cases that such a separation took place, the woman was practically always married off shortly thereafter. In a single case where this did not happen, she
[588] fled three years later with another man likewise lower. This time the wali nonetheless had to give his consent for the marriage under pressure from the imam, who pointed out that he had taken poor care of this woman's siri' by not finding a man for her.

684 As a reason for having fled with a man, a girl sometimes states that he forced her to do so and that he threatened to
834 kill her if she did not go with him. The jurist who /222/ would accept "forcible abduction, " in all such cases would make a mistake. It could not be expected of a girl to confess, even as a sworn witness before the judge, that she went with her "abductor" of her own volition. This would be a sign that she desired him, and this cannot be expected from any woman who is brought up in the idea that the display of this desire (lale) is greatly reprehensible (1).

1. In such a case one might consider not swearing in the abducted woman, of whom it

684 /222 cont./ cannot be expected that
834 she would speak the truth
on this point.

Nor does a man need to use force if he wants to coerce a woman to flee with him. By making her siri', he leaves her no choice. It would then be too dangerous for her to remain at home. Her brother would be able to do little else than stab her. Occasionally a man may purposely make a woman siri' and thereby force her to flee with him because he wants to marry her while she does not desire him for a husband. But
[626] more frequently the reason is that his kinsmen desired this union, and their request for it was turned down. For the young man, a remark such as: "Why are we refused?" is then tantamount to a command to respond to the insult of such a refusal. And he can do this in no better way than by forcing a flight.

177 Under modern circumstances in Macassar, conditions are
834 frequently somewhat different. If girls continue to attend school after they have become marriageable, their contact with young men is quite different from those under the conditions previously described. In such a situation her fear of contact with a young man is less, because now there are subjects about which she can talk to him without danger. At the same time the attitude of the young men changes. They no longer regard themselves as siri' if their sister talks to one of their school friends.

177 It is possible that the number of silariang marriages in this
588 younger generation is larger than in the country because, on the one hand, the opportunity for the young people to carry out their own choice against that of their parents is much greater, and, on the other hand, the danger of being stabbed in these circles is decreasing rather /223/ than increasing. Figures are not available. At the same time there are arguments which explain why the number is not much larger

177 /223 cont./ already. This is connected with the fact that
588 silariang is regarded as bad (kodi) and a festive wedding as good (badji'). A young man who likes a girl may ask her whether she wants to flee, but he will immediately accept her refusal when she says that she does not want to make her mother unhappy, or that she does not want to do "the bad," that is to say, silariang.

177 A modern young woman who associated very freely with
588 young men -- she went alone to run errands in the toko /stores/
834 and conversed with her male colleagues in the normal school when she met them on the street -- met with considerable
[626] criticism from her aunts and older sisters. They called her a street broom and assured her repeatedly that she would come to an evil end. She received many requests to flee, and most of these were made not so much through a lust for adventure, but rather as a consequence of the fact that many young Makassarese men from a good house find it pleasant to marry a modern young woman who can get along in company. Silariang was therefore a means for them to carry out their wishes against those of their parents. But this young woman steadfastly refused; "I want to show that I can be modern in a good way" (eroki kupappatjinikang kamoderengangku), she would say, and the young men would be content with that. She indicated that prohibited contact in and by itself did not need to have bad consequences in the form of a marriage by flight.

Erangkale

588 One speaks of "silariang" when a man and woman flee
684 together, and of "erangkale" (literally, "to bring one's self") when the woman runs away from home alone to the man who has made her siri'. Reasons for these two forms of silariang are not different either in principle or in consequences. Frequently, it depends upon an accident whether a woman

588 /223 cont./ leaves alone or with the man. I call it an
684 accident, for instance, whether she succeeds in arranging a rendezvous for the flight through an intermediary. The fear that upon (unintentional) forbidden contact, the reaction will be a /224/ stab with the knife is always one of the motives for her flight.

588 When a woman flees to a man, the latter can do nothing
626 but go with her. He would be no "man," not even in the
558 opinion of his own kin group, if he did not do so. Rather than letting it be said of him that he "flees from a woman," he goes with her to the village or religious functionary, marries, and in so doing invites all the difficulties which a silariang marriage brings with it. Then he behaves as be-seems a man.

588 It is assumed as a matter of course that a woman who
626 takes refuge with a man has reason for this. The man who
684 refuses marriage in such a case can be sure that he will no longer be an acceptable guest to many people. It is regarded as very reprehensible to make a girl siri' and then not to marry her. I was able to record only two instances of this.

684 When a girl of approximately thirteen years of age had taken refuge with a man of about twenty-six, the latter denied that he had given cause for this. He had known her a long time, so he said, and his feelings toward her had
[626] merely been those of a brother. He lamented what she had done because now they were both siri' in his opinion, she, because she fled, and he because many would be unwilling to accept his refusal and would therefore be loath to receive him in their houses. It is noteworthy about this statement that this man placed the siri' feeling of the woman beside his own. Thus, he ascribes to her siri' feelings which normally only men are supposed to possess, feelings which arise when an attempt, made in public, to attain something fails.

In the other example, the man admitted that he did have some fun with the woman who fled to him (bandjulu',

684 /224 cont./ here used in the sense of "make little verbal jokes"), but he refused to go with her. At the request of her father she was then returned to her kin group by authority of the judge. "We have enough kinsmen who can marry her," was the explanation for this request, and so it happened. In these two instances, the determined attitude of the man was accepted, while at the same time he was not regarded as tumannjala. The explanation for this may be the character /225/ of the girl, who in both cases was known not to possess the modesty and timidity which girls really should have.

588 626 684 A number of times a woman fled to a stranger in the belief that he made her siri', while in his own mind he had done something quite ordinary. Thus, a Christian Sangirese who was appointed as foreman over a number of Makassarese turned in public to the sister of one of them to ask where her brother was. A few days later she fled to him. After having been instructed by friends, he reacted according to Makassarese expectations. He paid the sunrang and the fine and behaved as beseems a good tumannjala until the reconciliation had taken place according to Makassarese custom. Only the Moslem marriage ceremony did not take place.

689 609 When an Indochinese in such a situation refused to marry, the imam took the girl back to her kin group. The latter regarded neither him nor her as tumannjala. "He does not know our adat," they said, and that was a sufficient explanation for them.

834 684 There are countless reasons which make a woman siri' and lead her to take refuge with a certain man. In each case forbidden contact with this man can be demonstrated. Frequently this contact is accidental. The girl who was addressed by the Sangirese just mentioned was at that moment engaged in drawing water. She did not answer, which was perfectly natural from the Makassarese point of view, but her father had observed the situation and said: "I sent you to the well to

684 /225 cont./ get water and not to talk." In another case a
834 girl was washing at the well when a ball with which a group of young men were playing raga rolled close to her. She gave the ball a little kick, and the young man who came to get it laughed to her. A few days later she fled to him. Another case concerned a girl who, during one of the ceremonies preceding her wedding, broke wind. One of her cousins immediately took the blame for it: "Don't laugh, people, it slipped out of me," he said. A few days later, the nikka' had already taken place; she fled to him. As it turned out later, she did so at the urging of her aunt: "Go off, do what your siri' demands" (lampako, dongkoki siri'nu), the latter is supposed to have said. Subsequently, she married this man.

/226/ In none of these instances was the woman therefore in any direct danger. In all three of them her action
[672] was completely understood, and her kin group was "not very siri'," that is to say, the reconciliation took place within half a year. Rather than remaining siri' and running the risk of being stabbed, these women resorted to flight. Rather than refusing to go with her and not being believed and thus being regarded as one who flees before a woman, the men married. The wife's kinsmen were siri' because she fled and thereby openly admitted that forbidden contact existed. But there certainly was understanding of her action and the feelings that led her to it. In the last of these three cases just described, the deserted bridegroom was also without feelings of rancor toward the second husband. He regarded the course of events as part of his lot. When etiquette had been satisfied
[152] through reconciliation, there was no apparent trace of personal feelings of anger in him.

/226 cont./
Extramarital Pregnancy

848 Pregnancy is naturally a reason for flight for an unmarried woman. For the first few months the male relatives need not notice anything so she can safely remain at home. Her mother or sister is sometimes taken into her confidence, but both will always deny this. If, under these circumstances, a woman does not suceed in persuading the father of her child to flee and marry her, she finally flees by herself and names [588] him to the religious official concerned. Summoned by the imam, the majority of men confess. Thereupon the marriage is carried out, and the couple is henceforth simply regarded and treated as tumannjala.

A man who continues to deny being the father of the child is taken to the Kali of Goa. If he maintains his denial [695] there, he receives the opportunity to swear solemnly in the great mosque of Goa that he did not make this woman pregnant. Once he has performed this oath, he is free. In reality, however, he is still in danger. He will do well not to enter the kampong where the woman used to live. The general opinion is that a woman does not lie under such circumstances. A man who denies being the father of her child, even though he has fortified his denial by an oath, must always take care [627] that one of her /227/ kinsmen will not try to kill him all the same. Only when she has subsequently married another man is he safe.

584 After the man has made his oath, the woman remains in the imam's house until someone comes who wants to marry 588 her. This usually happens after a few days. First an emissary 848 from this man has a talk with the imam, who then conveys the marriage request to the woman. If she is not yet acquainted with her marriage partner-to-be, she is given an opportunity to see him, and she can then decide for herself. If she remains seated silently with bowed head, this is tantamount to her consent. But her expression "tea'" (I don't want to) is accepted. A woman who refuses several candidates one after another will at most be told that she is making

584 /227 cont./ things difficult for the people around her. There
588 always seems to be a sufficient number of unmarried men who
848 would like to get married.

It rarely happens that a child is born without the mother
848 being married. This may happen by way of exception, for instance, if a woman is pregnant by her sister's husband. According to Moslem law, which in this point is strictly followed in Goa, she may not marry this man before her sister is divorced from him and the iddat period is past. Children born outside wedlock are, therefore, a rarity. At the same time they usually die soon. Only once a girl of about eight years of age was pointed out to me in Borongloë as a child who had never had a father. Figures concerning this matter
[163] cannot be given because these births, or the subsequent death of the children, are not recorded in the respective registers. Makassarese fail to see what interests would be served in doing so. They prefer to forget such cases as soon as possible.

A man who marries a woman who was impregnated by
588 another man is called pattongko' siri' ("coverer of the disgrace").
672 Such a marriage is regarded entirely like a silariang marriage.
684 No further festivities take place when it occurs. The fine is paid, and the man is tumannjala with respect to his wife's kinsmen until the reconciliation, even though he only attained this status by virtue of the fact that he married her. It is usually a widower or a man of over thirty years who wants to contract such a marriage. Sometimes he is a kinsman of the woman, but in that case always a cousin of the sixth degree (sampopinruang) or further removed, for her closest kinsmen are, in the first instance, tumasiri'.

His action is appreciated. It makes the woman /228/
[848] happy, so it is said, because he saves her and her kinsmen from an even greater disgrace, giving birth to a child without being married. This appreciation is expressed, in the first place, by an early reconciliation, often as soon as a month after the marriage has been contracted. Furthermore, although

588 /228 cont./ during the period between nikka' and recon-
672 ciliation the "pattongko' siri'" is officially regarded as
684 tumannjala, in reality both parties do their best to avoid each other more than usual.

A description of such a wedding will follow here to
588 describe the atmosphere which is so completely different from that prevailing at an ordinary festive marriage, but especially to show also what both have in common. This is Djawi's wedding, which occurred in 1940 in Borongloë. There was no question of a festival here. The tone of the conversations was different from that at a festive wedding, and the ritual had been reduced to a few simple actions.

Djawi had fled from her parental house in a pregnant
588 condition. The man whom she had named as the father of her
848 child had denied this, and she had then been taken to the house of the adat community head to wait there until someone should come to marry her, or, as it was expressed, "to take her disgrace away from her" (angalleangi siri'na), or else, "to let her live" (antallassi). After a few days an immediate
588 uncle of Djawi came to tell her that her uncle of the seventh degree (purina sampopinruang), by the name of Rappung, a divorced man without children, wanted to marry her. The adat community head conveyed this request to her. She already knew Rappung, and therefore she did not have to see him first, and she was given ample time to think the matter over. She continued to be silent, and from this it was concluded that she agreed to the marriage. The head reported this to the Imam of Borongloë, who sent a letter to Djawi's father in which he requested his consent to the marriage of his daughter. The letter included an authorization for the Imam to take his place as wali, an authorization to which only his fingerprint had to be added.

/229/ On this occasion it appeared that the sawah
[583] designated as sunrang yielded only 50 sheaves of paddy, while a sawah of 100 sheaves was regarded as customary in such a

588 /229 cont./ case. The Imam therefore took into account
[583] the possibility that the wali would withhold his consent for this reason. The consent was given nevertheless. That Rappung was a valued worker in the kin group was probably a factor of some influence on the decision. Thereupon, the Imam, in agreement with Rappung, set the day and hour for the wedding.

Just before the time agreed upon, at about eight o'clock in the evening, the woman was taken to the Imam's house. She went directly up the back stairs and waited in the woman's rooms. A little later, Rappung arrived in the company of his gurukampong and two of his kinsmen. Shortly thereafter the Imam's son-in-law also arrived. The latter was to act as witness together with the gurukampong. At the conclusion of the solemnity both received 0.25 gulden for their part in it.

212 The Imam produced the carefully locked-away registers
588 and wrote in these with a pen especially filed for the writing
805 of Makassarese letters. In so doing he asked the customary questions: "How old are you?" Rappung did not know. "How old were you at the fall of Goa?" (1) was one of the questions

1. 1905.

designed to help him find the answer. "One year!" "How old is Djawi?" At the fall of Goa she apparently had not yet been born. "How old was she at the time of the Spanish influenza epidemic?" (2) "At that time she was not around

2. 1919.

yet either." The Imam assumed that she was probably born shortly thereafter and, basing her age on that, entered it in the register. February 27, 1940 was recorded as the date of the marriage, although the marriage was performed on the evening of the 26th (nine o'clock in the evening).

/229 cont./ During this solemnity those present were
588 seated in a kind of closed-off veranda built onto the house proper of the Imam. The barred windows were still in the original front wall, and the men present in the veranda could get a glimpse of the women through them. Among them was a woman called Kamida who was in exactly the same position as Djawi and who was therefore also waiting to see if someone would come for her./230/ "That Kamida would also like to," said the guru, and there was general laughter. Rappung, who now felt at ease said that he had really carried through his marriage against the wishes of his parents. They had warned him against marrying since this
[577] month is regarded as "unfavorable" for it (bulang bambang, literally, "warm month"), and the Imam responded immediately: "Rappung bambang tongi" (literally, "Rappung is also warm").

The Imam now called out loud for Djawi but she did not appear. A woman was sent to get her, but she did not come. "She is asleep," someone said. A younger brother of the Imam was told to go and call her, and meanwhile the Imam had a burning censer pushed toward him by his wife. Djawi still remained in the back, but finally, urged on by the Imam himself, she appeared in the veranda, and, with her back half turned to her husband-to-be and face turned toward the wall of the house, she sat down. If it is at all possible the woman is spared this situation. Even when servants marry,
[212] the master who organizes the wedding takes care that taking the wife's fingerprint is arranged beforehand. According to Moslem legal prescription, a woman does not sign herself if she has a father or grandfather and if she has never before
[587] been married. Silariang cases, and therefore also this case, are placed on a par with the marriage of a previously wed woman.

After Djawi had her fingerprint taken, the witnesses and the Imam signed. After that the nikka' took place. Rappung

588 /230 cont./ was seated on a little mat with his face turned west; Djawi was seated obliquely across from him to the left, with her back turned toward him. The Imam sat across from him and obliquely to the right behind him sat the witnesses, while right next to them sat one of his male kinsmen who had accompanied him. Now the Imam passed the censer on so that it described a small circle around Rappung (nipaliliki): three times counterclockwise and once clockwise. After each circle, when the Imam again had the censer in his hand, he waved the incense smoke toward Rappung (nikapeki) with the words: "Be happy" (literally, "Open your soul").

Now the Imam with his right hand grasped Rappung's right thumb and spread a white handkerchief over both their hands. Then he asked Djawi whether she wanted to marry Rappung. /231/ She did not answer; the question was repeated with urgency. Her "yes" was scarcely audible. The Imam thereupon turned to the witnesses: "Heard?" A mumble of assent followed from all those present. Then he asked Rappung how much the sunrang amounted to. He answered, "Twenty reals." Then the Imam recited the words of the offer (idjab). "Kunikkako, Rappung, kupasikalabiniko iDjawi, ana'na iSaibu; nusunrang 20 reala'" ("I marry you, Rappung, I join you in marriage to Djawi, the daughter of Saibu; you give a sunrang of 20 reals"). After this had first been recited to him, Rappung answered that he accepted this offer (kabul). "Kutarimai pakkalabinanna iDjawi; kusunrang 20 reala'" ("I accept being joined in marriage to Djawi; I give a sunrang of 20 reals"). Thereupon, the Imam let go of Rappung's hand.

"It is the second time that he is getting married, that is why he is so clever" (that is to say, that is why he can repeat the formula immediately without any mistakes), it was remarked. The Imam then mumbled the credo (doangang nikka'), and in so doing he held both hands with the palms turned up before him. The men present did the same. This lasted for only a moment, and with it the formal part was concluded.

588 /231 cont./ Rappung shook hands with those present (a'djama taëng) in the order of rank and status, first the Imam [554 who urged him to go to his wife, who remained seated motion- 576] less. He just touched her hand. He then went to the two witnesses, first the oldest, then the Imam's younger brother, and finally to his two kinsmen who had come along.

The Imam opened the round copper box (kampu) in which the sunrang was contained. In it were: two kalomping (betel leaves folded in a special way), two pieces of areca nut, a few grains of rice, and 4.25 guldens. Of this, 0.25 gulden was designated for the Kali of Goa, and 0.25 gulden for each of the witnesses. The rest was for the Imam. And finally there was a small lump of earth symbolizing the sawah transferred as sunrang. The money was taken out of the box and distributed. Thereupon, the couple left, and with them their companions.

[493] Two three-wheeled bicycles with baskets (tallu roda) stood in readiness. Rappung and his wife sat down on the one in front. "They find it pleasant to sit close together" (nangai siampika), those on the second tallu roda shouted, but Djawi turned her back to him /232/ and by this demonstrative aversion showed that she knew how a just-married woman should behave.

Reconciliation

602 The reconciliation can be defined as the solemn arrival 627 of the two tumannjala together with the man's kinsmen and acquaintances at the house of the father or one of the brothers of the wife. There many of her kinsmen are gathered for the occasion. Wife and husband ask for forgiveness from all those present and offer the sunrang, the fine, and cookies.

622 The kampong head, or a higher functionary, is always 627 present on such an occasion. He is the one under whose authority the reconciliation comes about. In his presence the

622 /232 cont./ siri' feelings must be repressed. It is also always
627 a superior who makes the first attempts at creating a reconciliation. The tumasiri' cannot oppose his clearly expressed wishes, unless they have special reasons for doing so. However,
[577] the tumasiri' can only be expected to begin by fighting against a reconciliation, because this is masculine, and it is therefore appreciated if one adopts an unconciliatory attitude and pretends that this siri' can only be reconciled by death.

But there are limits to the pressure which a superior can exercise in such an instance. If the pressure is too strong, his wish is not accepted by a number of tumasiri'. At most, the one who during preparatory conversations had personal contact with the superior feels obligated toward the superior. Opposition grows between the tumasiri', and through "incorrect understanding" the reconciliation ceremony ends in failure. In that case the tumasiri'-tumannjala relation continues to exist. This was the case when the brother of a woman who had fled yielded to the pressure of the gurukampong to agree to the reconciliation. At the hour that had been fixed, none of the other kinsmen was present in the house to which the tumannjala were supposed to come. Previously the rumor had circulated that difficulties were to be expected. For that reason the adat community head had sent a representative. Since the personal authority of the gurukampong was insufficient, someone higher than he had to be present in order to prevent bloodshed.

The two tumannjala were received by the representative of the /233/ head, the gurukampong (the mediator), and the wife's brother. The situation was extremely difficult for the
[626] brother . He was present in order not to be impolite toward the gurukampong, but among his kinsmen he was regarded as the one who had shown insufficient awareness of the disgrace that had been inflicted upon them. He was spared being asked for forgiveness by the couple and having his hand grasped by

622 /233 cont. them, because then the tumasiri'-tumannjala
627 relation would have been removed for him while it would continue with respect to his other kinsmen. The upshot now was that after a short meeting the couple returned home with the man's kinsmen who had come along, taking with them the sunrang, fine, and cookies. The general opinion was that the fault lay with the gurukampong who had exerted too much pressure.

627 Arguments that are adduced to sway the wife's kin group to agree to a reconciliation state that the woman longs so much for her mother, that people who are related to each other belong together, and that the man's mistake is a small one. In the event that the woman takes refuge with a man, and, to an even greater degree, if she marries an outsider in a pregnant state, the reconciliation can usually take place very soon, that is to say, within a few months.

On the other hand, the tumasiri' frequently have reasons of their own to refuse a reconciliation, reasons which the superior on his part also understands and accepts. When a man had been stabbed to death during his flight and the woman shortly thereafter married an outsider, an attempt at reconciliation failed because it was argued that it was necessary to wait until her brother had returned from jail where he was now held for manslaughter through her fault.

For a man who fled with the niece (kamanakang) of his wife
[694 who had lived in his house as a young girl, no reconciliation
835] could be brought about. The fact that he had fled with a housemate was reason for the kinsmen to feel especially siri'. His crime in this case was considered very great.

After the flight of a man with his wife's sister, where the wife should have first received the talak because, according to Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at once, reconciliation was refused since the first wife was still "unhappy." /234/ Not until she was remarried, so it was believed, would the reconciliation be possible.

627 /234 cont./ After the flight of a man with a higher woman, it is practically impossible to bring about a reconciliation (1). In all these cases it was therefore believed that

1. An exceptional case was reported on page 125.

there was a reason for the wife's kin group to feel more than usually siri', and as a consequence reconciliation also took longer than usual.

The tumasiri' who make the decision in these recon-
593 ciliation matters that is followed by all kinsmen are the
627 closest male kinsmen, more specifically the father and the (oldest) brother of the woman. In case of a conflict between the two, the father declared in a certain case that he was leaving the matter to his son to regulate. In so doing, he externally maintained his position as leader in the family whom the sons must obey, but in reality it was his son who carried through his wishes. The influence of the woman's
562 mother and sisters is small in these siri' matters. They are
593 expected not to concern themselves with these things. Siri'
627 matters touch upon life and death; they are men's problems. An older woman may at some point confidentially make the observation to one of the older men that by now surely enough time has passed since the flight, but there is no reason to assume that any notice is taken of such a remark. In these matters women merely furnish their cooperation in subordinate matters such as the filling of the kampu, the baking of the cookies, and the preparation of the feast.

627 It is said that after the reconciliation great care is taken
602 that all the wife's kinsmen, thus all the tumasiri', receive a number of the cookies brought by the couple. For whoever has eaten of these cookies can never say later on that he was not in agreement with the reconciliation, and this implies that he will not make an attempt at stabbing during a later encounter

602 /234 cont./ with the tumannjala. The acceptance of the
627 cookies is therefore the overt sign that one is in accord with the reconciliation.

The limits of the kin group -- in the first chapter it was described in detail -- are vague. It is therefore impossible to include all those who must receive cookies /235/. At best, therefore, one sees to it that these cookies are offered to the houses of the prominent kinsmen and especially to those of leading men. But the individual who is not content with the reconciliation can easily avoid the cookies. The distribution of the cookies is an outward form which has little significance for the actual relationship. Nor does it seem that it had more significance formerly and that we are therefore dealing here with a so-called "outworn adat."

The same applies to the statement that a tamannjala being pursued is safe from a stab by the tumasiri' pursuing him, if he throws his cap inside the fence of the yard belonging to a kampong head or other functionary. People like to tell of this custom and add that this was formerly the case and that it should really be this way. Recent instances are unknown, however. It always remains a moot question whether, and if so to what extent, the pursuer adhered to this custom even in former times.

Cap and cookies adats are instances of forms which arise where strong feelings demand formalization. For the actual course of events they are of little importance.

684 It is impossible for a woman who has fled and has been
593 left alone, for instance because her husband has died, to
588 bring about a reconciliation with her kinsmen. One other means is nonetheless available to her. She can surrender herself to the mercies of her kin group. Thus a crying woman unexpectedly entered the house of her parents from which she had fled about six years earlier. "Kill me if you wish, here I am," were her words. She gave as the reason for her return the fact that she longed desperately for her mother. Her

684 /235 cont./ arrival aroused a great commotion, but the
593 situation that had thus arisen was accepted, and she was
588 henceforth not regarded as tumannjala. However, such cases remain a rarity.

Even married women resort to this method, though very rarely, if a reconciliation in the customary manner seems impossible. This was done by a woman, for instance, whose husband had taken a second wife and who was now receiving insufficient means of support from him. The same was also done by a childless woman. The action is regarded as a deed
[627] of desperation. In performing it the woman runs the risk of being killed, for in so doing she delivers herself to her brothers who would stab her to death, or at least /236/ would have to make an attempt at doing so in case of an accidental meeting in public. However, her act of desperation has as a consequence that the latter no longer feel the urge to stab. She who originally made them siri' now shows herself lesser than they.

Declaration of Death

There is also a way for the tumasiri' to escape the need to behave as tumasiri'. This is the "declaration of death." "I no longer have a child, neither in this world nor in the hereafter" (1), are the customary words. It is also said that

1. Tenamo anakku rilino nariahereka.

the child is "declared dead" (2) by the one who has spoken

2. Nimateangi.

these words, that he has cast it out (3), that it is no longer

3. Natallaki ana'na.

684 /236 cont./ recognized by him as his child (4). This
593
588

4. Nisassali rimanggena.

declaration sometimes takes place in the mosque in the presence of the imam and other prominent men of the adat community. This simply adds more force to the words. The declaration can also be made at home without any intentional witnesses.

The utterance of the words may, in the first instance, be coupled with some ritual in the form of offering psang. On that occasion the religious official recites the initial words of the Koran. It is said that thereby the Prophet is regarded as another witness to the utterance of the declaration (5).

5. Nipappisa'biangi rina'bia.

Modern Islamites repudiate this ritual. They speak contemptuously of "the pisang reading" (amattja unti).

The consequence of this declaration of death, which is closer to the Islamic than the ancestral world, is not that a child is thereby regarded as disinherited. The religious judge (sjarat) took no account of it in regulating the personal estate of a man who had declared his daughter dead.

In practice it seems to be principally the father of the
593 fled woman who at present makes use of such a declaration.
588 Her brothers do not do so; they do not regard themselves bound
684 by their father's declaration. They consider themselves free,
627 both in their attempts to kill her, as well as in giving their assent to the reconciliation. /237/ Repeatedly, a tacit recall takes place as the father later also gives his consent to the reconciliation. But it also has happened that a reconciliation came about with all the tumasiri' except the woman's parents.

593 /237 cont./ In yet another case the brothers and cousins of
588 the woman tacitly agreed with the declaration uttered by
684 their father. In this case she had fled to a lower man, and
627 therefore the tumasiri', as they asserted, could not act as is otherwise customary after silariang.

Frequently, a special reason can be given for the deposition of such a declaration of death. The fact that a man regularly walked past the house of his wife's father in an insolent manner before the reconciliation, when he should have kept himself outside the view of his tumasiri' as much as possible was a reason for the latter to feel extra siri'.
593 Another man whose daughter had gone to live with a distant kinsman at the pasar of Borongloë and who was there receiving
684 various men saw in this a reason to repudiate her.

684 The declaration of death seems to be a new institution.
627 It relieves the tumasiri' of their duty to stab. On the other hand, it makes a reconciliation difficult. The fact that
[177] existing ties are considered to be completely broken diminishes both the chance of stabbing as well as of reconciliation.

If siri' feelings, which in affairs concerning women can only be reconciled by death, could in future increasingly be satisfied by a declaration of death, we would have here an opportunity of solving the conflict in a manner less harmful to the many men who at present now realize that the honor of their related group is too dearly paid for by a jail sentence of an average of eight years. /238/

SUMMARY

105 In Makassarese culture four different forms of grouping can be distinguished, each with its own function.

105 /238 cont./ With reference to the /nuclear/ family, the sexual and pedagogical function can be named. The household has an economic function. It provides for the daily necessities of life of its members in the field of food supply and lodging. The kin group has a political function. It carries the idea of power formation. The worship community, finally, has a religious function. At the same time, the communities with an ornament seem to be more strongly integrated than those without an ornament.

The /nuclear/ family displays the tendency toward living /with other families/ in a single house, a tendency which is always interrupted by a tendency to split off. This brings with it a great mobility within the kin group. The tendency to split off seems, like the adjallo' phenomenon, to be a form of maladjustment.

The territorial unit, the kampong, served as the starting point for the investigation.

In a single territory, a strongly integrated, a weakly integrated, and a nonintegrated kin group were found to exist. The members of the first group appeared to be highest in standing, the most numerous, and the wealthiest. From their midst came the village functionaries.

The members of the second group seemed to be lower in standing and to be less numerous and less rich than the first. Among them there was only a single functionary, a gurukampong, who, moreover, needed the help of a functionary from the first group in order to be effective outside his group.

The members of the third group as a whole were lower in standing than those of the second. Their number, however, was greater than -- and in wealth they were about equal to -- those of the second group. Among them there was only a single village functionary, who had been elected to this

105 /238 cont./ post on the basis of his personal qualities. The low standing of the members of this group is the result of the absence of integration, which prevents this group from participating as a group in the striving for power formation.

/239/ The striving for power formation on the part of a kin group is aimed at filling a single territory under a head of its own. The largest imaginable territory is, ideally, the world; realistically it is at present at the most South Celebes.

Each kin group, even the smallest imaginable, that is, a /nuclear/ family living separately, has the possibility of extending the number of its members and of occupying a strong position of power through attracting relatives and helpers and through contracting marriages.

Provided he possesses the required qualities, each individual has the opportunity of acquiring the highest imaginable standing as the head of a powerful kin group. In practice this opportunity is only rarely realized, however, and even then only partially.

The striving on the part of individuals to rise is limited by the idea that descent determines a person's qualities, so that the member of a high group is thought to possess, at least potentially, desirable qualities to a high degree and the member of a lower group is believed to possess them to a lesser degree.

The vertical tendency expresses itself in the relations between the kin groups through the conduct of opposition. Each group on the one hand tries to dominate a higher group and, on the other hand, to keep as subordinates those groups regarded as lower. Each individual who shows that he possesses the qualities required for this can assume leadership in this attempt.

In the highest groups the vertical tendency is weakest and integration is to be found most strongly present. In the groups that have the lowest standing, thus in the Rest groups,

105 /239 cont./ the vertical tendency is strong, and integration is either not present at all or else in a very weak form. In kin groups like that of the adat community head, that of the kapala and that of Mangenre, the striving for integration is time and again interrupted through oppositional striving. The vertical tendency and thus, at the same time, the disintegration of the group can best be observed among the prominent members.

In a kin group where an ornament is present, integration can always be more clearly shown than in one where the ornament is absent. Kin groups lacking an ornament seem incapable of forming a power center of significance. Stability, on the other hand, is found only where the vertical articulation is fixed. The vertical tendency inherent in the /240/ kin groups constantly has as a consequence the renewed disintegration of these groups.

262 South Celebes is a land with a large surface, in relation to its population, suited to wet rice cultivation. If the rice harvest has failed, maize is available to take its place. There seems to be no fear of a threatening food shortage among the Makassarese and Buginese.

855 Small children are well cared for over a long period of time by their mothers and female housemates. By the same token, there seems to be no fear of receiving insufficient care.

867 One of the first things a young person learns is the fact that he is restricted in his movements and that he must be
155 quiet when a man, even his father, is present in the house. Upon the arrival of a male guest the women and children withdraw from the front room, and the children are reprimanded if they make noise. This happens to a greater degree when a higher person comes to the house. Here are the first frustrations for the children (1).

155 /240 cont./ 1. For the ideas followed
867 here, see A. Kardiner, The Individual and His Society, fourth edition, New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years
571 of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.
578 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle,
[685] and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

554/241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely de-
612 limited group and that the standing of relatives among each
684 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
689 found -- with one single exception: the karaeng and the
[562] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.

156 /242 cont./ Among the men who possess to a low degree
833 the qualities established as a norm for them, there are to be
838 found the "kawe kawe," the unmarried men, the married men who refuse to have sexual intercourse with their wives, and possibly the koro patients. It is impossible for me to indicate the boundary between a lack of the qualities demanded by the culture and a supposed lack.

156 Among the women who possess the qualities ascribed to
[548] them to a small degree, one finds the prostitutes and also matrons and bride's mothers, and those who perform the ancestral ritual, all of whom owe their standing to their work, which serves to raise the standing of the community. Among these there are also the princesses, who in these countries frequently played a dominant role. Among females in this
[562] position there is none of the docility left, which is expected in women.

/248/ Appendix

114 Figures drawn from registers constitute a welcome addition
127 to the data that could not have been obtained otherwise, or only with great difficulty through verbal information. However, in making use of register material, there is a danger that the degree of its reliability will not be sufficiently realized.

Data based on registers always make a precise impression. The collector is inclined to believe in their reliability himself. But the reliability can only be judged through an acquaintance with the culture in which they are used. A number of "mistakes" in the registers can be immediately understood as a result of ideas present in that culture. They raise the demand for care in the comparison of figures with other regions.

127 /248 cont./ At this point we shall examine a number of registers to see for what purposes it is possible to use figures taken from them and for what purposes they cannot be used; if possible we shall at the same time give the reasons for our opinion.

The following registers were found in the adat community:

1. birth registers
2. death registers
3. marriage registers
4. divorce registers
5. land-tax registers
6. Indonesian notary registers
7. registers of reported misdemeanors
8. sentences handed down by courts of law
9. community labor registers
10. overnight registers
11. registration registers
12. school registers

Birth Registers

[193] 217 163 114 The imam of the adat community maintains the birth registers according to instructions passed on to him by the Kali of Goa. In the columns appear next to each other the names of the father, the mother, and the child; the kampong where the birth took place; a record of the fact whether the birth took place at night or during the day, the date of birth, and the sex of the child.

/249/ Notification is made when the child is a few weeks old. If the child dies before registration, the latter ordinarily does not take place, therefore. During a stay of six weeks I observed two such cases. These registers therefore cannot supply any reliable figures concerning infant mortality.

114 /249 cont./ There is no punishment for failure to register.
163 The reason that people do not like to register a child that has
217 just been born is the belief that this would bring about misfortune
because it is conceived as an expression of arrogance or pride.
[777 For the same reason a newborn child is wrapped in old rags.
751] There is no certainty that the births recorded in a year represent
the correct number.

A woman by preference has her first child in the house of her
[844] parents, especially if she herself was also born there. Many
children are therefore registered in a kampong where their parents
no longer live and from which it again "moves" a few months
after birth.

A child does not receive a name directly at birth for the
[553] same reason that a child's birth is not directly reported. All boys
are referred to as Baso or Batjo, all girls as Basse or Batje. In
this semianonymity the child is considered safe. Only years
later does it receive a name of its own, which, however, is not
recorded in the register. A certificate of birth is not submitted.

Death Registers

114
217 In the death registers that are likewise maintained by the
165 imam for the entire adat community (around 14, 000 inhabitants),
the following data are found reported in parallel columns: the
[793] name of the deceased, his sex, his age; the kampong in which
he died, whether he died during the night or during the day, the
date of his death, the final illness, and sometimes a few remarks
concerning heirs and estate.

The reasons indicated for the death are very much those of
[761] a layman; the imam bases them upon complaints uttered during
the final illness; stomach-ache, coughing, sometimes old age,
are found recorded in this category. /250/

Thus, these registers must also be handled with care.
Neither age nor reason for death can be regarded as reliable.

/250 cont./
Marriage Registers

114
217
585

In the columns of the marriage registers are found in order: the bridegroom's name, his estimated age, the kampong of his residence; his father's and mother's name, their place of residence, or else the fact that they are deceased. The same is entered for the bride. Then follows the name and place of residence of the wali and his kin relationship to the wife, or else the fact that the wali haking functioned; the date of the marriage ceremony, the formula of the talak al takli' (Makassarese: djandji tala'); the amount of the bride price (sunrang); the fact that the sunrang was paid or else borrowed, what part was paid in money and what part in exactly defined goods; a fingerprint of the bride's thumb or of her father's in case the latter is still alive; the name of the marriage official and of the witnesses, and finally a column of remarks.

In Borongloë, marriages by flight are registered along with the ordinary, or festive marriages. This is to say, therefore, that in general marriages of fleeing couples from elsewhere are registered in Borongloë, and that marriages of fleeing couples native to Borongloë are recorded elsewhere. The tendency to flee to Macassar seems to be greater than the other way around. In Macassar, some imams have special registers to record marriages by flight. Only after a certain length of time has elapsed does the couple return home. The total number of marriages registered in Borongloë is therefore not the same as the number of married couples.

In the case of marriage by flight, the sunrang always amounts to 20 reals. In view of the fact that otherwise the sunrang is an index, the number of marriages with 20 reals is in itself not indicative of status conditions.

The age of the marrying couples must be treated with caution, as was already remarked in the discussion of child marriage.

/250 cont./

Divorce Registers

114 217 586 The divorce registers are kept by the Kali of Goa for a part of the province of Goa that comprises several adat communities. /251/ This is an administrative problem which is regulated differently according to locality. During the Japanese occupation, when it was considered unsafe to travel, the Imam of Borongloë temporarily was also authorized to register divorces.

The maintenance of these four types of personal registers was poor. Registers of a few years back were in such a deplorable state that it was no longer fruitful to consult them. Before these registers can develop into a Registrar's Office, a good many improvements will first have to be made.

Land-tax Registers

114 217 651 423 In the land-tax registers each plot of land whose boundaries are very precisely indicated is to be found with the name of the person who pays the tax on it. This may be the Indonesian owner. A woman's plots are regularly recorded in the name of her husband or, if she is unmarried, in the name of her oldest brother. Younger brother's plots are frequently entered in the name of the oldest.

Registration of land is done by kampong territory. It is possible to calculate the average landownership per head and per house. It is impossible to say how many are "large landowners" -- assuming that one would want to consider someone who possesses more than five hectares as such, for instance, for by entering a part of his land in the name of his wife or children, the total ownership of one man can no longer be traced through these land registers.

The land-tax service places the taxpayer and the Indonesian owner practically on a par. Jurisprudence, however, does not simply connect with Indonesian property rights the fact that someone is entered in the land-tax registers.

114 217 423 651 /251 cont./ The land-tax registers make a distinction between lands in Indonesian possession and lands that have been taken in pawn. In a calculation of the averages of the sawah areas, these two types of land must be added together. The land-tax registers are in excellent condition.

The Indonesian Notary

114 217 675 425 The so-called Inland Notary, kept in the adat community office, which before the war began to assume an increasingly important task, was still not up to prewar /252/ standards in mid-1949. In 1940, 318 transactions were registered in Borongloë, in 1946 and 1947, 36 and 56 respectively.

The purpose of this institution is to further legal certainty. Parties which enter into a transaction, can report this to the head concerned, and the latter is then obligated to enter this transaction in the register, and at the same time to give to both parties a summary of what was recorded by him.

In the columns are recorded in order: name and place of residence of the purchaser; name and place of residence of the seller; a description of the article; then its boundaries are indicated if it is land, and its characteristics if it concerns a buffalo; the sum that is paid or -- in case of an exchange -- the article with a similar description; and finally, the further agreements that are made subsequent to this transfer.

The adat community head makes an entry of the transaction if the local well-informed head of the kampong where the land is situated or from which the buffalo comes tells him that he has heard no objections against the transaction. The institution was popular because the native courts of law especially attached much value to the summaries produced by purchasers or pawnees at their sessions.

The personal care and interest for this institution on the part of the local heads varies greatly, and it is upon this that the number of transactions recorded appears to be directly

114 217 675 425 /252 cont./ dependent. Comparison of the figures accordingly indicates little concerning the actual number of transactions carried out in the respective territorial sections. A general impression can be derived from this register of what is transacted in a certain region. But no conclusions can be drawn with respect to the number of transactions.

Of the 31 transactions recorded in 1948, 6 concern the transfer of a sawah; 5 the transfer of a piece of dry land; 16 the sale of buffaloes, and 2 the transfer of a sewing machine.

The number of buffalo sales probably approaches the actual number most closely, since in the case of transportation -- which is necessary in the sale to one residing outside the seller's adat community -- a buffalo pass is necessary, and some heads exercise a certain pressure for registration in the registry /253/ of the Indonesian Notary when such a pass is issued. The land transactions do not approximate the actual number by an estimated tenth part.

Misdemeanor Registers

114 217 674 In the register of misdemeanors (Rappor Kedjahatan), which is also kept in the adat community office, the violations and misdemeanors that are reported there are entered, and at the same time those against whom the evidence is reported. In the first six months of 1948, 15 were reported there, that is: 9 buffalo thefts, 2 maltreatments, 1 threat with the badik, 2 minor thefts, and 1 assault on a woman. Eight of the 9 buffalo thefts remained unsolved. This register was not introduced [177] until 1948; little can as yet be said about its effect.

Registers of Legal Matters

114 217 674 The registers of legal matters which are divided into civil and criminal, are kept in the adat community office of Borongloe when they concern "minor" matters that come up before the

114 /253 cont./ Minor Native Law Court (Hadat Ketjil) of
217 Borongloë. The registers of "major" matters handled by the
671 Native Law Court (Hadat Besar) of Goa are to be found in the provincial office in Sungguminasa. In the civil registers are listed name and place of residence of the parties; the demand and the answer; the statements by the witnesses, the decision of the judge, and a single consideration in which is stated how the judge arrived at his decision. Relatively the same applies to criminal matters. These considerations are not directly comparable to those found in the registers of government judges.

Community-Labor Register

114 The kampong head has a register with the names of the
217 men in his kampong who are subject to government corvée,
651 nowadays community labor. This, however, does not list the total number of men able to work because a few kinsmen of the head and a few kampong functionaries are exempted from such labor, and because many heads are inclined to extend the number of exemptions according to their own judgment in order to strengthen their position in the kampong. This register is poorly kept. Old registers are not preserved.

/254/ Overnight Register

114 The kampong head keeps an overnight register (buku
217 bermalan) in which the person who spends the night in a kampong
486 is recorded by his name, his place of residence, the duration of his stay, and name of his host. Its purpose during the turbulent years of 1946 and 1947 was to exercise a certain control over strangers who came into the kampong. Now that this control is no longer so important, a name is entered only now and then so that the book will not be completely blank when a checkup is made. More than 90 per cent of overnight stays were not noted, so far as I was able to observe. The register therefore is of no use in measuring a certain horizontal mobility.

/254 cont./ Registration Register

114 The Registration Register is, in view of its makeup,
217 probably designed to give a picture of the number of able-bodied
161 men and the tax to be rendered by them in each kampong
[65] territory.

Next to the column in which the name of the man is recorded, there is one showing the number of his wives, his children, buffaloes, and horses; his profession, his age, the amount he must pay in income tax, and so forth. Unmarried and able-bodied young men have their own place in the register. The youngest of these was nineteen years old.

This register cannot serve to indicate the total number of residents because houses in which a widow lives with children are not recorded. If a young man is around nineteen years of age, he receives a place in the register, but not his mother and younger brothers and sisters. Houses without a male head of the family are therefore not included in it.

The register apparently was not kept up regularly. Some newborn children were not entered, and some deceased were not written off. I was told by the administration that the total number of those entered increased by 10 per cent after the distribution of kain was done on the basis of this register. This 10 per cent appeared to consist mainly of unmarried women and girls.

Compared to my own card system of the residents of /255/ Bontoramba, 17 men (or boys) and 104 women (or girls) were not registered, altogether 121, or around 15 percent, for a total of 803 residents. The increase of 10 per cent just mentioned had already taken place then.

The estimated age is recorded only for the men entered in the register. The observation made in the 1930 Census Report, that age estimates are unreliable was here confirmed. A man of 47 years appeared to have a son of 38. Several men would have been fathers in their twelfth year. The oldest man of the kampong was estimated at 66 years of age. In these

114 /255 cont./ estimates there appeared to be a clear preference
217 for certain numbers which, in my opinion, make it risky to
161 draw further conclusions from this. Eleven men were estimated as 40 years of age, 10 as 50, and 9 as 52; but according to this estimate, only 2 men were 39 years old, only one 41 or 42 years old, while there were supposedly no men of 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, and 59 years of age residing in the kampong.

School Registers

114 The school registers, which are kept very accurately by the
217 head of the school and checked by inspectors of the Department,
871 are in very good condition.

Each child is entered in the register according to name, sex, name of the father, and name of the person paying the tuition; date of entrance, grade promotions, date of leaving school, and reason for leaving school. The children's place of residence is not entered in the register.

Up to 1945 the public school in Bontomanai was the only school in the adat community of Borongloë with its more than 14,000 inhabitants. This school was established in 1923 but led a rather precarious existence until 1936. The number of pupils was small. In the second half of 1935 a new director of the school was appointed, and the number of pupils immediately soared steeply. The number of newly enrolled pupils numbered:

1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
12	70	37	78	64	17

Altogether, therefore, 278 children were enrolled, of whom 197 (72 per cent) were boys, and 81 (28 per cent) girls. The decrease in 1940 is due to the circumstance that the Inspector believed /256/ that there were too many pupils at the school and that the instruction was suffering from this.

For the instruction at this three-year public school there was, in addition to the school director mentioned, a single assistant instructor. The two men divided up the three classes in such a way that one class in turn was free or else worked by itself.

114 /256 cont./ Of these 278 children, 60 received a graduating
217 diploma. The rest left school for various reasons which are
871 recorded in the school's register. For 95 the reason given was laziness; for 49, their own request; for 29 illness; for 23, transfer to another school, for instance in connection with the parents moving; for 14, lack of money; and for 8, the fact that they were too small.

Laziness has reference not only to the achievements at school, but also to attendance at school, and children who live as far as two kilometers or more are with greater difficulty induced to cover this great distance every day, than those who live near by in the vicinity.

Under "own request" many girls are included who are regarded by their parents or other kinsmen as too big to walk on the street. Girls above twelve years of age, but frequently even those over ten, are preferably kept at home.

The poor payment of tuition was a reason for removing a child from school, particularly during the last two years. At that time the school had sufficient pupils. One does not need to jump to the conclusion that poor people's children were here especially prejudiced in the opportunities for development. Frequently, these parents are no poorer or richer than others, they just won't spare the tuition money.

The fact that pupils were too small was only given as a reason for leaving school in 1939. This must be regarded as due to the fact that the number of pupils was considered to be too large and because the Inspector believed that instruction was suffering from this.

125 In 1949 an attempt was made to discover the residence of the 278 pupils enrolled from 1935 through 1940. This attempt must be regarded as a failure. In 1949, 104 children were still living in the same kampong; 12 had moved to a kampong outside Borongloë, 1 to a kampong outside Goa, and 7 were dead. Of the great majority (154) the place of residence was /257/
[115] unknown. I assume that by far the greatest part of these no longer

/257 cont./ resided in the same kampong because my informant, the school director himself, was very well informed about local conditions and accordingly would have been quite familiar, in most cases, with the domicile if this had remained unchanged. But no positive answer was forthcoming to the question concerning the domicile of 154 ex-pupils. There was no time to investigate this matter in another way.

There is a certain correlation between the number of pupils who went to school in Bontomanai from a certain kampong during those years and the distance that these children had to cover. The numbers and the distances in kilometers follow here:

80 from Bontomanai itself
77 from Pakatto, about 1 kilometer
25 from Borong, 2.5 kilometers
24 from Songkolo, 2.5 to 3 kilometers
20 from Kotjikang, 2.5 kilometers
15 from Parang Banua, 4 to 5 kilometers
13 from Borongkaluku, 2.5 kilometers
8 from Bontoramba, 5 kilometers
5 from Bontoa, 5 kilometers
4 from Buttadidi, 4 kilometers
3 from Bolangi (1), 4 kilometers

1. Kampong of an adjoining adat community.

2 from Borongpalala, 3 kilometers
1 from Bonto Bonto, 6 kilometers

There were no pupils from two kampongs.

One of these kampongs is situated 7 kilometers from Bontomanai and 3 kilometers from another place with a school. The children therefore went there.

All the kampongs mentioned are connected with Bontomanai by means of good footpaths, with the exception of Borongpalala.

871 /257 cont./ The children who come from there must walk over muddy footpaths. Parang Banua and Bontoa are cut off from the other kampongs by a large river, the Djeneberang. The large number of children from Parang Banua is therefore striking. Here live many kinsmen of the adat community head who, as he said, always urged his kin group to send their children to school.

The total number of residents of a kampong, the communication routes, /258/ and the example set by a head thus constitute the less important factors influencing school attendance, aside from the distance that has to be covered. A new school provides direct proof of this.

In 1945 a new school was opened in Bontoramba. In July, 1949 it had an enrollment of 226 pupils, of whom a small number at that time already had left school again. Of these 226, there came:

from Bontoramba	60 (26 boys and 34 girls)
from Pagentungang	61 (40 boys and 21 girls)
from Buttadidi	53 (36 boys and 17 girls)
from Songkolo	35 (20 boys and 15 girls)

All three of the last-named kampongs border directly on Bontoramba. The new school director did not know the place of residence for 17 pupils. It is not recorded in the registers.

114
217 Herewith, the most important registers have been discussed. The most reliable and at the same time the ones that were best kept appear to be those registers for which a special service is responsible (school and land-tax registers). The least reliable and the ones that were most poorly maintained were those that had been put in the hands of the kampong head (overnight and community-labor registers). The condition of those in the hands of the religious officials (imams) or of the adat community heads is dependent upon the sense of neatness and order of the keeper concerned, upon the standing

1:Chabot--343 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

114 /258 cont./ that he enjoys and which places him in a position
to realize certain aspirations with respect to these registers,
217 and finally upon the orders and the control of their execution
that proceeds centrally from the Kali to the imams, and from
the administrative officials, now the Self-government members,
to the adat community head.

/259/ Bibliography

113 As a starting point for this bibliography, I used the
114 Bibliography of Indonesian Peoples and Cultures by Raymond
Kennedy (1). A number of gaps were filled, and the list was

1. Yale University Press,
New Haven, 1945.

brought up to date to January, 1950.

For practical reasons, Kennedy's division into "Celebes General" and "Makassarese-Buginese" was not followed, nor was the distinction between publications in Dutch and other languages used.

Not all the works cited by Kennedy could be consulted. It is possible, therefore, that a number of works were included which relate to North or Central, and not to South Celebes.

With a few exceptions, the publications that have appeared in the Adatrechtbundels have not been cited again separately under the name of the author.

1: Chabot--344 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

/259 cont. / Bibliography (Continued)

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List of Abbreviations

Lijst van afkortingen.

AEO	Annales de l'Extrême-Orient. Paris.
AHV	De Aarde en Haar Volken. Haarlem.
AO	Acta Orientalia. Leiden.
BCI	Bulletin of the Colonial Institute. Amsterdam.
Bijd.	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië. Den Haag.
CI	Cultureel Indië. Leiden.
D	Djåwå. Weltevreden.
G.	De Gids. Amsterdam.
GTNI	Geneeskundig Tijdschrift van Nederlandsch-Indië.
IAE	Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Leiden.
IG	De Indische Gids. Amsterdam.
Ind. Gen.	Indisch Genootschap. Den Haag.
ITR	Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht. Batavia.
JIAEA	Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia. Singapore.
KS	Koloniale Studiën. Weltevreden.
KT	Koloniaal Tijdschrift.
MNZ	Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap. Rotterdam.
MVGNI	Mededeelingen der Vereeniging der Gezaghebbers in Nederlandsch-Indië.

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NBGKW	Notulen van de Algemeene en Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Batavia.
NGM	National Geographic Magazine. Washington.
NH	Natural History. New York.
NION	Nederlandsch-Indië Oud en Nieuw. Amsterdam, Den Haag.
NTNI	Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië. Batavia.
Opw	De Opwekker.
PM	Petermanns Mitteilungen. Gotha.
PRGS	Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London. London.
TEG	Tijdschrift voor Economische Geographie. Den Haag.
Tijd.	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Batavia.
Tijd. BB	Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur. Batavia.
TN	Tropisch Nederland.
TNAG	Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap. Amsterdam, Utrecht, Leiden.
TNI	Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië. Zalt-Bommel, Nijmegen, Bussum, Den Haag, Amsterdam.
VBGKW	Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Batavia.
VMKAW	Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Amsterdam.
WH	Wolandia Hindia.
ZE	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin.
ZGEB	Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin. Berlin.

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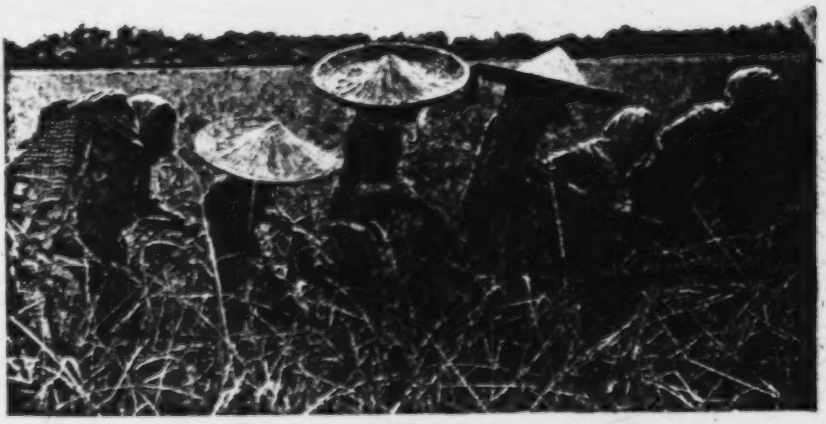
241
342

Landscape in Goa. Sawahs and groves alternate. Page 19.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

241
291



During the harvest; a group of women. Page 199.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 1]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

342

Makassarese houses.
(Photographic Archives Ind. Institute.)

[291]
[117]

Makassarese houses.
(Photographic Archives Ind. Institute.)

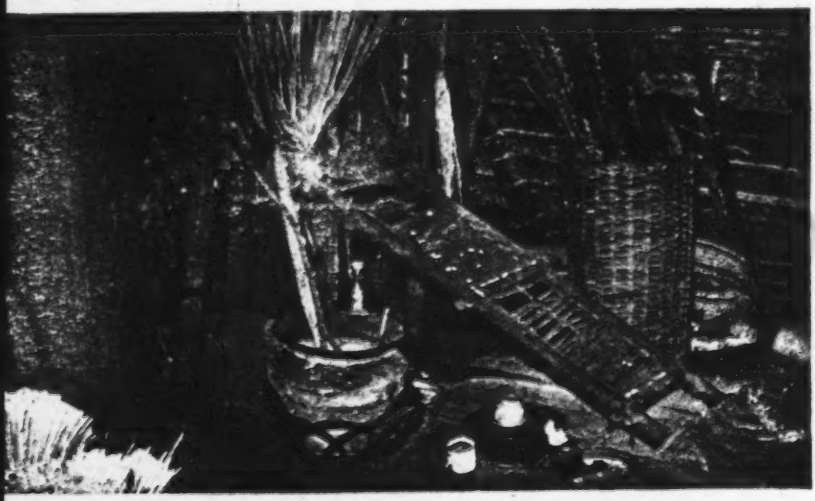
[end plate 2]

Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

585
602
291
301
482

A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.

769
778
352
415



The little ancestral house (pantasa') in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END PLATE 3]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

796
462
292
516
142

Before the commencement of the Dikir on the occasion of the Maulud festival in Laikang. Dikir is men's work; a girl is jokingly chased away. Page 193.

796
631
417

General view of the Maulud festival in Laikang. The scaffolds are sent in by kampongs. In their size and construction the competitive spirit between kampongs finds expression.

[end plate 4]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

585
292
516
142

The Imam of Borongloë (center) marries the bridegroom (right); to the left in the foreground is the father of the bride; to the right in the background the back of the bride can be seen. Pages 259-260.

292
585
516

Bride and bridegroom amidst the women and children waiting for their first joint "meal." Page 263.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 5]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

585
554
516
291
415
824

During the festive meal in the pannjambungi, the men sit in rows according to their prestige. Pages 195-196 and 243. In the foreground one can see, among other things, the coconuts, whose contents will be poured over the bridal couple at their first common bath. Page 265.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 6]

1: Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

643
648
291
293

Inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1947. During the procession.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

After the inauguration, many try to obtain a bit of the earth next to the investiture stone. Compare page 66.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 7]

796

Procession from the house of the adat community head of Borongloë to the sacred spot. The buffalo to be slaughtered (with a white cloth on its back), is led along. See, among others, pages 93 and 98.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

The same procession. In the middle, wearing a white headdress, one can see the pinati. (Page 82.) Young men are carrying the objects required for the ritual.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

[end plate 8]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

304
852
516
301

During a circumcision festival held for a son of the adat community head, he and his little sister also have their teeth filed.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

302
852
291
301

On the occasion of the same festival, the old Imam also cuts the children's hair in a ritual manner.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

[end plate 9]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar
OG6

291
535
786
838

Bissu of Segeri during their dance, in which they are in a trance and attempt to press a kris into the body. Pages 208-209.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 10]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

241
291
838
416

Bissu of Segeri during the plowing ritual on the ornament sawah. In the photograph, the bissu are recognizable by the fact that they wear glasses. Pages 101 and 208-209.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 11]

1: Chabot OG6 Makassar

VERWANTSCHAP, STAND EN SEXE IN ZUID-CELEBES

DOOR

Dr. H. Th. CHABOT
DOCENT AAN DE UNIVERSITEIT VAN INDONESIË

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BIJ J. B. WOLTERS' UITGEVERSMAATSCHAPPIJ N.V.
GRONINGEN — DJAKARTA — 1950

[TITLE PAGE]

1: Chabot OG6 Makassar

= BALAI PERGURUAN TINGGI NASIONAL
DJAKARTA =

LEMBAGA PENJELIDIKAN
BAHASA DAN KEBUDAJAAN

[FACING TITLE PAGE]

1: Chabot OG6 Makassar

Boggett

OPGEDRAGEN
AAN MIJN MOEDER

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[p-iii]

VOORWOORD.

De beëindiging van dit boek betekent voor mij het einde van een periode, die eigenlijk reeds eerder afgesloten werd. De tweede wereldoorlog heeft een normale publicatie der vóór 1942 verzamelde gegevens verhinderd en na afloop daarvan meende ik niet verder te mogen gaan, voordat een studie over de Makassaars-Buginese cultuur verschenen zou zijn.

Bij een terugblik over de afgelopen jaren ben ik al diegenen dankbaar, die mij hun vriendschap en hun hulp in de meest verschillende vormen, hebben willen geven.

Allereerst gaat mijn dank uit naar wijlen Prof. Mr. B. ter Haar, die mij mijn opdracht voor adatrechtelijk onderzoek in Zuid-Celebes heeft verschaft; zijn brieven met steeds stimulerende vragen en opmerkingen zullen voor mij altijd een goede herinnering blijven.

Erkentelijk ben ik Prof. Mr. C. T. Bertling, in 1937 Voorzitter van de Landraden Makassar c.a., onder wie mijn onzekere positie van ongegradueerd ambtenaar ter beschikking zich heeft kunnen consolideren, en die later steeds van zijn daadwerkelijke belangstelling voor mijn werk heeft blijk gegeven.

Dank ben ik verschuldigd aan Prof. Dr. A. A. Cense, tot 1941 taalambtenaar te Makassar, op wiens kantoor ik al die jaren heb mogen werken en die mij steeds in zijn uitgebreide kennis van taal, land en volk van Zuid-Celebes heeft willen laten delen.

In 1948 mocht ik van Prof. Mr. Rd. Soepomo gedeelten van hoofdstukken terugontvangen, die in 1941 naar Djakarta gezonden waren en door hem daar waren bewaard. Op deze plaats wordt hem hiervoor mijn dank gebracht.

Mijn beste herinneringen zal ik behouden aan mijn werk te velde, zowel voor als na de oorlog in het Rijk Goa, meer in het bijzonder in de Adatgemeenschap Borongloë, verricht. Aan de Vorst van Goa en aan het Hoofd dier Adatgemeenschap, Hamzah Daëng Tompo, betuig ik hier mijn bijzondere dank voor de gastvrijheid in hun gebied genoten. Speciaal mag ik hier vermelden de familieleden van laatstgenoemde, in wier huizen ik geregeld heb mogen verblijven, de heren Manggaukang Daëng Kulle en Galasi Daëng Kio'. Aan hen binden mij herinneringen aan vele avonden van gezellig samenzijn.

Aan de samenwerking met de assistent van de taalambtenaar,

de heer Abdurrahim, denk ik steeds met het meeste genoegen terug; aan zijn grote kennis van familieaangelegenheden dank ik voor een groot deel mijn verbeterd inzicht in de Makassaarse verwantengroep.

Met betrekking tot de naoorlogse periode, ben ik bijzondere dank verschuldigd aan Prof. Dr. G. J. Held, zowel voor het feit, dat hij mij ambtelijk de gelegenheid verschafte om het nodige materiaal te verzamelen in het reeds van vroeger bekende gebied, als voor zijn critische en opbouwende opmerkingen, gemaakt na doorlezing van het manuscript.

Tenslotte dank ik mijn vrouw, die mij samen met onze dochter naar Borongloë volgde, zowel voor haar steun tijdens het veldwerk, toen haar contacten met in de buurt wonende vrouwen mij gegevens over die groep verschaften, die mij anders ontgaan zouden zijn, als voor haar hulp bij het corrigeren der drukproeven.

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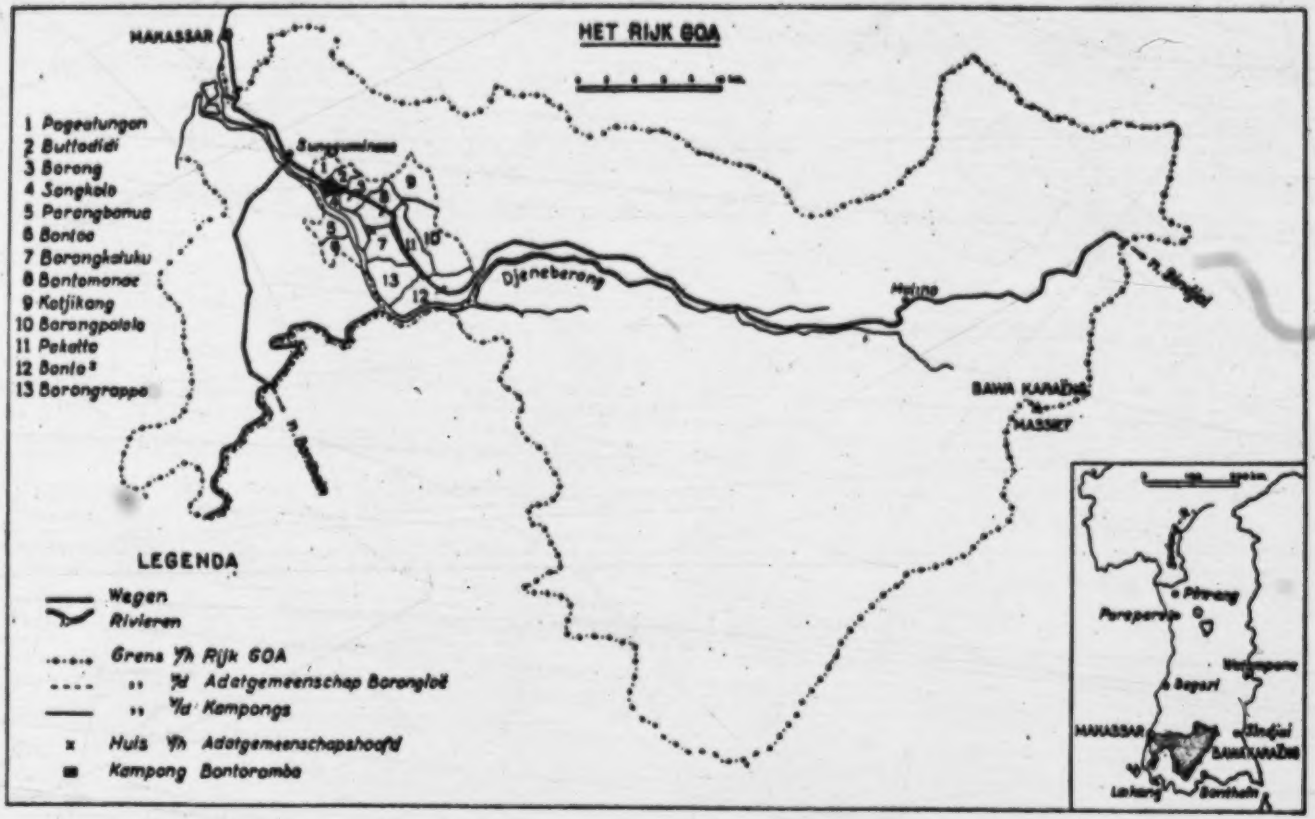
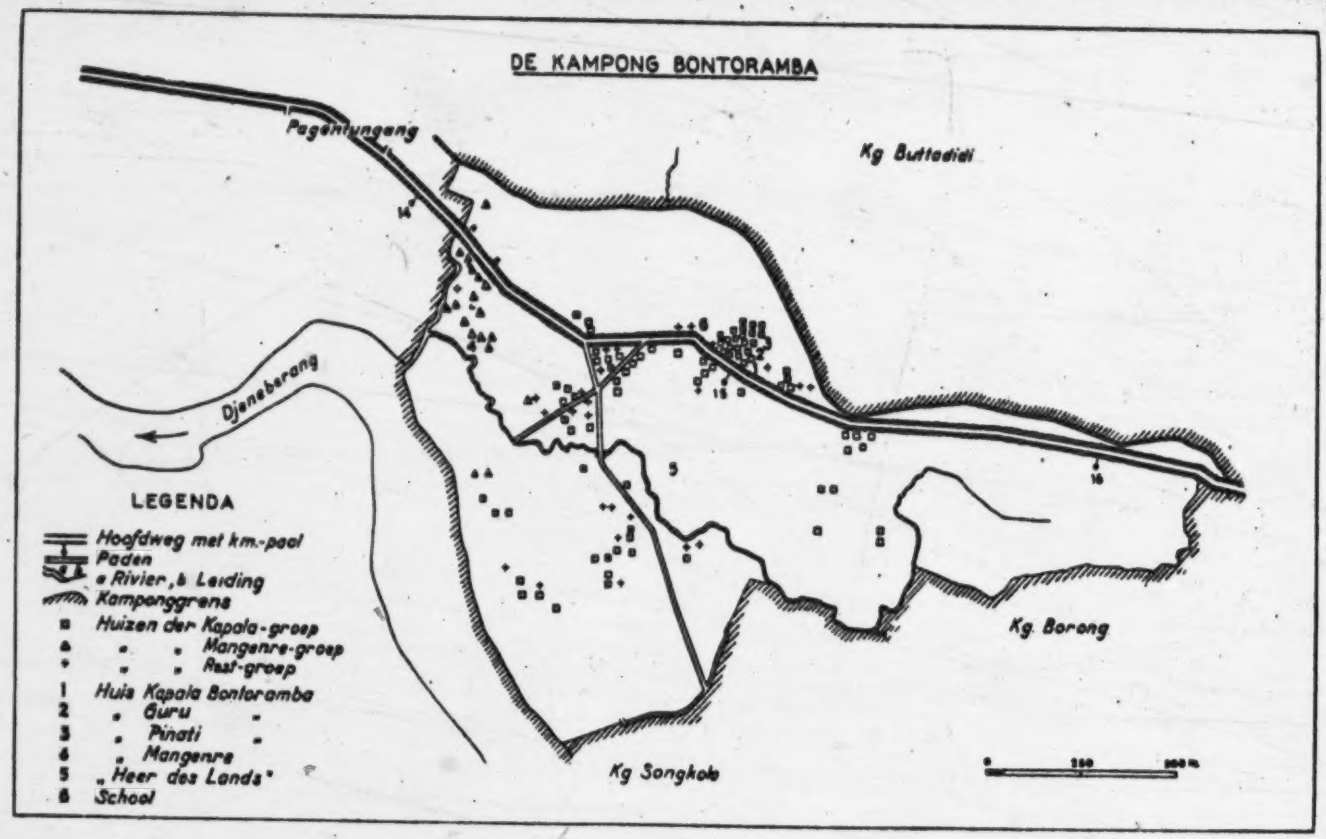
OG6 Makassar



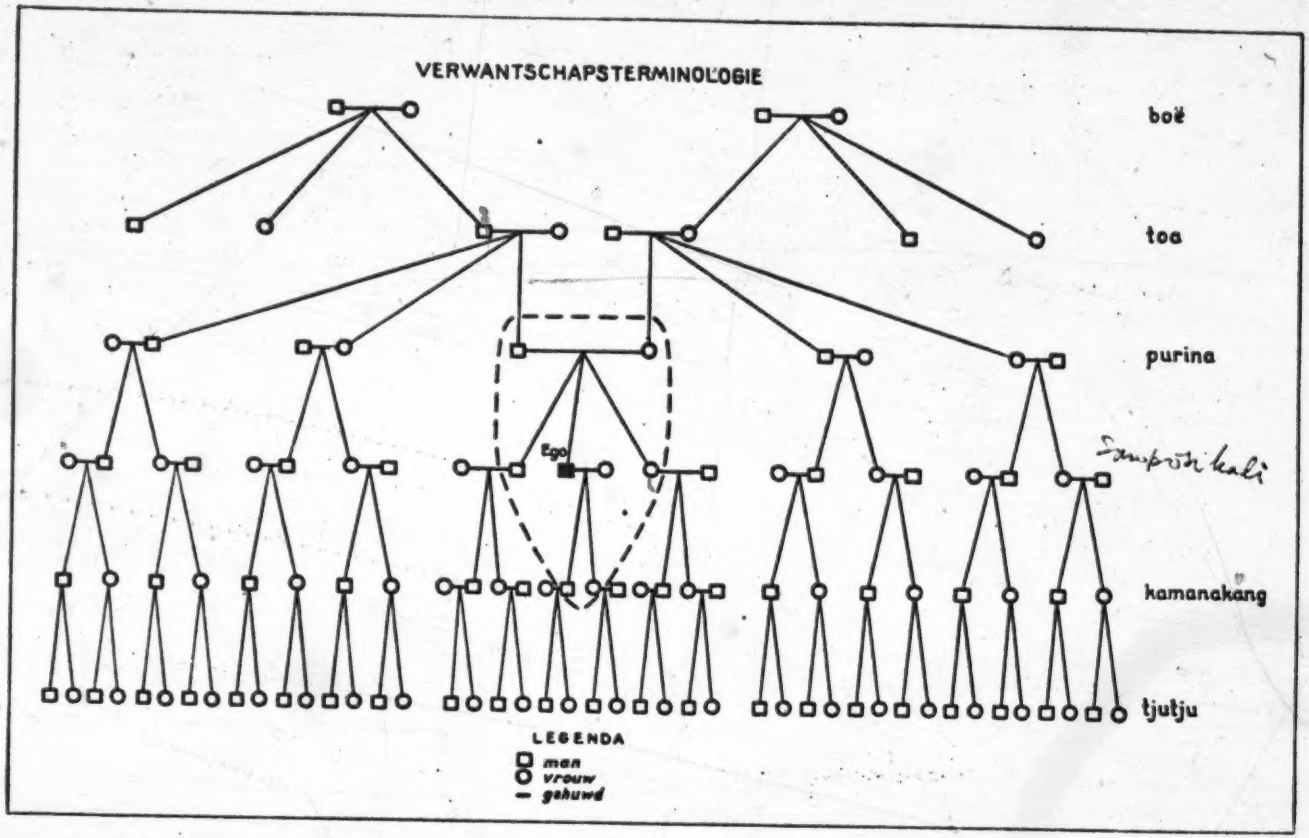
[p. 1 x]


DE KAMPONG BONTORAMBA
Pagehiungang
Kg Buttadidi
Djeneberang
Kg Borong
Kg Songkolo
LEGENDA
Hoofdweg met km.-paal
Paden
a Rivier, b Leiding
Kampenggrens
Huizen der Kapala-groep
" " Mangenre-groep
" " Rest-groep
1 Huis Kapala Bontoramba
2 " Guru "
3 " Pinati "
4 " Mangenre
5 „Heer des Lands"
6 School

[p. x]

1: Chabot

OG6 Makassar



[p. xi]

INLEIDING.

HET ONDERZOEK.

De beschrijving van een cultuur ontstaat uit het contact van de onderzoeker met de samenleving die het object van zijn onderzoek is. Om een beschrijving te kunnen beoordelen, dient men dus van de onderzoeker te kennen zijn opdracht, zijn theoretische scholing en zijn persoonlijke instelling. Het contact van onderzoeker en object is dan aanwijsbaar in de selectie van de gemeenschap waar het onderzoek verricht zal worden, in zijn introductie aldaar, in zijn materiële levensomstandigheden, zijn informanten en zijn verkeerstaal en tenslotte in de techniek, waarmee hij zijn gegevens verzamelt.

T.a.v. al deze onderwerpen staan slechts enkele ervaringsregelen de onderzoeker, die thans het terrein ingaat, ter beschikking en deze kunnen voor hem niet meer betekenen dan evenzo weinige algemene richtlijnen. [1]) In deze inleiding kan slechts een poging worden gedaan om eigen moeilijkheden en ervaringen weer te geven.

Object van onderzoek was de plattelandssamenleving der Makassaren en Buginezen.

Aanvankelijk, vòòr de tweede wereldoorlog, luidde de opdracht het geven van een beschrijving van het adatrecht van Zuid-Celebes. Deze opdracht is niet uitgevoerd kunnen worden. Het verzamelde materiaal ging tijdens de oorlog verloren. Slechts gedeelten van hoofdstukken, die klaar en naar Djakarta gezonden waren, werden gered. De adatrechtelijke opzet komt thans nog tot uiting in de paragrafen over grootgrondbezit, het polygame huwelijk en in het derde gedeelte van het laatste hoofdstuk dat over het vluchthuwelijk handelt. Deze opzet bepaalde dus de manier waarop dit onderzoek werd aangevangen.

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[1]) Lezenswaardige mededelingen hierover vindt men bij:
1. J. Dollard: Caste and class in a Southern Town. New York 1949. 2e druk. p. 1—41.
2. W. Lloyd Warner and P. S. Lunt: The social life of a modern community. Yale University Press 1941, p. 1—75.
3. R. Firth: Malay Fishermen: their peasant economy. London 1946, p. 307—318.
4. M. J. Herskovits: Man and his works. New York 1948, p. 79—93. De laatste vatte zijn opmerkingen samen onder de aantrekkelijke titel: „The Ethnographer's Laboratory".

Reeds dadelijk bleek, dat een keuze gedaan zou moeten worden m.b.t. de soort van adatrechtbeschrijving die zou worden nagestreefd. Twee zeer verschillende soorten van publicaties zijn nml. in de adatrechtliteratuur aanwijsbaar. Beide soorten zijn ingesteld op het geven van steun aan de rechter bij de uitoefening van zijn taak, recht te spreken naar adatrecht. In de eerste, die zijn hoogtepunt vond in het werk van Vergouwen [1]), gaat de onderzoeker er echter van uit, dat de rechter de samenleving waarin hij recht moet spreken niet kent. Hij poogt dus eerst een inzicht in de structuur daarvan te geven om vervolgens de inhoud der normen in die samenleving zò te beschrijven, dat deze voor de rechter-vreemdeling begrijpelijk worden.

In de tweede soort publicaties houdt de onderzoeker zich niet bezig met de structuur der samenleving; hij stelt deze a.h.w. bekend en concentreert zich op het „in den vorm van rechtsregelen" weergeven „van de gevolgtrekkingen die zijns inziens door het feitenmateriaal worden gerechtvaardigd". Dit feitenmateriaal, bestaat voornamelijk uit gevallen, die zich in de desa's voordeden, en uit jurisprudentie. Soepomo was van dit type publicaties de promotor. [2])

Het naast elkaar voorkomen van deze beide typen is alleen historisch te begrijpen. Van Vollenhoven heeft enige decennia lang zijn stempel gedrukt op de onderzoekers en hun publicaties. Hij gaf het systeem, waarin alle gegevens, de samenleving betreffend, geplaatst konden worden; maar dit systeem was juridisch van bouw. Van Vollenhoven richtte de aandacht speciaal op het rechtsleven; hij smeedde de nodige juridische termen; alle gegevens de samenleving betreffend waren daarbij van belang, omdat zij dienden als materialen voor het juridisch bouwwerk.

De conceptie was even zeldzaam als groots. Zij was echter alleen denkbaar in een tijd, dat juridisch- en speciaal rechters-werk verricht moest worden in een aan de rechters volledig onbekende samenleving. Ethnografisch materiaal werd dus door juristen, of door juridisch geschoolde ambtenaren van het Binnenlands Bestuur,

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[1]) J. C. Vergouwen: Het rechtsleven der Toba-Bataks. 1933.

[2]) R. Soepomo: a) Verslag omtrent het onderzoek naar het adatgrondenerfrecht in het gewest Jogjakarta buiten de hoofdplaats. Mededeeling van de Afdeeling Adatrecht, 1930. b) Het Adatprivaatrecht van West Java. 1933. Voor de aanhalingen in deze alinea, zie de inleiding tot dit boek, van B. ter Haar, p. IV.

verzameld en in het gegeven juridische systeem ingedeeld. Aangezien dit systeem gegeven was en het ethnografisch materiaal voor het grijpen lag, spreekt het van zelf, dat hun publicaties steeds op deze combinatie gebouwd werden. Het bleven echter in de eerste plaats milieuschilderingen, die aan de rechter-vreemdeling een welkome steun verschaften bij zijn taak, recht te spreken naar een hem onbekend recht in een hem onbekende samenleving. Het werden echter, noch aan de eisen van het vak beantwoordende ethnologische, noch rechtssociologische, noch ook rechtsnormatieve studies.

De steun bleek voor de rechters echter onvoldoende te zijn. De normen, naar welke de rechter moest oordelen, bleken nml. in deze beschrijvingen niet duidelijk genoeg onderkenbaar. Men zocht dus naar een andere wijze van weergave. Soepomo gaf hierbij leiding. Hij registreerde casusposities, d.w.z. „gevallen" die in de kampongs waren voorgekomen met hun oplossingen, en baseerde daarop zijn conclusies, die hij in de vorm van rechtsregelen, gemakkelijk hanteerbaar voor de rechters, weergaf. Bij deze publicaties werd dus bij de rechters een, zij het onbewuste, kennis van de structuur der samenleving vooronderstelt. Het bezwaar is hier, dat de onderlinge verhouding van strijdige normen, die in iedere samenleving, maar speciaal daar waar zich in kort tijdsverloop vele veranderingen voltrekken, aanwijsbaar zijn, niet duidelijk tot uiting komt. De rechter mist de gegevens om te kunnen beoordelen hoe die onderlinge verhouding is. Die kan slechts een analyse van de structuur der samenleving hem verschaffen.

Bij de aanvang van het adatrechtelijk onderzoek koos ik, meer onbewust dan op grond van een analyse der beide methoden, het type Vergouwen. De gedachte aan een onderzoek naar de drijvende krachten der Makassaars-Buginese cultuur was steeds als nevengedachte bij het adatrechtelijk werk aanwezig, omdat, zoals dat toen geformuleerd werd, het recht zonder kennis van zijn maatschappij niet te begrijpen is.

Toen na de oorlog, in 1948, overlegd werd hoe de latente kennis dezer cultuur het beste productief gemaakt kon worden, werd besloten tot een structuurbeschrijving. Daartoe werd in de maanden Juni en Juli zowel van 1948 als van 1949 een onderzoek van ruim 6 weken in het reeds van voor de oorlog bekende terrein gedaan.

Indien het geven van een structuurbeschrijving als de opdracht

van de onderzoeker beschouwd wordt, dan dient vervolgens zijn theoretische scholing aangegeven te worden. Deze werd bepaald door de colleges van de Josselin de Jong in Leiden, en later verder gevormd door de studies van Linton.

Het bleek niet mogelijk om het derde aspect, de persoonlijke instelling van de onderzoeker, als aparte factor te behandelen. Dit zou neerkomen op een persoonsanalyse. Het nadeel echter, dat deze persoonlijke instelling onvermijdelijk met zich brengt zolang één onderzoeker een samenleving heeft te beschrijven, werd echter sterk gevoeld, en gaarne ondersteun ik Wagley, waar hij instemt met de Chinese socioloog Li An-Che, als deze verklaart, dat een area studie van China „must be executed with the cooperation of Western and Chinese scholars, and that for an understanding of American society we should call upon non-American — even non-Western — students as well as upon our own." [1])

De Makassaren en Buginezen tellen thans te zamen bijna 4 millioen zielen. Zij hebben reeds honderden jaren een eigen schrift en eigen literatuur. Het element van sterke afgeslotenheid ontbreekt in hun plattelandsgemeenschappen, met uitzondering wellicht van enkele dun bevolkte berggebieden.

In de vrij omvangrijke literatuur vindt men velerlei onderwerpen apart behandeld, maar geen samenvatting. Het beste inzicht geeft nog steeds Kooreman. [2]) Een recentere belangrijke studie is die van Friedericy. [3])

Bij meerdere auteurs leest men herhaaldelijk, dat verwantschap door Buginezen en Makassaren van groot belang geacht wordt, zonder dat op dit punt verder wordt ingegaan. De benadering van een samenleving via verwantschapsverhoudingen werd sinds Rivers door de ethnologen reeds algemeen als juist aanvaard. [4]) Daarop richtte zich dus mijn aandacht het eerst. De verwantschapsterminologie diende hierbij als aanknopingspunt.

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[1]) Pamphlet no. 6, uitgegeven door de Social Science Research Council. New York 1948, p. 7.

[2]) P. J. Kooreman: De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden. Indische Gids, 1883.

[3]) H. J. Friedericy: De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren. Verschenen in de Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 1933, deel 90, IV, p. 447—602.

[4]) W. H. R. Rivers: The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry. The Sociological Review, Vol. III, p. 1 e.v. 1910.

Keuze van het werkgebied.

De vreemdeling die in Zuid-Celebes een „adatonderzoek" gaat houden — en als zodanig worden alle ethnologische, adatrechtelijke, sociologische en andere soortgelijke onderzoekingen door de Makassaren en Buginezen zelf gekwalificeerd — komt in eerste instantie in contact met de Vorst van het landschap, of het hoofd van de adatgemeenschap, waar hij wil gaan werken. Men kan de Vorst en zijn familie, de adel, niet passeren dan op straffe van grote moeilijkheden achteraf, omdat het ontbreken van zijn instemming om in een bepaalde kampong van zijn gebied te gaan werken ten gevolge heeft, dat men de zo broodnodige goodwill bij een groot deel van zijn onderdanen, die goede informanten hadden kunnen worden, verspeelt. Dit passeren is nml. meer dan alleen maar een onbeleefdheid; het is een daad waaruit, van de kant van de Vorst bezien, een vijandigheid spreekt; een hoge vreemdeling — en dat is nu eenmaal iedere onderzoeker — is een potentieel machtscentrum, dat degenen, die de Vorst minder goed gezind zouden zijn, tot zich zou kunnen trekken, en dat dus voor deze een gevaar zou kunnen vormen.

Adatonderzoek bij gewone kampongmensen is verder verdacht, omdat volgens de Vorst en zijn familieleden de kleine man geen adat heeft, zoals volgens de Hollandse bourgeoisie van een halve eeuw geleden het volk geen manieren had. Adat is voor een man van adel juist hetgeen hem van het volk onderscheidt; zijn adat is de echte.

Hier blijkt tevens het gevaar dat degeen bedreigt, die zijn onderzoek bij de adel zou beginnen. Hij verspeelt de mogelijkheid om een inzicht in de verhouding van hoog en laag, van het standpunt van deze laatste uit bezien, te verkrijgen. Pas toen ik uitdrukkelijk verklaard had, juist de adat van de gewone mensen te willen bestuderen, omdat de heer Friedericy die van de Vorst al beschreven had, werd goed gevonden, dat ik elders zou gaan wonen.

Het hoofd van de adatgemeenschap Borongloë, een van de omstreeks tien adatgemeenschappen die te zamen het landschap Goa vormden, zou mijn gastheer zijn. Met de keuze dezer adatgemeenschap van omstreeks 14000 zielen kon ik mij accoord verklaren, omdat de ligging t.o.v. Makassar gunstig was; omdat het hoofd een energieke jonge man was, die een prettige indruk op

mij maakte, en die daarenboven Nederlands kende, hetgeen het eerste contact slechts zou kunnen vergemakkelijken; omdat, tenslotte, naar mij reeds spoedig bleek, in dit gebied geen bijzondere vexaties of corrupties plaats hadden, die vaak een het onderzoek belemmerende sfeer scheppen.

De onderzoeker, die in de kampong een woonplaats heeft gevonden, kan verder gemakkelijk de oude „adatkenners" omzeilen, die hier, gelijk elders in Indonesië, een barrière tussen de onderzoeker en zijn object vormen.

Mijn gastheer was een vitale figuur, die moeilijk lang thuis kon zitten, maar bij voorkeur door zijn land zwierf, overal pratend, regelend, koffie drinkend. Zijn zwerflust had het voordeel, dat ik op de prettigst denkbare manier in vele huizen van al de veertien kampongs der adatgemeenschap geïntroduceerd werd, en een globaal overzicht kreeg van hetgeen daar omging. Die zwerflust had het nadeel dat van geregelde dagelijkse gesprekken van enige duur over door mij waargenomen feiten geen sprake kon zijn.

Bij hem in huis leerde ik de manier kennen waarop deze hoofdenfamilie met hun bedienden en andere onderdanen omging, en kreeg ik een eerste inzicht in de Makassaarse familie- en gezinsverhoudingen. Toen pas werd mij de belangrijke plaats, die de verwantengroep in het Makassaarse leven, bij hogeren zowel als bij lageren inneemt, duidelijk; toen pas was het dus mogelijk om te streven naar een nadere analyse, en kon dus worden uitgezien naar een verwantengroep, die daarvoor in aanmerking kwam.

De keuze, die viel op een groep in de kampong Bontoramba [1]), werd in hoofdzaak bepaald door drie factoren; in de eerste plaats scheen de daar wonende groep een sterke samenhang te vertonen; herhaaldelijk was mij reeds gebleken dat leden dezer groep met elkaar gehuwd waren; in de tweede plaats was het kamponghoofd, een vooraanstaand man in deze groep, mij bij enkele gelegenheden goed gezind gebleken; ten derde was een mijner beste informanten met de dochter van dat hoofd gehuwd, en tenslotte lag de kampong vergeleken met vele andere gemakkelijk bereikbaar.

Bij het uitschrijven der gegevens was mij reeds gebleken, dat herhaaldelijk onbepaalde telwoorden moesten helpen bij het be-

[1]) Eén van de 14 kampongs, die tezamen de adatgemeenschap Borongloë vormen.

schrijven der verhoudingen, zonder dat het beeld van de verwantengroep daardoor helder werd; de „vele" ongehuwde vrouwen, de „weinige" echtscheidingen, het „geregeld" voorkomen van vluchthuwelijken en het „vaak" samen trouwen van generatiegenoten, al deze aanduidingen zijn tenslotte weinig zeggend. Een kampongopname, waarbij aan al deze kwesties aandacht werd geschonken, scheen de beste manier om een duidelijker inzicht in velerlei verhoudingen te krijgen. De eerste opname geschiedde reeds in 1940. Het materiaal ging echter verloren. Pas in 1948 was er gelegenheid de opname te herhalen. Een kampongterritoor heeft vaste grenzen en omdat noch de ornamentenverering, noch de standengroepering, noch ook de familieverwantschap houvast bood, werd deze territoriale eenheid als uitgangspunt voor verder onderzoek gekozen.

De registratie, die huis voor huis plaats had, geschiedde aan de hand van de volgende vragen: 1. de namen der huisbewoners; 2. hun onderlinge familieverhouding; 3. hun geboorteplaats; 4. hun familieverhouding tot het kamponghoofd. Indien iemand geen familie van de Kapala of diens vrouw was, werd nagegaan of hij familie van een zekere Mangenre was, die naar mij al spoedig bleek, een centrale positie innam in een verwantengroep van omstreeks 100 Buginezen. Indien ook dit niet het geval bleek te zijn, werd gezocht naar familierelaties met naburige huizen. Zo ontstond een eerste overzicht van de grootte der verwantengroepen op één kampongterritoor.

Als datum van opname werd 1 Juli 1948 aangenomen.

Bij de verdere uitwerking der gegevens bleek, dat de bewegelijkheid, die in het Adatgemeenschapshoofd reeds was opgemerkt, en die eigenlijk als een hinderlijke eigenschap van hem persoonlijk beschouwd was, een algemeen voorkomende trek in de Makassaarse samenleving was. Deze bewegelijkheid was echter niet aanwijsbaar in het aanwezige cijfermateriaal. Daarom werd een jaar na de eerste opname een tweede verricht. Daarbij werden opnieuw de namen der huisbewoners genoteerd en bij afwijking van de samenstelling, van het vorig jaar werd de reden, die tot migratie leidde nagespeurd; de plaats waar de immigrant vandaan gekomen en waar de emigrant heen gegaan was, werd genoteerd.

Onder immigranten werden hierbij verstaan, degenen die de kampong binnenkwamen, en onder emigranten, degenen die

deze verlieten. Als transmigranten werden tenslotte degenen geregistreerd, die in de loop van het jaar binnen de kampong van huis wisselden.

Het onderzoek van de verwantengroep leidde dus tot een verder onderzoek naar een bepaalde eigenschap van die groep: zijn bewegelijkheid. Deze bewegelijkheid was tenslotte aanleiding om een onderzoek in te stellen naar de trek van de Makassaren naar het Buginese land en naar enkele aspecten van dat kolonistenleven.

Levensomstandigheden.

De kampong Bontoramba ligt een uur fietsen over een geasfalteerde autoweg van Makassar af. Het verblijf aldaar, is dus noch te vergelijken met dat op een afgelegen eiland, noch met dat in een moderne stad, die tot object van onderzoek wordt genomen. Waar het betreft de voorziening van schrijfbehoeften, medicijnen, fotografisch materiaal e.d. zijn de moeilijkheden gering. Maar de manier van wonen stelt als steeds zijn eisen. Een eigen huis heeft het voordeel van privacy. Een leegstaand huis treft men in de kampong echter niet aan; het laten bouwen stuit op bezwaren: het kost extra werk en extra tijd, omdat bouwen nu eenmaal niet alleen een kwestie van materiaal, mankracht en techniek, maar ook van organisatie is. Als ik alleen was logeerde ik steeds bij het adatgemeenschapshoofd in diens kampong of bij mijn voornaamste informant in Bontoramba.

Dit logeren heeft het voordeel, dat de verzorging gemakkelijker is. Steeds heb ik het menu van mijn gastheer meegegeten. In de vastenmaand kreeg ik een maaltijd apart. Betaling voor logies is nooit mogelijk; geschenken zijn vanzelfsprekend; medicijnen, kajuputiholie, tijdschriften met plaatjes, en foto's van huisgenoten waren als zodanig steeds welkom. Plaats voor een veldbed met klamboe en voor een schrijftafel met stoel was steeds aanwezig; een omheining schiep een mandiplaats en w.c. Dit logeren heeft verder het voordeel dat men ongezocht het huiselijk leven meeleeft.

Te zamen met mijn vrouw en dochter bewoonde ik korte tijd voor de oorlog een eigen huis. In een samenleving als de onderhavige, met een scherpe scheiding der sexen, had dit het voordeel, dat ik van mijn vrouw herhaaldelijk gegevens kreeg, die mij anders stellig ontgaan waren.

Te kort aan privacy is een van de redenen waarom het leven in de kampong voor de onderzoeker uiterst vermoeiend is. Het afstand doen van eigen gewoonten is zeer wel mogelijk als men maar weet welke; wie echter meent, dat hij dan verder adatloos kan voortleven vergist zich. Het uitzoeken waar gevoeligheden liggen, is een van de belangrijkste werkzaamheden van de eerste tijd en het is de eerste weken dus aan te bevelen niet veel anders te doen dan wat luisteren en kijken. Alles wat de onderzoeker in die tijd zonder schade aan te richten meer kan doen, is pure winst.

Introductie.

De onderzoeker is een vreemd element in de samenleving waar hij komt te werken. De verhouding tot de mensen uit zijn omgeving moet zich steeds uitbalanceren. Er zijn manieren, die zij van hem aanvaarden; er zijn er ook, die zij, vooral op den duur, zo hinderlijk vinden, dat zijn contact en dus zijn werk eronder lijdt. De eerste maand is daarbij vaak beslissend. Vandaar dat een goede introductor iemand is, die de vrijheid weet te vinden om, op voor de vreemdeling begrijpelijke wijze, zijn afkeuring over diens doen of laten te tonen.

In het Makassaarse land werd ik, als Nederlander-ambtenaar, beschouwd als een hoge gast. Het is onbeleefd om aan een hogere zijn afkeuring over diens manier van doen te laten blijken; dit druist tegen de diepste gevoelens in. Mijn dankbaarheid tegenover mijn introductor is dan ook juist daarom zo groot, omdat hij de energie opbracht een slecht Makassaar te zijn in deze zin, dat hij mij tegen zijn gevoelens in, toch op mijn fouten wees.

Ik lachte aanvankelijk te luid en praatte te hard, want luid praten en lachen gebeurt eigenlijk alleen als meerdere mannen bijeen zijn; dan vertelt één hunner graag sterke of dwaze verhalen, omdat wie dat goed kan in aanzien stijgt. Ik leerde, dat ik als mannelijk gast in de voorkamer thuis hoorde, en niet naar achter kon doorlopen; dat ik aan mannen of jongens, eventueel ook aan oudere vrouwen, iets kon vragen, maar dat jonge meisjes en jonggehuwde vrouwen al in moeilijkheden kwamen als ik hen groette, omdat dit reeds wijst op een „contact" met de vreemdeling, dat verboden is. Ik bemerkte, dat steeds iemand mij gezelschap hield en ondervond dat als hinderlijk; pas later bleek, dat dit tot de gewone beleefdheden behoort, die jegens een gast in acht genomen

worden; een Makassaar is ongaarne alleen, en meent dus, dat ook zijn gast dit onprettig zal vinden.

Men leert al spoedig, dat men als aanzienlijk gast niet overal kan gaan zitten als men een huis binnenkomt; het is gek indien men gaat zitten waar de laagsten horen te zitten; de gastheer is dan niet op zijn gemak. Het is verwaand, en dat wordt afgekeurd, indien men direct aan de allerhoogste kant van het huis gaat zitten. Het is goed, immers het is een teken van bescheidenheid en dat wordt geapprecieerd, indien men een weinig lager gaat zitten dan waar men eigenlijk nog wel zou mogen plaats nemen. Het zijn allemaal fouten die een dagjesmens niet kwalijk genomen worden, maar die inbreuken zijn op hetgeen men gewend is, en die men dus pas in de sleur van het dagelijks leven als hinderlijk gaat ondervinden.

Men leert verder, dat men, eenmaal gezeten, niet weg kan gaan, als er in de keuken iets klaar gemaakt wordt; liever komt men veel te laat op een volgende afspraak, dan dat men zijn gastheer hiermede voor het hoofd stoot. Toen hoge Nederlandse civiele en militaire gezagsdragers, die, anno 1941, aanwezig waren op het huwelijksfeest van een kleinzoon van de Vorst van Goa, tijdens de inderdaad lang gerekte maaltijd opstonden en afscheid namen, werd hier nog weken later in de kampongs afkeurend over gesproken. Een onthaal is van de zijde van de gastheer een teken dat hij zijn gast eer wil bewijzen en voortijdig vertrek kwetst.

Ik leerde, dat handen schudden niet tot de gebruikelijke begroetingsceremonie behoort. De aanwezigen, de gastheer inbegrepen, komen tijdens een gesprek of bij het vertrek de hand van een hoge gast a.h.w. „aanraken" om daarmee iets van het goede en gelukkige dat aan ieder hogere nu eenmaal inhaerent is, te verkrijgen. Door een „stevige" handdruk geraakt een Makassaar in verlegenheid.

De mededeling „ik ga nu weg" (lampama') is gebruikelijk en geeft een vertrouwd gevoel. Hetzelfde geldt voor de vraag, gericht tot degeen die men onderweg tegenkomt: „waar komt ge vandaan". Een gedetailleerd antwoord wordt niet verwacht; het aangeven van de windrichting is voldoende; de bedoeling van vraag en antwoord schijnt slechts te zijn het scheppen van een vertrouwde sfeer; een onbekende passeert men zwijgend maar men blijft op zijn qui vive.

Een vreemdeling wordt eerst rustig bekeken „om aan hem te wennen" zoals het heet; men kijkt naar zijn gezicht en oordeelt of hij „goed" is of niet. Aan dit oordeel valt dan verder weinig te veranderen; de criteria zijn mij niet duidelijk geworden.

Niemand bleek er iets wonderlijks in te zien, dat ik in een lange broek en niet zoals de anderen in sarong aan een feestmaaltijd deelnam, maar het werd onbeleefd geacht, dat ik er schoenen bij aanhield en het werd gek gevonden toen, een volgend maal, de sarong „verkeerd" zat. Ik ben linkshandig en at dus links, maar het aanraken van eten met de linkerhand werd met afkeer waargenomen, omdat men geacht wordt de linkerhand te gebruiken bij reiniging na het defaeceren.

Op zich zelf zijn dit allemaal kleinigheden; maar het betreft hier omgangsvormen, die als vanzelfsprekend verricht worden en daardoor een emotionele zekerheid verschaffen. De vreemdeling, die hier geen rekening mee houdt, stoort, en het is van te voren niet te zeggen welke storing als zo hinderlijk gevoeld zal worden, dat zijn werk er onder lijdt.

Informanten.

De strenge scheiding der sexen in deze samenleving, maakt het voor een mannelijke onderzoeker moeilijk om geregeld met een vrouwelijke informant te werken. De grote bewegelijkheid der mannen bemoeilijkt ook de geregelde arbeid met een man. Het was mij bijv. niet mogelijk om gedurende een lange periode met een aantal individuen dagelijks contact te hebben, om een levensbeschrijving van hen op te stellen.

De mannen die als dagelijks informant het best voldeden, waren niet degenen, die in hun samenleving het hoogst in aanzien stonden, maar juist degenen die, behept met een „klerken" mentaliteit in de goede zin van het woord, in staat waren regelmatig te werken en zin voor werkelijkheid en detail bezaten. Aangezien mijn verblijf in Borongloë na de oorlog beide malen slechts 6 weken duurde, was het mogelijk mij aan deze typische bewegelijkheid aan te passen door niet langer dan 6 dagen achtereen bij dezelfde gastheer te vertoeven. Steeds opnieuw viel op hoe veel gemakkelijker de hulp de eerste dagen vergeleken met de laatste was.

De kampongopname, verschafte mij verder per huis steeds meer dan één informant.

Verkeerstaal.

De Josselin de Jong schreef, dat de onderzoeker, die zich tevreden stelt met het verzamelen van inlichtingen in een andere dan de streektaal, een „amateurish outsider" in de samenleving zal blijven, die door zijn informanten nooit volledig ernstig genomen zal worden. [1]) Het oordeel klinkt hard; het is naar mijn ervaring maar al te juist. Maar in een land waar de ethnologie zich uit de taalwetenschap ontwikkelde en waar meerdere taalgeleerden werken, die — de ethnologen kunnen daar niet dankbaar genoeg voor zijn — zich geregeld met ethnografische onderzoekingen bezighouden, moet op de voorgrond gesteld worden, dat voor de ethnoloog de taal geen doel maar middel — zij het een onmisbaar middel — is, en dat dus bij het leren der taal niet gestreefd moet worden naar perfectionisme, maar naar een maximum aan rendement in de kortst mogelijke tijd.

Firth schrijft, dat hij toegerust met summiere gegevens over de taal van de streek waar hij zou gaan werken, zich na 2 à 3 maanden reeds voor zijn doel voldoende verstaanbaar kon maken. [2]) Du Bois schijnt op Alor daarvoor 3 à 4 maanden nodig gehad te hebben. [3])

De tijd van omstreeks 3 maanden nodig om een taal te „leren" schijnt belachelijk kort; het hangt er maar vanaf wat men hieronder verstaat. Mijn ervaring is, dat als minimum eis gesteld mag worden, dat de onderzoeker iemand die zijn vraag beantwoordt, en die niet bijzonder onduidelijk spreekt, begrijpt. Mededelingen over een gebeurtenis die plaats had behoort hij in grote lijnen te kunnen volgen; details kunnen na afloop nagevraagd worden. Korte mededelingen, tussen huisgenoten onderling terloops gewisseld, blijven steeds moeilijk te verstaan. Pas op het laatst sprak ik Makassaars in de aanwezigheid van de Vorst, maar alleen over een mij goed bekend onderwerp. In de formele hofsfeer is een onbeleefdheid gauw begaan en het nemen van risico's is onnodig.

Van slechte invloed op het contact met de omgeving van bij het spreken gemaakte fouten heb ik geen storend resultaat gevoeld. Degenen met wie de onderzoeker geregeld werkt, wennen aan zijn

[1]) J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong: Studies in Indonesian culture. I. Oirata, a Timorese settlement on Kisar. Amsterdam 1937, p. 2.
[2]) R. Firth: Malay Fishermen: their peasant economy. London 1946, p. 314.
[3]) C. Du Bois: People of Alor. 1944.

accent en waar contact bestaat gebaseerd op gemeenschappelijk interesse worden grammaticale fouten minder belangrijk.

Techniek van onderzoek.

Men kan onderzoek verrichten, ten eerste door te voren opgestelde vragenlijsten te laten invullen, de invulling geregeld te controleren en de verkregen antwoorden tenslotte uit te werken; ten tweede door deel te nemen aan het leven van een gemeenschap, zijn vragen te stellen n.a.v. waargenomen feiten, en het geheel der gegevens vervolgens te verwerken.

Bij de eerste methode ligt de moeilijkheid in de opstelling der vragen. De opstellers gaan daarbij — onbewust — uit van hun eigen „value-attitude system". Degenen die in de laatste tijden rekening houden met nog onbekende systemen zijn daardoor gedwongen hun vragen vaag te houden. Het gevolg is, dat de lijsten zo veelomvattend worden, dat zij niet meer kunnen betekenen dan een leidraad bij het onderzoek. Zij zijn a.h.w. een verdere uitwerking van de oude „Notes and Queries".

Het resultaat is, dat deze methode, bijv. door een geroutineerd onderzoeker als Firth, slechts onder bepaalde omstandigheden betrouwbaar geacht wordt: „They (the questionnaire methods) are valuable as a check on impressions . . . ." „But used alone they are inadequate for many purposes". „It is common anthropological experience that statements so obtained are found when checked to have been misleading . . ." „My own view, which I think most anthropologists would support, is that a questionnaire is best used towards the end of one's stay in a community. By then one has already accumulated much check data in advance, and one is in a position to frame questions in a way which will best yield the type of material required". [1])

Bij de tweede methode ligt een moeilijkheid in de analyse der waargenomen feiten en het stellen van vragen naar aanleiding daarvan. Deze methode werkt dus a.h.w. soepeler dan de eerste, omdat de vragen steeds aan de omgeving aangepast en opnieuw herzien kunnen worden.

Een andere moeilijkheid is gelegen in de keuze der feiten, die moeten dienen om een adaequaat beeld der cultuur te geven.

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[1]) R. Firth: Malay Fishermen: their peasant economy. London 1946, p. 311.

Daarbij moet nml. gekozen worden uit de massa der gedeeltelijk opgetekende, maar gedeeltelijk slechts in het bewustzijn van de onderzoeker aanwezige feiten. Bij de eerste methode blijft het materiaal tot de opgetekende antwoorden beperkt. De verantwoordelijkheid voor een adaequaat beeld komt in het laatste geval bij die antwoorden te liggen.

De eerste methode heeft, tegenover de tweede, het voordeel sneller resultaten op te leveren. [1]) In de gevallen dat deze zonder schade voor de betrouwbaarheid van het resultaat gevolgd kan worden, heeft hij dus de voorkeur.

De onderlinge verhouding der beide methoden is echter nog niet uitgebalanceerd. Bij het onderzoek van Zuid-Celebes is de laatste gevolgd.

Het bleek daarbij niet mogelijk om een uitputtende beschrijving der cultuur te geven. Slechts enkele aspecten konden worden belicht.

Het bleek evenmin mogelijk om een „objectieve" beschrijving te geven. Steeds opnieuw moest een keus uit de massa der feiten worden gedaan, en in die keus ligt een subjectief element.

De aanvankelijke opzet van dit werk, het geven van een cultuurbeschrijving, is tot het einde toe volgehouden. Met het oog op toekomstige onderzoekingen mag thans echter de vraag worden gesteld, of het niet meer in overeenstemming met het feitelijk gebeuren is, om eerst een bepaald probleem te stellen en vervolgens te gaan zien hoe dit probleem in een bepaalde samenleving uitgewerkt werd. De verantwoordelijkheid van de schrijver voor de keus zijner feiten en hun ordening wordt er niet minder om. Evans Pritchard gaf op de gestelde vraag reeds een positief antwoord. [2])

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[1]) Zie E. E. Evans—Pritchard: Social Anthropology. Inaugurele rede, Oxford 1948, p. 7.: „.... an intensive study of a single primitive society takes about ten years". Dit is de tijd, die althans voor een beginneling gesteld wordt!

[2]) E. E. Evans—Pritchard: The Nuer. Oxford 1940, p. 261.

HOOFDSTUK I.

VERWANTSCHAP.

Het landschap Goa strekt zich uit van de zee tot in de bergen. De Djene'berangrivier, die ontspringt op de bijna 3000 m. hoge Bawakaraëng en die vlak ten Zuiden van Makassar in zee mondt, stroomt geheel door Goa's gebied. De grote autoweg die Makassar met het 70 km ver de bergen in gelegen Malino verbindt, loopt practisch parallel met de rivier. Omstreeks 10 km van Makassar af ligt, nog geheel in de vlakte, het plaatsje Sungguminasa, de residentie van de Vorst van Goa; pas 30 km verder begint de weg sterker te stijgen. Die 30 km na Sungguminasa rijdt men door een golvende vlakte, waar bossen en sawahs elkaar afwisselen. Groepen huisjes liggen verspreid door het land. Bij km paal 15, even voorbij Sungguminasa dus, ligt de kampong Bontoramba. De luxe auto's der grotestadsbewoners suizen er doorheen, maar op het dorpsleven en denken van alle dag heeft dit weinig invloed. Enkele ouden van dagen zagen Makassar nog nooit; voor de meesten is een bezoek aan de grote stad een gebeurtenis van belang, maar meer vanwege de vele merkwaardigheden die daar te bezien en te beleven vallen, dan vanwege de veranderingen, die men in eigen leven aanbrengt, indien men weer terug is in eigen huis.

Bontoramba is een van de 14 kampongs die tezamen de adatgemeenschap Borongloë vormen en Borongloë vormt thans met een 10-tal andere adatgemeenschappen de federatieve eenheid die reeds sinds honderden jaren bekend is als het Rijk Goa.

De kampong Bontoramba bestaat uit omstreeks 800 zielen; men vindt er een van de beide volksscholen die de hele adatgemeenschap van ruim 14000 mensen rijk is; aan de grote weg is een rijwielhersteller komen wonen en er zijn meer koffiewarongs dan veelal elders. Een grote groep Buginezen, aangelokt door veel braak terrein en goede vervoersmogelijkheden, heeft er in de loop der laatste 20 jaar zijn huizen gebouwd. De Makassaren, die er thans wonen, zijn er niet langer dan een 60 jaar geleden gekomen. Komen en gaan heeft in het Makassaarse land nooit en masse plaats. Successievelijk krijgt een pionier meer familieleden bij zich in huis; successievelijk trekken andere mensen weg.

Een bepaald moment van vestiging van een grote groep is

hoogstens aan te geven, als een man van hoge adel verhuist en velen hem volgen. Dat is vroeger in tijden van onveiligheid voor de enkeling wellicht een meer gebruikelijke manier van migreren geweest, dat is het nu niet meer. Zo hebben zich omstreeks 1900 een groot aantal familieleden afkomstig uit de 8 km verder de weg op gelegen kampong Pakatto, in Bontoramba neergezet. Als familieleden deel uitmakend van dezelfde verwantengroep, hebben zij zich in Bontoramba opnieuw geordend en aangepast aan de nieuwe omstandigheden, daarbij strevend naar verwerkelijking van de gewone Makassaarse idealen; zich daartoe richtend op de oude Makassaarse adat.

De bilaterale verwantengroep.

De Makassaarse verwantengroep is te omschrijven als een bilaterale endogame verwantengroep [1]), waarvan de leden op de daartoe bestemde plaatsen en tijden hun voorouders (pattautoaang) vereren en tevens als een op hetzelfde territoor (pa'rasangang) te zamen wonende groep, waarvan de leden de grond bewerken. Twee paar tegengestelde tendenties zijn hierbij aanwijsbaar. Tegenover het streven naar endogamie is een zij het veel minder sterk streven naar het aangaan van huwelijken met niet-familieleden te onderkennen. Tegenover het streven naar bijeenwonen op hetzelfde territoor bestaat een drang tot spreiding.

Het Makassaars-Buginese deel van de daërah Zuid-Celebes is thans opgedeeld in landschappen. Ieder landschap bestaat uit een aantal territoriale eenheden, veelal adatgemeenschappen genaamd. Iedere adatgemeenschap bestaat op zijn beurt weer uit een aantal territoriale eenheden, veelal kampongs genaamd. De grenzen tussen de landschappen onderling, tussen de adatgemeenschappen onderling en tussen de kampongs onderling liggen op kaarten vast. Dit is de verhouding die een ieder direct kan opmerken.

Daarnaast blijkt in de literatuur herhaaldelijk, dat de auteurs zich bewust zijn van het feit, dat familieverwantschap bij de Makassaren een zeer belangrijke rol speelt. De vreemdeling bemerkt, dat een Makassaar niet alleen met familieleden samen in een huis woont, maar ook dat hij overal door het land verspreid familie

[1]) Familieverwantschap wordt aangegeven met de term sibidja of sipamanakkang.

heeft wonen. Hoe de aard van die familieverwantschap nu echter precies is en hoe de verhouding van de familieverwantschap tot de duidelijk waarneembare territoriale indeling is, daarover zijn in de literatuur geen gegevens te vinden en bestaan zowel bij de vreemdelingen die Zuid-Celebes goed hebben leren kennen als bij de Makassaren zelf, slechts vage ideeën.

Het was dus voor het verrichten van dit onderzoek niet mogelijk om een bepaalde verwantengroep a.h.w. af te zonderen en vervolgens tot object van waarneming te maken; de grenzen waren altijd vaag. De enige groeperingsvorm die wel duidelijk omlijnd was, en die dus beter als uitgangspunt kon dienen, was de territoriale. [1])

Van de bewoners van een kampongterritoor werden dus de familieverhoudingen opgetekend. Daartoe zijn de namen van alle kampongbewoners huis voor huis opgenomen en tevens per huis de familierelaties der bewoners genoteerd. Vervolgens zijn de familierelaties tussen de bewoners van verschillende huizen nagegaan. Het bleek daarbij het eenvoudigste om een ieder af te vragen of hij familie van de Kapala of diens vrouw was en zo ja in welke graad. Het feit dat op een enkele uitzondering na huisgenoten steeds familieleden bleken te zijn vergemakkelijkte het onderzoek, want daardoor was het mogelijk om aan te geven welke huizen nu precies tot de verwantengroep van de Kapala behoorden en welke niet.

Tot de verwantengroep van de Kapala werd een ieder gerekend, die meende familie van hem of van zijn vrouw te zijn, en van wie dit niet ontkend werd. Dit laatste geschiedde eenmaal. Het betrof een kampongfunctionaris, die weinig familieleden in Bontoramba had, maar die door zijn persoonlijke eigenschappen (zijn organisatievermogen, zijn welbespraaktheid) invloed had gekregen en die nu zijn positie wilde verbeteren door als een ver familielid van de Kapala beschouwd te worden. Het was de dochter van de Kapala zelf, die hem duidelijk maakte, dat zijn mening onmogelijk juist

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[1]) Het verwondert dan ook niet dat Ter Haar in zijn samenvattend hoofdstuk over de volksordening van zijn boek „Beginselen en Stelsel van het Adatrecht", „de dorps- en streekgemeenschappen van Zuid-Celebes" vermeldt onder de „gemeenschappen waarin de genealogische factor" „geen betekenis heeft" (p. 15). Afgaande op de aanwezige literatuur kon zijn conclusie niet anders luiden. Hier zal thans blijken hoe onjuist deze voorstelling van zaken is.

kon zijn. Verder zijn de vreemdelingen, d.w.z. de niet-familieleden, die met een lid van de Kapalagroep gehuwd waren, en wier kinderen dus ook tot die groep behoorden, eveneens daartoe gerekend.

In het enige geval dat — terwijl de echtelieden geen familie van elkaar waren — enkele familieleden zowel van de man als van de vrouw, die tot de Kapalagroep behoorde, bij hen in huis woonden, werden 's mans familieleden niet tot de Kapalagroep gerekend; hij zelf wel.

Behalve de traceerbare verwanten werden dus ook een aantal aanverwanten tot de verwantengroep gerekend. Deze is dus nader te omschrijven als een traditionele bilaterale endogame verwantengroep.

Onder de Buginezen, die geen van allen familie van de Kapala waren, werd een vooraanstaand man, Mangenre geheten, voor hetzelfde doel aangewezen als de Kapala in de eerste groep, zodat t.a.v. de bewoners van een aantal huizen gezegd kan worden, dat zij tot de verwantengroep van Mangenre behoren. T.a.v. de bewoners der overige huizen kon toen de onderlinge verwantschapsverhouding voorzover die bestond, gemakkelijk vastgesteld worden. Voor het gemak wordt beneden de eerste groep de Kapalagroep, de tweede de Mangenregroep en de laatste de Restgroep genoemd.

Het resultaat van dit onderzoek was, dat op het totaal van 129 huizen, de Kapalagroep er 81 bewoonde; dat de Mangenregroep er 18 bewoonde; en dat in de resterende 30 huizen de Restgroep woonde; de leden daarvan behoorden tot 13 verschillende verwantengroepen. De leden van één groep daarvan woonden verdeeld over 9 huizen; van een tweede groep over 5 huizen en van een derde over 3 huizen; driemaal bewoonden mensen die familie van elkaar waren 2 huizen en in de resterende 7 huizen woonden dus mensen die — behalve hun huisgenoten — in Bontoramba verder geen familie hadden.

Al deze mensen, van de leden van de Kapalagroep af, tot die van de bewoners der 7 laatstgenoemde huizen toe, hebben echter buiten Bontoramba — soms tevens buiten Borongloë en soms zelfs mede buiten Goa — familieleden wonen; soms in groepjes van slechts enkele huizen, soms in grotere aantallen.

Men kan, het genealogisch beeld van het kampongterritoor

Bontoramba samenvattend constateren, dat daar 15 [1]) grotere en kleinere delen van verwantengroepen te zamen wonen; alle individuen weten daarbij elders, d.w.z. buiten Bontoramba, één of meer andere — grotere of kleinere — delen van hun verwantengroepen aan te wijzen; verder blijkt dat de Kapalagroep sterk geïntegreerd, de Mangenregroep zwak geïntegreerd en de Restgroep niet geïntegreerd genoemd kan worden.

Dit resultaat vertoont in twee opzichten een afwijking van de bovengegeven omschrijving van de verwantengroep, waarbij immers de nadruk gelegd werd op het bestaan van een zekere eenheid van een genealogische groep en zijn territoor. Ten eerste treft men op één territoor meerdere genealogische groepen aan en ten tweede blijkt een genealogische groep over meerdere territoren verspreid te wonen. Beide afwijkingen van het vooropgestelde principe vragen nadere uitwerking.

In de eerste plaats zijn als historische factoren, die tot het ontstaan van deze toestand bijdroegen, aan te wijzen, de toename der bevolking, de grotere veiligheid sinds 1905, en de irrigatie, waardoor sawahbouw in tot dusver daarvoor ongeschikte streken mogelijk werd, met als gevolg, dat migratie van kleine groepjes in veel grotere frequentie plaats vond, dan dit te voren nodig, resp. mogelijk was; in toenemende mate vroegen vreemdelingen toestemming om zich op een bepaald kampongterritoor te vestigen. [2])

In de tweede plaats dient gewezen te worden op het verschil in inhoud van de term kampongterritoor thans en een halve eeuw geleden. Toen viel de grens van een territoor samen met de grens van de macht, die door de in dat gebied woonachtige verwantengroep werd uitgeoefend. Die grens wisselde naar gelang van de door dat groepsdeel uitgeoefende macht. Dat gold in de eerste plaats t.a.v.

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[1]) 1 groep van 81 huizen.
1 „ „ 18 „
1 „ „ 9 „
1 „ „ 5 „
1 „ „ 3 „
3 groepen „ 2 „
7 „ „ 1 huis. In totaal dus 15 verschillende verwantengroepen op een totaal van 129 huizen. Deze telling had plaats tussen 25 Juni en 1 Juli 1948.

[2]) Zo is althans officieel voorgeschreven; in de practijk wordt vaak pas toestemming gevraagd, als het huis al gebouwd en de sawah reeds ontgonnen is.

de grenzen der huidige kampongs; dat gold, zij het in mindere mate, ook voor de grenzen der huidige adatgemeenschappen en landschappen. Na de komst van het Nederlands-Indische Gouvernement in het gebied der toenmalige Vorstenrijken, in 1905, werden in de loop der eerstvolgende decennia kaarten gemaakt en de grenzen daarop aangegeven. De toenmalige toestand werd a.h.w. gefixeerd. Binnen die gefixeerde grenzen hadden vervolgens machtsverschuivingen plaats; territoriale en machtsgrenzen vielen toen dus niet meer samen.

Over een kampongterritoor werd een kamponghoofd aangesteld; dat hoofd kreeg dus ook te zeggen over de leden van andere verwantengroepen, die langzamerhand op dat territoor kwamen wonen. Zo'n nieuwe groep zou daar vroeger wellicht een klein eigen machtscentrum opgebouwd en het bestaande verdrongen hebben; thans moet zo'n groep dit streven naar macht verwerkelijken binnen vaste territoriaal administratieve grenzen; dit geschiedt veelal via een strijd om het hoofdschap van het betrokken gebied, of dat nu een kampong, adatgemeenschap of rijk is. Het besef bleef bestaan dat een genealogische groep te zeggen hoorde te hebben over het door die groep bewoonde territoor, en dus ook over al degenen die daarop wonen; het streven daarnaar is herhaaldelijk waarneembaar.

Dit streven is steeds in de eerste plaats gericht tegen de andere op dat territoor wonende groep, die de eerstgenoemde in aanzien het dichtst nadert, i.c. dus de Mangenregroep. Maar aangezien deze groep klein en weinig geïntegreerd is, gevoelen de leden der Kapalagroep zich niet bedreigd en is van hun streven dus weinig merkbaar.

Hetzelfde beeld dat hier m.b.t. Bontoramba gegeven werd, ziet men ook in de meeste andere kampongs. Een steekproef in 1940 in de kampong Pakatto genomen, toonde aan, dat daar twee bijna even grote verwantengroepen, te zamen met enkele huishoudens apart (een zeer kleine Restgroep dus) het kampongterritoor bewoonden.

De enige verwantengroep in de adatgemeenschap, die een geheel kampongterritoor practisch alleen bezette, was die van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd. Leden dezer groep wonen over 2 à 3 kampongterritoren verdeeld. Als verwantengroep van het hoofd staan zij echter op het adatgemeenschapsterritoor tegenover alle andere verwantengroepen van Borongloë. Op hun kampongterritoor wonen

als niet-verwanten slechts enkele huishoudens slaven [1]) en enkele huishoudens apart.

Steeds treft men dus per territoor 2 meer of minder sterk geïntegreerde verwantengroepen aan met daarnaast een niet geïntegreerde, als klein en onbelangrijk beschouwde Restgroep.

Verder is gebleken, dat leden van een en dezelfde verwantengroep over heel Zuid-Celebes verspreid wonen. Ook in dit opzicht is dus van eenheid tussen een verwantengroep en zijn territoor geen sprake. De reden hiervan is evident. Daartoe dient echter eerst nader aangegeven te worden hoe men zich een verwantengroep heeft voor te stellen.

De territoriale indeling, die bij het boven beschreven onderzoek als uitgangspunt werd genomen, had het voordeel een scherpe afpaling, immers een scheiding tussen huizen binnen en buiten de kamponggrens gelegen, mogelijk te maken. De verwantengroep als genealogische eenheid mist die scherpe grenzen. Een individu behoort veelal tot meer dan één verwantengroep, en ook mensen die nauw met elkaar verwant zijn, volle neven bijv., behoren dus vaak, behalve tot een gemeenschappelijke, tot onderling verschillende verwantengroepen. Dat is een direct gevolg van het feit, dat geregeld huwelijken gesloten worden tussen mensen die geen familie van elkaar zijn.

Een kind uit een dergelijk huwelijk kan zowel in de verwantengroep van zijn vader, als in die van zijn moeder, een endogaam huwelijk sluiten, want via zijn vader behoort het tot diens verwantengroep en via zijn moeder tot de hare. En mochten deze vader en moeder op hun beurt ook weer geboren zijn uit huwelijken waarvan man en vrouw geen familie waren, dan kan datzelfde kind in de 4 verschillende verwantengroepen zijner 4 grootouders, evenzovele endogame huwelijken sluiten; het behoort immers tot 4 verschillende verwantengroepen.

Het is duidelijk, dat een indeling der Makassaren in scherp afgescheiden verwantengroepen volledig denkbeeldig is. Ieder individu hoort tot meer dan één verwantengroep en zou dus ook bij meer dan een zo'n groep ingedeeld moeten worden. Een individu heeft in zo'n geval dus de keus bij welke verwantengroep hij zich zal aansluiten; waar hij zal gaan wonen en werken. De genealo-

[1]) Zie beneden p. 113 e.v.

gische band met de andere groep(en) blijft bestaan. De kennis hiervan heeft de neiging na een of enkele generaties te verdwijnen.

Het is niet te verwachten dat iemand al zijn familieleden die in onderling verafgelegen gebieden wonen, zou kennen. Door het maken van bezoeken en langgerekte logeerpartijen raken de jongeren met in verschillende streken woonachtige familieleden bekend. De ouderen observeren hen daarbij; hun karakter wordt getaxeerd; hun huwelijksmogelijkheden worden besproken. Het hangt van de door hen gemaakte indruk af of zij bij een later bezoek meer of minder geziene gasten zijn.

Het hangt van een individu zelf af, of hij in later jaren de aldus gelegde banden onderhoudt. Zo kan men waarnemen, dat, terwijl de ene Makassaar, gevraagd naar elders wonende familieleden, slechts één of 2 streken weet op te geven waar deze zouden wonen, een ander, zich bewust van het feit dat het hebben van vele relaties zijn sociaal aanzien verhoogt, verklaart, dat hij overal familieleden heeft, en in staat blijkt om vele kampongnamen op te geven.

De endogamie.

De verklaring, dat de verwantengroep endogaam is betekent, dat men een groot aantal huwelijken bij voorkeur met een familielid sluit, en een klein aantal met leden van andere verwantengroepen. De hiervolgende cijfers zijn ontleend aan de verwantengroep van de Kapala, d.w.z. aan het daarvan in Bontoramba woonachtige en dus geregistreerde gedeelte.

Van de 89 gehuwde paren, die tot het in Bontoramba woonachtig deel der Kapalagroep behoren, zijn in 79 gevallen man en vrouw familie van elkaar, en in 10 niet. [1])

Gaat men de redenen na, waarom deze 10 buiten hun verwantengroep huwden, dan blijkt dat in 5 gevallen het huwelijk tot stand kwam nadat het paar „silariang" [2]) gepleegd had; daarbij wordt door de betrokken individuen niet op het bestaan van familiebanden gelet. In de 5 andere gevallen werd steeds als reden opgegeven dat die vreemden tot verwantengroepen behoorden met wie men —

[1]) Ik volg verder in de graadsaanduiding het systeem volgens hetwelk de ouder-kind verhouding als één graad telt; broers zijn dus 2° graads van elkaar en eigen neven (Frans: cousin) zijn elkaars 4° graads enz.

[2]) Een vluchthuwelijk. Zie hiervoor uitvoerig in hoofdstuk III, derde gedeelte.

dat zijn hier de ouderen die de huwelijken tot stand brachten — i.v.m. het sociaal aanzien dat zij genoten, gaarne huwelijksbanden aanging.

In 2 van deze 5 gevallen huwde een vrouwelijk lid der verwantengroep een vreemdeling; in de andere 3 huwde een man een meisje van buiten. In het hoofdstuk over de standen zal op de door de ouderen gevoerde huwelijkspolitiek terug gekomen worden. Thans dient er slechts op gewezen te worden, dat er geen bepaalde voorkeur aanwijsbaar is om een jongen dan wel een meisje buiten de verwantengroep te doen huwen; dat echter t.a.v. een meisje scherper dan t.a.v. een jongen wordt toegezien, dat zij niet huwt met iemand, die qua aanzien als ook maar even minder dan zij zelve beschouwd wordt.

De verklaring dat de verwantengroep endogaam is, betekent dus, dat bij voorkeur huwelijken tussen familieleden gesloten worden, maar zegt verder niets over de familierelaties die daarbij van belang geacht worden. Bij analyse dezer relaties blijkt dan een duidelijke voorkeur voor huwelijken met generatiegenoten te bestaan en daaronder nemen resp. die tussen sampopinruang (zesde graads neven en nichten) en die tussen sampopintallung (achtste graads neven en nichten) de voornaamste plaats in.

In cijfers uitgedrukt houdt dit in, dat van de 69 gewone of feesthuwelijken [1]), tussen leden van de verwantengroep onderling gesloten, in 60 gevallen de huwelijkspartners generatiegenoten waren en in 9 gevallen niet. Van deze 60 huwelijken werden er acht gesloten tussen samposikali (kinderen van broers of/en zusters; dus vierde graads neef en nicht); 30 tussen sampopinruang (kinderen van samposikali; dus zesde graads neef en nicht) en 22 tussen sampopintallung (kinderen van sampopinruang; dus achtste graads neef en nicht).

In de 9 huwelijken, die gesloten werden tussen familieleden van een verschillende generatie, was het leeftijdsverschil der echtgenoten op één uitzondering na, niet groter dan dat tussen generatiegenoten. Er is bij deze huwelijken een zekere voorkeur aanwijsbaar voor het huwelijk van een man met een vrouw van een jongere

[1]) Het totale aantal van 89 moet behalve met 10 niet-endogame ook met 10 silarianghuwelijken tussen verwanten verminderd worden; een huwelijk komt òf op feestelijke wijze òf via silariang tot stand; van beredeneerde keuze is in dit laatste geval geen sprake.

generatie, boven dat van een man met een vrouw van een oudere generatie.

Huwelijken tussen kinderen van broers, tussen kinderen van zusters, of tussen kinderen van een broer en zuster worden gelijkelijk gesloten zonder dat van een bepaalde voorkeur voor een dezer huwelijken blijkt.

Verder dan achtste en negende graads familieleden gaat de kennis der verwantschapsverhoudingen niet. Verdere verwanten zijn „ver" (bella). Indien bij uitzondering eens over een huwelijk tussen sampopingappa (tiende graads neef en nicht; kinderen van sampopintallung) gesproken wordt, hoort men wel de mening dat dit een ongewenst huwelijk zou zijn; anderen echter blijken hiervan niet te weten.

Onder de huwelijken die gesloten werden tussen sampopintallung (achtste graads familieleden) bevinden zich waarschijnlijk ook wel huwelijken van sampopingappa (tiende graads) of van kamanakang sampopintallung (negende graads; tussen niet-generatiegenoten dus). Men is in zulke gevallen niet zeker meer van de juiste verhoudingen; de mededelingen spreken elkaar tegen en de neiging bestaat om bij onzekerheid de familieverhouding die men voor een huwelijk tussen familieleden als goed en normaal beschouwt als de juiste op te geven.

Het meest voorkomende huwelijk is dus het huwelijk tussen sampopinruang en sampopintallung (zesde resp. achtste graads neef en nicht), die tevens generatiegenoten zijn. Van alle andere huwelijken zegt men dat zij ongunstig of onheilbrengend, dan wel verboden zijn. In de verwantengroep van de adel bestaat de neiging deze frequentie te verleggen naar samposikali en sampopinruang (vierde resp. zesde graads neef en nicht).

Het gezin.

Twee functies van het gezin worden hier thans besproken.

In het gezin neemt de vader officieel een overheersende plaats in. De verhouding tot zijn zoons is gebaseerd op de idee, dat hij te zeggen heeft en dat het onbeleefd is om hem tegen te spreken. [1])

[1]) Men duidt deze tegenspraak aan met „nipolongi erona", zijn wensen worden gedwarsboomd, of „anempa bawa karaëng", een klap geven op de mond van de heer.

Een zoon toont te weten hoe het hoort, door te luisteren naar hetgeen zijn vader zegt en door zich, als hij antwoordt, tot deze te richten in algemene goedgekozen bewoordingen. In de practijk zijn de antwoorden die een zoon geeft kort, omdat hij bang is niet aan de gestelde eis te kunnen voldoen, een fout te maken en dus als onbeleefd beschouwd of uitgelachen te worden. Een zoon van boven de 14 jaar is daardoor ongaarne in het gezelschap van zijn vader; de verhouding is daarvoor te stroef; als zijn vader binnenkomt verdwijnt hij onder het mompelen van een excuus zo gauw mogelijk. Als een vader bij zijn gehuwde zoon op bezoek komt, roept deze zijn vrouw of zijn zoontje erbij; de conversatie loopt dan verder via hen. Belangrijke zaken als het huwelijk van zijn dochter wordt wel door een vader met zijn (gehuwde) zoon besproken; ook dit is een gesprek op formele toon; maar daarbij wordt slechts vastgesteld hetgeen door de vader te voren in informele gesprekken met zijn vrouw of zijn schoondochter reeds besproken werd.

Een zelfde verhouding is waar te nemen tussen broers; daarbij is de oudere degeen, die gehoorzaamd moet worden door de jongere; maar tussen hen is de oppositie groter; de oudere poogt de leiding te behouden; de jongere, speciaal als zijn persoonlijke eigenschappen hem daartoe gelegenheid geven, poogt onder het gezag van zijn oudere broer uit te komen. Ook hun verhouding is stroef. Het gevolg is, dat ongehuwde zonen in het algemeen, en de ongehuwde jongere broers in het bijzonder, veel buitenshuis verkeren.

Dit geldt niet voor de verhouding tussen moeder en dochter en voor die tussen zusters onderling. Aangezien de jongere vrouwen aangewezen zijn op huis en erf en zich daarbuiten slechts in gezelschap kunnen bewegen, zou een gelijksoortige oplossing practisch niet te verwezenlijken zijn. De jongere vrouwen zijn van de oudere afhankelijk. Het element oppositie is tussen hen niet aanwijsbaar; men stelt juist prijs op hun onderlinge hulpvaardigheid en samenwerking.

Een sexuele verhouding tussen een vrouw en haar zoon komt practisch niet voor. In de registers der Inheemse Rechtbanken werden geen voorbeelden hiervan aangetroffen. Slechts één der informanten kon zich zo'n geval herinneren; dat zou zich voor 1905 afgespeeld hebben. Verhalen waarin deze verhouding een rol speelt zijn mij niet bekend.

Een sexuele verhouding tussen een man en zijn dochter komt min of meer geregeld voor. In de registers der Inheemse Rechtbanken van heel Zuid-Celebes treft men er per jaar naar schatting wel 4 of meer aan; dat houdt in, dat zo'n gebeurtenis in een bepaalde adatgemeenschap een zeldzaamheid is, die men zich na tientallen jaren nog herinnert. De verhalen over een vader-dochterverhouding liggen in de islamietische sfeer; zij luiden in het algemeen ongeveer als volgt. Een bekende van Sumatra gekomen godsdienstgeleerde huwt een Makassaarse vrouw. Als hun kind, een meisje, nog heel klein is, trekt hij reeds verder en pas een 20 jaar later komt hij weer in Makassar terug; hij huwt er een jonge vrouw en bemerkt enige tijd daarna aan een bepaald teken op haar hoofd of aan een bepaald sieraad, dat hij 20 jaar geleden aan zijn vrouw gaf, dat het zijn eigen dochter was, die hij huwde. Te zamen gaan zij dan op zoek naar degene, die hun zal zeggen, wat zij thans moeten doen. Het is God, die hun zegt, dat zij de grootste zonde begaan hebben die mogelijk is, maar dat dit hun vergeven kan worden, omdat zij niet wisten wat zij deden.

In de omgangsvormen en gedragingen in het dagelijks leven komt hier ook een angst voor een overtreding van de bestaande verboden tot uiting, die in de moeder-zoon verhouding niet waarneembaar is. Als een man thuis komt en zijn volwassen dochter zou alleen in huis zijn, dan wordt als vanzelfsprekend haar broertje of nichtje erbij geroepen; beiden voelen zij zich dan meer op hun gemak; de kans blijft bestaan, dat er anders over hen gepraat zou worden. Zo gaat een man ook bij voorkeur niet alleen met zijn volwassen dochter bijv. naar een kampong waar men hen niet kent, opdat zij daar niet als echtpaar beschouwd en als zodanig bijv. aangesproken zouden kunnen worden.

Als reden, dat deze laatste vorm van bloedschande (salimara') min of meer geregeld, en die van moeder en zoon zo zelden voorkomt, werd door een informant opgegeven, dat in het algemeen de jongere generatie de oudere, en dus i.c. een zoon zijn moeder, en een dochter haar vader heeft te gehoorzamen. Hieruit zou dus blijken, dat men in het algemeen aanneemt, dat de man degene is, van wie het (i.c. boze) initiatief tot een sexuele verhouding uitgaat.

Een sexuele verhouding van een man met zijn zuster komt practisch niet voor. In de registers der Inheemse Rechtbanken

herinner ik mij niet een geval hiervan te hebben aangetroffen.

De broer-zusterverhouding is een der leidende motieven in het La Galigo epos. De verhouding van Sawerigading tot zijn tweelingzuster Tenriabeng is daar van grote innigheid. [1]) In het heldendicht Datu Museng wordt diens vrouw I Maipa tevens als zijn tweelingzuster beschreven. Zij werden kort na hun geboorte gescheiden en ontmoetten elkaar pas weer, onbekend met elkaars verleden, toen zij reeds volwassen waren. Datu Museng werd op haar verliefd en zij huwden. Zo wordt het gedicht door meerdere zangers (pakeso'keso') [2]) voorgedragen. [3])

In het dagelijks leven is de broer in de allereerste plaats de beschermer van zijn zuster als jong meisje. Hij is voor haar de „sterke omheining", zoals het vers zegt. [4]) Hij begeleidt haar en de oudere vrouwen gaarne, als zij bezoekjes bij elders wonende familieleden gaan brengen. Hij is degene, die als eerste reageert, indien zij siri' zou zijn, dat wil dus zeggen, dat hij direct de achtervolging inzet en steekt als zij weg zou vluchten; hij draagt haar als bruid uit de achtervertrekken, waar zij gekleed werd naar het bruidsbed in het voorvertrek. Hij is trots op haar en op het feit, dat hij haar mag beschermen.

Het gezin treedt bijzonder duidelijk aan de dag in de verwantschapsterminologie (zie tekening). Het blijkt, dat alleen de gezinsleden met individuele termen worden aangeduid, en dat verder de terminologie alleen generatieverschillen kent. De verschillen, die in ego's eigen generatie aangebracht worden, geven tenslotte de afstand tot de gemeenschappelijke voorouder aan, die van het grootste belang blijkt te zijn voor de huwelijksmogelijkheden.

Verwantschapstermen.

Familieverwantschap wordt aangegeven met de term sibidja,

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[1]) R. A. Kern: Catalogus van de Boegineesche tot den I Galigo cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek, alsmede van die in andere Europeesche bibliotheken. Leiden, 1939.

[2]) Een zanger, die zich zelf begeleidt op een tweesnarige viool (keso'keso').

[3]) In de „Makassaarsche Chrestomathie" vindt men een andere versie. Daar wordt verhaald, dat I Maipa de dochter was van de Sultan van Sumbawa. Als zodanig was zij echter van hoger bloed dan Datu Museng en was hun huwelijk dus eveneens een verboden verbintenis. B. F. Matthes: Makassaarsche Chrestomathie 1883; Aanteekeningen p. 88.

[4]) Zie hoofdstuk III, p. 216.

of sipamanakkang. Mensen die geen familie van elkaar zijn, noemen elkaar tau maraëng (lett.: andere mensen).

Van ego (man of vrouw) uitgerekend wordt (worden) genoemd diens:

1. vader: mangge, bapa,
2. moeder: anrong, amma,
3. broer: sari'battang (bura'ne),
4. zuster: sari'battang (baine),
5. broers en zusters van 1 en 2: purina,
6. kinderen van 5: samposikali,
7. vaders en moeders van 1 en 2: toa,
8. broers en zusters van 7: toa,
9. kinderen van 8: purina,
10. kinderen van 9: sampopinruang,
11. vaders en moeders van 7: boë,
12. broers en zusters van 11: boë,
13. kinderen van 12: toa,
14. kinderen van 13: purina,
15. kinderen van 14: sampopintallung,
16. zoon: ana' (bura'ne),
17. dochter: ana' (baine),
18. kinderen van 16 en 17: tjutju,
19. kinderen van 3 en 4: kamanakang,
20. kinderen van 19: tjutju,
21. kinderen van 6: kamanakang,
22. kinderen van 21: tjutju,
23. kinderen van 10: kamanakang,
24. kinderen van 23: tjutju,
25. kinderen van 15: kamanakang,
26. kinderen van 25: tjutju,
27. kinderen van 18-20-22-24-26: tjutju kulantu'.

Ter aanduiding van een man wordt achter de genoemde termen: bura'ne, van een vrouw: baine geplaatst.

28. Personen, die gehuwd zijn met 2 broers (of met 2 zusters), noemen elkaar lago.

29. Men noemt de echtgenoot (resp. echtgenote) van zijn zuster (broer) ipara'.

30. Indien een man en vrouw huwen, die geen familie van elkaar zijn, beschouwt een neef van die man zich toch als verwant aan

(bijv.) een neef van die vrouw; zij zijn dan bidja pasibesokang, lett. getrokken familie, van elkaar. Het verschil in sexe wordt, behalve in de termen voor vader en moeder, niet direct aangegeven. Want indien iemand bijv. over mijn purina spreekt, dan is het door de manier en het moment waarop hij dit doet, zonder meer duidelijk, of hij het over zijn oom dan wel over zijn tante heeft.

Grote nadruk komt te liggen op het verschil der generaties. Met uitzondering van de eigen ouders worden allen die tot de één oudere generatie van ego behoren, purina genoemd. Mocht nadere aanduiding in een bepaald geval noodzakelijk zijn, dan spreekt men pas van purina samposikali of purina sampopinruang.

In de generatie van ego's grootouders is ook het verschil tussen de eigen grootouders en hun generatiegenoten, hun broers, zusters, neven, nichten, enz. verdwenen; allen worden met toa aangeduid. A fortiori geldt dit voor de generatie der overgrootouders.

Precies hetzelfde kan men m.b.t. de jongere generaties constateren: in de op ego volgende generatie heten de eigen kinderen ana', de rest kamanakang; in de generatie van ego's kleinkinderen worden allen zonder uitzondering tjutju genoemd.

M.b.t. de eigen generatie van ego, is het een opvallend verschijnsel, dat de terminologieverschillen samenhangen met het verschil in afstand dat hen scheidt van het gemeenschappelijke voorouderpaar. Zo zijn eigen neven elkaars samposikali; hun kinderen elkaars sampopinruang.

Het huishouden. Samenstelling.

Een huishouding wordt gevormd door mensen die te zamen in een huis wonen. Het in 1948 gehouden onderzoek dat 129 huishoudens omvatte, en dat er op gericht was een inzicht te verkrijgen in de samenstelling van het huishouden, leverde de volgende resultaten.

1. Op een enkele uitzondering na waren huisgenoten steeds familieleden van elkaar. 2. In de meeste gevallen werd een huis door één à twee gezinnen bewoond en in het laatste geval was dit bijna altijd een ouderpaar met een inwonend gehuwd kind. 3. In de gevallen dat andere familieleden te zamen met dit gezin (resp. deze gezinnen) een huis bewoonden, waren dit in verreweg de meeste gevallen zeer na staande familieleden (1°, 2° of 3° graads). 4. Onder de zojuist genoemde huisgenoten, die geen gezinsleden

zijn, was een zekere voorkeur aanwijsbaar voor het inwonen bij een vrouwelijk familielid. Tenslotte kon geconstateerd worden, dat men het vermijdt potentiële echtgenoten in één huis samen te brengen.

Waar hier de bewoners der geregistreerde huizen object van onderzoek zijn, behoefden de gegevens niet tot de huizen, die door leden van de Kapalagroep bewoond zijn, beperkt te worden.

De 129 huizen van de kampong Bontoramba bevatten op 1 Juli 1948 787 personen; 382 mannen en 405 vrouwen; dat is dus gemiddeld 6.1 persoon per huis.

In 127 van de 129 huizen woonden alléén mensen die familie van elkaar waren. De 2 uitzonderingen bevestigen slechts de regel. De eerste betreft een vriend van een der zonen des huizes die reeds enige maanden bij laatstgenoemde logeerde. De tweede betreft een kinderloos echtpaar, dat zich na een vluchthuwelijk in Bontoramba gevestigd had en dat nu door een ander echtpaar uit dezelfde streek als zij zelf afkomstig en thans in dezelfde omstandigheden verkerend, tijdelijk in huis was genomen. 3 Weken na de datum van registratie bleek dit echtpaar echter reeds weer vertrokken te zijn; als reden daarvoor gaf men op een ruzie, die ontstaan was, omdat dit echtpaar erg lui was en bijna geen hulp in het huishouden verleende.

De verdeling der echtparen over de verschillende huizen was als volgt:

in één huis woonden 3 echtparen;
in 24 huizen „ 2 „ ;
in 81 „ woonde 1 echtpaar;
in 23 „ „ geen „ , maar bijvoorbeeld een weduwnaar met zijn kinderen of een oude ongehuwde vrouw met een paar verweesde neefjes en nichtjes.

Van de 24 huizen met 2 echtparen waren er 23 bewoond door echtparen die familie van elkaar waren; het 24e was het zo juist vermelde geval, dat zeer tijdelijk bleek. In 22 van de 23 gevallen was de familieverhouding die van ouder en gehuwd kind; in het 23e woonden een broer en een zuster met hun resp. echtgenoten te zamen.

De 3 echtparen die samen één huis bewoonden, bestonden uit één ouderpaar met 2 gehuwde kinderparen.

Van de 23 tweegezinshuizen waarin alleen familieleden woonden werden er 15 bewoond door die 2 gezinnen alleen [d.w.z. ouders plus kinderen, w.o. één gehuwd kind met echtgenoot(e) en

kind(eren)]. In de overige 8 gevallen woonden bij die beide gezinnen nog een of meer familieleden van één der beide echtgenoten in.

In de 81 huizen met 1 echtpaar bleek, dat dit echtpaar in 52 gevallen in gezinsverband (dus alleen ouders plus kinderen) het huis bewoonde en dat in de overige 29 gevallen nog een of meer familieleden van man óf vrouw bij deze inwoonden. [1])

In het driegezinshuis woonde behalve die 3 gezinnen nog één familielid van de man.

Telt men de 23 huizen zonder volledig gezin benevens het tweegezinshuis waarvan de beide gezinnen geen familie waren, niet mee dan blijven over 105 huizen. In 52 + 15 = 67 daarvan wonen dus 1 of 2 gezinnen zonder verdere familieleden en in de rest, nml. 38 huizen, wonen naast die gezinnen nog een of meer familieleden.

De tendentie van het gezin om in een huis bijeen te wonen zonder andere mensen erbij is gemakkelijk waar te nemen.

Onderzoekt men nu verder wie deze familieleden zijn, dan blijkt dat de naaste verwanten het talrijkst zijn en dat slechts enkele verre verwanten in huis opgenomen werden. Van deze laatsten werd dan steeds verklaard dat zij geen broers of zusters meer hadden en dat zij daarom nu hier opgenomen waren. Waar immers geen naaste verwanten zijn, komen de verdere verwanten aan de beurt en aangezien et daarvan vaak meerderen zijn, speelt persoonlijke voorkeur een rol bij de keuze van het huis waar iemand zich zal neerlaten.

In die 38 huizen woonden behalve de resp. gezinnen nog 61 personen. [2]) De thans te vermelden familierelaties worden gerekend vanaf het oudste in het huis woonachtige echtpaar, het z.g. basisechtpaar, ongeacht of hun huisgenoten familie van de man dan wel van diens vrouw zijn. Die 61 personen blijken dan te zijn 7 moeders en 4 vaders, als weduwen resp. weduwnaars; 14 ongehuwde zusters en 6 ongehuwde broers; 9 kleinkinderen, waarvan dus de vader of moeder was overleden of gescheiden; 8 tantes (vaderszusters) en 3 ooms (vadersbroers) van het basisechtpaar; 1 broerszoon; 5 eigen neven of nichten (samposikali); tenslotte 3 verre neven (kamanakang samposikali) en 1 verre oom (purina sampopinruang).

Samenvattend kan dus gesteld worden, dat 40 van de 61 in-

[1]) Een uitzondering werd reeds vermeld op p. 18.
[2]) De enige — boven reeds vermelde — huisgenoot, die geen familielid was, werd hier niet bijgeteld.

wonenden 1e of 2e graads verwanten van het basisechtpaar zijn en dat 52 van de 61, 1e, 2e of 3e graadsverwanten zijn.

De conclusie kan dus luiden, dat in de meeste gevallen een huis wordt bewoond door een gezin; dat in het algemeen slechts ongehuwde, oudere en jongere, familieleden in huis worden opgenomen; dat verdere familieleden (4e graads en verder) alleen worden opgenomen, als zij geen naaste familieleden hebben. Ooms en tantes komen dus alleen bij hun resp. neefjes of nichtjes in huis, als zij zelf kinderloos zijn.

Illustratief is, dat één der 3 zo juist vermelde „verre neven" kort na de registratiedatum, een huisje voor zich zelf opzette. „Dat vindt hij prettiger", werd als commentaar gegeven.

Zondert men de groep der 9 kleinkinderen af, dan heeft het zin t.a.v. de overblijvende 52 personen na te gaan of zij familieleden van de man, dan wel van diens vrouw zijn. Dan blijkt dat in 19 van de 52 gevallen iemand ergens in huis woont op grond van zijn familierelatie met de man en in 33 gevallen op grond van zijn verwantschap met de vrouw. Indien deze getallen niet te klein zijn tot het trekken van conclusies, zou op grond hiervan een lichte voorkeur voor het samenwonen met verwanten van moederszijde aanwijsbaar zijn. Een gelijksoortig resultaat leverde het onderzoek naar de localiteit van het huwelijk. Vermelding hiervan op deze plaats schijnt daarom verantwoord.

De localiteit van het huwelijk.

Volgens de arbeidsverdeling der sexen valt in de Makassaarse samenleving aan de vrouwen de taak toe van het verzorgen der kinderen, het toebereiden van het eten, het weven van sarongs, het schoonhouden daarvan, allemaal zaken die in en om huis kunnen gebeuren. Huis en erf vormen het domein der vrouw. De scheiding der sexen is zeer uitgesproken. De band der vrouwen die als familieleden in dichtbijeenstaande huizen wonen, is onderling zeer sterk. In deze situatie past zeer wel het resultaat van het onderzoek dat gedaan werd naar de localiteit van het huwelijk; een neiging tot het matrilocale huwelijk is aanwijsbaar.

In meerdere gevallen werd geconstateerd dat een echtpaar met kinderen, plus bijv. de vader of een ongehuwde zuster van de vrouw, in één huis te zamen woonden. In zulke gevallen ligt het voor de hand aan te nemen, dat men met een matrilocaal huwelijk te maken

heeft, indien bijv. blijkt, dat de moeder der vrouw was overleden en de rest van het gezin met de aangehuwde man bijeen was blijven wonen. Dit is echter in vele andere gevallen moeilijk na te gaan. Het enige zuivere tevens practisch bruikbare criterium om aan te geven, wanneer men met een matrilocaal en wanneer met een patrilocaal huwelijk te maken heeft, heeft men in de gevallen, dat 2 of meer gehuwde paren in één huis bijeen wonen, d.w.z. waar een ouderpaar met een gehuwd kind samen woont. Het aantal wordt dan kleiner; men staat echter op vaste grond. Van dergelijke gevallen werden er 22 geregistreerd. Het huis met 3 gehuwde paren bleek bewoond door een ouderpaar met 2 kinderparen. In totaal woonden dus 24 gehuwde kinderen bij hun ouders in.

Tegenover 16 matrilocale staan dan 8 patrilocale huwelijken. De getallen illustreren dus niet meer dan een neiging, zij het een duidelijk onderkenbare neiging, tot een matrilocaal huwelijk. Die neiging wordt nog begrijpelijker indien ook naar andere factoren gezien wordt.

De redenen die ter motivering van een patrilocaal huwelijk opgegeven worden, zijn steeds utiliteitsredenen. Als zodanig hoort men noemen het feit, dat de man enigst kind is en dat hij dus zijn ouders moet verzorgen; of dat de man daardoor dichter bij zijn sawahs blijft wonen; dan wel dat er in dat huis meer ruimte is. Vraagt men daarentegen naar de redenen waarom het paar bij de ouders der vrouw ging wonen dan zijn deze vager; het wordt vanzelfsprekend geacht dat een man bij zijn vrouw intrekt; daarvoor hoeft geen speciale reden aanwezig te zijn.

Het matrilocale huwelijk is niet bindend voorgeschreven; de huizen der ouderparen staan dicht bijeen; de verwantschap tot de vader en de moeder wordt gelijkelijk gewaardeerd. Op grond van deze gegevens blijft de geconstateerde neiging tot het matrilocale huwelijk onverklaard. De reden is m.i. te zoeken in de verhoudingen der gezinsleden onderling en wel speciaal in de formele, stroeve verhouding tussen vader en zoon, die het voor de laatste moeilijk maakt om ongedwongen in het gezelschap van de eerste te verkeren. [1])

Het begin van een huwelijk is vaak moeilijk; [2]) de ouderen, die

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[1]) Zie p. 24, 25.
[2]) Zie hoofdstuk III, tweede gedeelte.

het tot stand brachten en zich voor de goede gang van zaken verantwoordelijk voelen, doen dus alles om het voor de jonge man aantrekkelijk te maken om bij zijn vrouw te komen; en dat is niet het geval als hij bij zijn vader in huis zou wonen. Daar komt bij, dat de jonge vrouw zich juist het prettigst gevoelt in de haar bekende omgeving bij haar moeder en zusjes. Het is voor haar, indien zij elders zou wonen, veel moeilijker om, hoe klein de afstand tussen de huizen ook is, naar haar moeder terug te gaan.

De scherpe scheiding der sexen, die een grote gebondenheid van de jonge vrouwen aan huis en erf met zich brengt, bevordert dus, evenals de stroeve verhouding tussen vader en zoon, de totstandkoming van matrilocale huwelijken.

Sexuele verhoudingen tussen huisgenoten.

Sexuele verhoudingen tussen huisgenoten, die niet tot hetzelfde gezin behoren, komen vaker voor, dan die tussen gezinsleden. Die verhoudingen worden soms ook als bloedschande (salimara') beschouwd. Afgezien van de verwantschapsverhouding, acht men deze verhoudingen steeds extra laakbaar.

In een geval dat een man met een nichtje (kamanakang) van zijn vrouw wegvluchtte was dit de reden, dat de anders na een vlucht gebruikelijke verzoening, niet tot stand kon komen. [1])

Een huwelijk tussen kinderen uit het eerste huwelijk van een weduwnaar en een weduwe, die later samen trouwden, hetgeen tot gevolg had, dat hun kinderen toch samen tot één huishouden kwamen te behoren, werd op het platteland tegengehouden. In Makassar werd een dergelijk huwelijk voltrokken; de huwelijkssluiter stond op het standpunt, dat in de moslimse wet geen belemmeringen tegen dit huwelijk te vinden waren.

De verhouding van een man met zijn broersdochter of zustersdochter, of die met zijn vaderszuster of moederszuster, wordt als salimara' beschouwd. De Inheemse Rechtbanken straffen deze gevallen met verbanning voor een zelfde aantal jaren als boven m.b.t. een vaderdochterverhouding werd aangegeven. De eerste, die van een man met een vrouw van een jongere generatie komt veel frequenter voor dan de laatste, die met een vrouw van de oudere generatie. Als reden van dit verschil in frequentie werd opgegeven,

[1]) Vgl. Hoofdstuk III, derde gedeelte. Zie p. 232 e.v.

dat een jong meisje zich tegen haar oom moeilijker kan verzetten dan een vrouw tegen haar neef. Ook hieruit zou te concluderen zijn, dat men meent, dat het boze initiatief tot sexueel contact van de man uitgaat. Mythen of andere verhalen over deze verhoudingen zijn mij niet bekend. Volgens geruchten kwamen dergelijke verhoudingen wel voor aan de hoven der Vorsten, zonder dan verder in het openbaar behandeld te worden, ook al leidde zo'n verhouding tot zwangerschap.

Op gelijke wijze behandelde de rechtbank een geval van een verhouding van een man met zijn stiefdochter, en die van een man met zijn stiefkleindochter. De rechtbank verklaarde, dat hier weliswaar geen bloedverwantschap tussen de schuldigen bestond, maar dat deze beide jonge vrouwen toch steeds als eigen dochter, resp. als eigen kleindochter beschouwd waren, omdat zij van kleinsaf bij haar stiefvader, resp. haar stiefgrootvader gewoond hadden en door hem waren grootgebracht. Hier bestaat dus aarzeling of dit geval ook als salimara' beschouwd kan worden. Gevallen van een sexuele verhouding van een vrouw met haar stiefzoon werden niet geregistreerd. Dat houdt niet in, dat deze niet voorkomen; dat kan hoogstens betekenen, dat deze gevallen minder vaak voorkomen, dan die, waarin de man tot de oudere generatie behoort. [1])

In meerdere gevallen trouwde een man met de jongere zuster van zijn overleden vrouw. Men ziet gaarne, dat zusters „elkaar opvolgen op het kussen", omdat men meent, dat de kinderen uit het eerste huwelijk beter verzorgd zullen worden door iemand, die hen al goed kent dan door een vreemde, en ook omdat door zo'n huwelijk bestaande banden in de familie gecontinueerd worden. Maar tevens werden meerdere gevallen geregistreerd, waarin een man de zuster van zijn vrouw zwanger maakte.

Deze verhouding wordt in het algemeen niet als salimara' be-

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[1]) De idee bestaat, dat indien een weduwnaar hertrouwt, zijn tweede vrouw haar stiefkinderen minder vriendelijk behandelt dan haar eigen; navrante voorbeelden konden daarvan echter niet worden opgetekend. In één geval ging de afwijzende houding juist van de beide meisjes uit, die haar stiefmoeder ervan verdachten hun eigen moeder middels een formule (pangassengang) gedood te hebben, om zo hun vader te kunnen huwen.

De verhouding van een man tot zijn stiefzoon is gespannen; ruzies die tot handtastelijkheden en vechtpartijen voeren, komen hierbij voor, die tussen een man en zijn eigen zoon niet bekend zijn.

schouwd; zij wekt wel veel beroering, omdat een man volgens de bepalingen van de moslimse wet niet met twee zusters tegelijk gehuwd mag zijn; in zo'n geval moet de man dus eerst zijn vrouw verstoten en pas na afloop van de 'iddahperiode mag hij haar zuster huwen. Gedurende die hele tijd is hij, evenals de zwangere vrouw tumannjala [1]) t.a.v. haar broers e.a. mannelijke familieleden.

Men zegt, dat deze man dus twee vrouwen tegelijk ongelukkig maakte; de verzoening komt in zo'n geval minder spoedig tot stand, en de opwinding is groter dan bij een „gewoon" vluchthuwelijk. In een vonnis van de Inheemse Rechtbank van Sawitto werd een paar in een dergelijk geval wegens salimara' veroordeeld. Dr. A. A. Cense noemde in zijn advies bij dit vonnis deze omschrijving onjuist; hij meende, dat pas na kennismaking met de bepalingen van de moslimse wet de opvatting ontstaan is, dat ook deze verhouding als salimara' beschouwd moet worden. Ik kan mij hier geheel mee accoord verklaren. De omschrijving toont echter dat er, evenals in de gevallen van sexueel contact van een man met zijn stiefdochter, ook hier aarzeling bestaat of men deze verhouding al dan niet als salimara' moet opvatten. Duidt men het met salimara' aan, dan houdt dit in, dat men hieraan ook de slechte gevolgen, die zo'n verhouding voor het land kan hebben, verbonden acht; het betekent, dat men zo'n verhouding „heel erg" vindt.

Huishoudelijke werkzaamheden.

Rijst stampen, weven en koken zijn bij uitstek vrouwelijke bezigheden. Het zijn echter niet ten volle huishoudelijke aangelegenheden.

Op de 129 huizen werden 75 blokken voor het stampen van rijst geteld. [2]) Gemiddeld bezit men dus op iedere 2 huizen ruim één rijststampblok. Deze blokken liggen naast de huizen. Een huis apart heeft zijn eigen blok, maar waar de huizen dichtbijeen staan, zoals gebruikelijk is waar de bewoners na familie van elkaar zijn, daar is één blok wel bij 3 huizen in gebruik. Gemeenschappelijk gebruik van een en hetzelfde blok is vanzelfsprekend indien de

[1]) Zie hoofdstuk III, derde gedeelte.
[2]) De Kapalagroep is naar verhouding de rijkste: op 81 huizen telde zij 53 blokken; de Mangenregroep telde er 7 op 18 huizen en de Restgroep 15 op 30 huizen.

gebruikers familieleden van elkaar zijn; het krijgt het karakter van een gunst indien dit niet het geval is.

Men kan veilig aannemen dat een 20 jaar geleden, toen sarongs nog in grotere aantallen zelf geweven werden dan thans, ook het aantal weeftoestellen groter was. Toen had ieder huis gemiddeld waarschijnlijk wel ruim één toestel opgeleverd. In die tijd had men dus vol kunnen houden dat sarongweven gezinszaak was. In 1948 werden op 129 huizen 101 toestellen geteld; [1]) een aantal vrouwen heeft dus thans in eigen huis geen toestel meer en is dus voor gebruik aangewezen op haar familieleden. Waar het huishouden een bepaalde taak niet kan vervullen, wordt deze door de verwantengroep overgenomen. Men kan veilig aannemen dat het gebrek aan garens gedurende meer dan 5 achtereenvolgende jaren, in ieder geval tot 1948, het jaar dezer registratie toe, reden was dat geen nieuwe toestellen meer aangeschaft werden terwijl niet-gebruik vele deed sneven. Het getal 101 zal dus na enkele jaren wellicht blijken opgelopen te zijn.

Geregeld kan men waarnemen dat vrouwelijke familieleden een huishoudelijk voorwerp of enkele ingrediënten voor de maaltijd bij elkaar komen „halen". Men spreekt in zo'n geval niet van lenen en beschouwt dit ook niet zo, want dit zijn alle dagelijkse zaken; men zit onthand bij afwezigheid en gebruikt ze dus van elkaar. Zeep, rijst (beras) en een kookpan zijn echter schijnbaar even gewone zaken, maar deze gaan bepaald niet dagelijks van hand tot hand. Het hier gezegde geldt voor vrouwelijke familieleden; tussen hen is deze onderlinge hulp iets vanzelfsprekends. Maar tegenover een niet-familielid staat men anders; er zijn vele manieren om haar als zij enige malen achtereen iets komt halen, duidelijk te maken dat dit minder geapprecieerd wordt.

De mannen hebben de taak om van pasar, tuin of sawah mee naar huis te brengen, hetgeen voor het dagelijks bestaan nodig is. Zij verrichten de sawah- en tuinbewerking. Zij voorzien de vrouwen van rijst, mais, vis, petroleum en zeep; een extraatje wordt als speciale attentie opgevat en gewaardeerd. Zij hanteren het gereedschap bij reparaties van het huis, dan wel bij het maken of

[1]) Ook hier bleek de Kapalagroep naar verhouding weer het beste voorzien: in haar 81 huizen werden 73 weeftoestellen aangetroffen; in de 18 huizen der Mangenregroep 11 en in de 30 huizen der Restgroep 17. In enkele huizen noteerde ik 2 toestellen.

herstellen van dagelijkse gebruiksvoorwerpen. Steeds vormt bij al deze werkzaamheden het huishouden de kern. Mannelijke huisgenoten werken hierbij samen. Buren, tevens familieleden, springen bij, als de krachten van één huis voor een bepaald werk te kort schieten.

Lang niet ieder huis heeft bijv. zijn eigen ploeg; op de 129 huizen werden 59 ploegen geteld; [1]) aan familieleden wordt een ploeg vanzelfsprekend ter beschikking gesteld; [2]) vreemden moeten er duur één huren.

Familieleden die tevens buren zijn helpen elkaar dus de kleine moeilijkheden van het dagelijks leven te overwinnen; hun saamhorigheidsgevoel wordt erdoor versterkt. Een huishouden apart kan in geval van nood hulp vragen aan een buur die geen familie van hem is, maar de vrager boet in aan prestige. Wie hulp vraagt aan een niet-familielid toont zich diens mindere. Een huishouden apart staat dus daarom al gauw lager in aanzien; het heeft een moeilijker en minder gezellig bestaan dan een huishouden dat deel uitmaakt van een grote dichtbijeenwonende verwantengroep.

In het bovenstaande bleek dus dat verschillen zijn aan te wijzen tussen een huishouden dat apart of bijna apart woont en een huishouden dat te midden van zijn familieleden woont; anders gezegd tussen een kleine en een grote verwantengroep, waarbij het huishouden, eventueel het gezin, als kleinst denkbare verwantengroep op een bepaald territoor optreedt. Het schijnt onnodig om naar de grens tussen een grote en kleine verwantengroep te zoeken. Wij zullen er hier van uitgaan, dat de Restgroep uit kleine verwantengroepen bestaat, (i.c. maximum 9 huizen), en dat de Kapalagroep (81 huizen) een grote verwantengroep vormt. 3 Punten van verschil zijn dan de volgende.

In de 81 huizen van de Kapalagroep woont gemiddeld 6.5 persoon per huis; in de 30 huizen van de Restgroep woont gemiddeld 5.5 persoon per huis. Dit verschil wordt begrijpelijk indien

[1]) Ook hier was de Kapalagroep het beste voorzien: nml. met 44 ploegen op 81 huizen; de Mangenregroep bezat 6 ploegen in 18 huizen en de Restgroep 9 ploegen op 30 huizen. De verdeling der sawahgronden over deze 3 groepen die ten nauwste met deze aantallen samenhangt zal straks behandeld worden.

[2]) Dit kan in deze streek ook daarom gemakkelijk omdat de sawahs op verschillende hoogte liggen en dus i.v.m. de waterstand ook op verschillende tijden beploegd moeten worden.

men weet dat tegen 7 huizen met 2 of 3 inwoners in de Kapalagroep (dus omstreeks 9 %), er ook 7 van zulke huizen in de 30 huizen van de Restgroep (dus 25 %) aan te wijzen zijn. De reden hiervan is, dat in die 7 huizen de via silariang [1]) gehuwde paren wonen, veelal zonder, althans met nog weinig, kinderen; verder wonen daarin een weduwe, wier man overleed voor de na een vluchthuwelijk noodzakelijke verzoening tot stand kwam, en nog enkele dergelijke gevallen meer. Uitgangspunt is dat een duidelijke voorkeur bestaat voor het samenwonen van familieleden in één huis en een tegenzin tegen het samenwonen met niet-familieleden; dan ontstaat spoedig een volgelingenverhouding [2]) en dat wenst diegene niet, die wel inziet, dat hij dan de lagere zal zijn. Eenzame ouderen, die in een grote verwantengroep bij een neefje of nichtje in huis opgenomen zouden worden, blijven nu op zich zelf wonen; zij drukken dus te zamen met de paren die na gevlucht te zijn huwden, het gemiddelde per huis.

Het aantal endogame huwelijken blijkt in de Kapalagroep hoger te zijn dan in de Restgroep. In de Kapalagroep werden 79 endogame huwelijken geregistreerd (omstreeks 89 %) tegen 10 huwelijken met vreemden (omstreeks 11 %); in de Restgroep waren deze cijfers: 15 endogame huwelijken (omstreeks 54 %) tegen 13 huwelijken met vreemden (omstreeks 46 %).

Boven bleek reeds dat de Kapalagroep beter voorzien was van rijstblokken, weefgetouwen en ploegen. De eerst- en laatstgenoemde voorwerpen houden direct verband met het sawahareaal. Het gemiddeld sawahbezit van de leden der Kapalagroep is hoger dan dat van de leden der Restgroep [3]). Deze cijfers bewijzen echter voorlopig niet meer dan dat de leden van de Kapalagroep meer goederen hebben dan die der Restgroep.

Wij zien hier dus de Kapalagroep vergeleken bij de Restgroep als de meer samenhangende en rijkere groep, waarbij het gezelliger wonen is. De tendentie tot aansluiting bij de Kapalagroep is aanwijsbaar. De integratie is er sterker.

Het schijnt alleen maar voordelen op te leveren om bij een grote verwantengroep aangesloten te zijn. Er is echter een ander verschijnsel aanwijsbaar dat op het tegengestelde schijnt te wijzen.

[1]) Zie hoofdstuk III, derde gedeelte.
[2]) Zie p. 102 e.v.
[3]) Zie p. 40.

Het blijkt dat herhaaldelijk leden van de Kapalagroep weg trekken. Dit verschijnsel kan echter pas besproken worden als eerst de verhouding van de verwantengroep tot de grond is aangegeven.

De verhouding tot de grond.

De verhouding van de verwantengroep tot de grond werd getypeerd als die van een op hetzelfde territoor te zamen wonende groep, welks leden de gronden bewerken. Deze typering dient thans inhoud gegeven te worden. De meeste kampongbewoners blijken wel gronden te hebben in de kampong hunner inwoning, maar een aantal hunner heeft daarbij nog gronden in andere kampongs.

De cijfers die de verhouding van mensen en grond kunnen illustreren mogen thans volgen. Het gemiddeld grondbezit van de bewoners van Bontoramba binnen hun territoor bedraagt per huis 23 are sawahgrond en 56 are droge grond. Naast gronden in Bontoramba gelegen, bezit een aantal Bontorambabewoners echter ook nog gronden in andere kampongs. Telt men deze cijfers bij de eerste op dan blijkt dat het gemiddeld grondbezit per huis in Bontoramba 54 are sawahgrond en 69 are droge grond bedraagt; het gemiddeld aantal mensen per huis dient op 6.04 gesteld. [1])

In deze cijfers zijn enkele nuancen aan te brengen. Gesplitst naar de verwantengroepen van de Kapala, van Mangenre en van „de Rest" luiden zij voor de

Kapalagroep:	77	are sawahgrond en
	88	„ droge grond; voor de
Mangenregroep:	6	„ sawahgrond en
	66	„ droge grond en voor de
Restgroep:	23	„ sawahgrond en
	22	„ droge grond.

Deze cijfers geven dus het gemiddelde voor deze 3 groepen, die resp. uit 81, 19 en 33 huizen bestaan, per huis aan. [2])

[1]) De cijfers m.b.t. de grond dateren van 1949. Het gemiddeld aantal bewoners per huis bedroeg dat jaar 6.04 tegen 6.1 in 1948.

[2]) In het Indisch Verslag van 1941, deel II, p. 264, wordt voor Java en Madura over 1940 als gemiddelde oppervlakte aan bouwgrond der Inheemse bevolking opgegeven: 0,072 ha sawahgrond per hoofd en 0.096 ha droge grond per hoofd. Dit is dus iets minder dan in Bontoramba gevonden werd (0.088 ha sawahgrond en 0,113 ha droge grond per hoofd).

Het opvallend lage cijfer voor de sawahgronden in de Mangenregroep is niet direct verklaarbaar. Beneden zal hierop worden teruggekomen.

Niet in alle huizen wonen grondbezitters. In de Kapalagroep wonen grondbezitters in 73 van de 81 huizen; in de Mangenregroep in 7 van de 19 huizen; in de Restgroep in 14 van de 33 huizen.

De leden der Kapalagroep zijn dus duidelijk rijk aan grond vergeleken bij die der beide andere groepen. Het grondbezit is bij hen ook regelmatiger over de verschillende huizen verdeeld.

Het bleek, dat in de weinige huizen van de Kapalagroep, zonder grondbezitters, jongeren woonden, die de gronden hunner ouders of van hun oudere broer bewerkten en daarvan een oogstdeel kregen. In de Mangenregroep en in de Restgroep treft men de waronghouders, de fietsenmaker, de handelaars, en de „dragers" aan; laatstgenoemden zijn mannen, die goederen voor een ander naar een verre pasar vervoeren en hun draagloon gedeeltelijk in geld en gedeeltelijk in goederen ontvangen; meerderen hunner bezitten geen grond.

Degenen die buiten Bontoramba grond bezitten, wonen verdeeld over 57 van de in totaal 133 huizen [1]); 53 van die 57 zijn bewoond door leden van de Kapalagroep; 4 door die van de Rest; mensen van de Mangenregroep zouden volgens deze cijfers buiten Bontoramba verder nergens grond hebben. Het is zeer wel mogelijk dat deze cijfers speciaal wat betreft de Mangenregroep onjuist, immers te laag zijn, want de landrenteadministratie heeft de namen der grondbezitters per kampong geregistreerd en men zou dus alle landrenteregisters van Zuid-Celebes moeten doornemen (het zijn er enige duizenden) om met zekerheid te kunnen verklaren, dat niet nog andere gronden dan de reeds vermelde in handen van een Bontorambabewoner zijn. En juist van de mensen van de Mangenregroep is te verwachten, dat zij in hun stamland Pangkadjene nog meer gronden hebben. [2])

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[1]) In 54 huizen wonen mensen die elders alleen sawahgrond, in 14, die elders alleen droge grond bezitten; in 11 huizen wonen dus mensen die zowel sawahs als droge grond bezitten.

[2]) Deze verwachting is gebaseerd, zowel op de hier direct volgende cijfers m.b.t. de kampong Pakatto, het stamland van de Kapalagroep, als op de indruk die in de kolonistenkampongs werd verkregen.

Ik beperkte mijn onderzoek tot de registers van de overige 13 kampongs van de adatgemeenschap Borongloë. In slechts 7 van deze 13 werden namen van Bontorambabewoners aangetroffen. De verdeling was als volgt:

	sawahgrond	droge grond	aantal bezitters sawahgrond	aantal bezitters droge grond
Pagentungang . .	1432 are	—	48	—
Songkolo	280 „	354 are	4	5
Buttadidi . . .	684 „	37 „	23	3
Borong	308 „	904 „	6	8
Tjambaja	1428 „	798 „	21	5
Pakatto	514 „		4	
Parang Banua . .	54 „		2	[1])

Een blik op de kaart toont dat de eerste 3 kampongs aan Bontoramba grenzen en de vierde er vlakbij ligt. De kampong Pakatto werd al genoemd als degene waaruit velen der huidige Bontorambabewoners afkomstig zijn; een aantal hunner blijkt daar thans nog gronden te hebben, door vererving verkregen. Het grote aantal gronden in Tjambaja houdt verband met goede ontginningsmogelijkheden aldaar.

In 6 van de 14 kampongs van Borongloë bezitten de mensen uit Bontoramba geen grond. Hun bezit concentreert zich dus m.u.v. Pakatto en Tjambaja in hun naaste omgeving. De territoriaal-administratieve kamponggrenzen blijken dus voor de verhouding der verwantengroep tot de grond niet van belang te zijn. De afstand van hun huis tot de grond blijkt wel van belang. Er is reden om aan te nemen, dat het aantal Bontorambabewoners, dat behalve binnen hun adatgemeenschap ook daarbuiten nog gronden bezit — met uitzondering van mensen van de Mangenregroep — gering is.

Naast de Bontorambabewoners, die gronden buiten Bontoramba bezitten, heeft een aantal mensen, buiten Bontoramba woonachtig,

[1]) Bij de cijfers van de gronden in indonesisch bezitrecht werden steeds die van de gronden in pand bezeten, opgeteld.

gronden tot het kampongterritoor Bontoramba behorend, in bezit. Het waren er in totaal 90; 68 daarvan woonden in een van de 13 andere kampongs van Borongloë, zij bezaten te zamen 1522 are sawahgrond en 1758 are droge grond. In de aangrenzende kampongs Buttadidi, Pagentungang, Songkolo en Borong woonden resp. 27, 8, 11 en 7 dezer grondbezitters. Daarnaast wonen er in de kampongs Pakatto, Parang Banua, Bontoa en Borongkaluku elk nog 3; in Kotjikang 2 en in Tjambaja 1. Van een bijzondere interesse van Pakatto- of Tjambajabewoners voor het Bontorambaterritoor is dus niets te merken; in omgekeerde richting was dit anders.

De overige 22 grondbezitters, waarvan er 2 buiten Goa en 20 binnen Goa, maar buiten Borongloë woonden, bezaten te zamen 645 are sawahgrond en 498 are droge grond. [1]) Vermeldenswaard is hier slechts, dat van deze 20 grondbezitters er 12 in de zeer dicht bij Bontoramba gelegen kampong Romangpolong woonden, waar de Kapala van Bontoramba veel familieleden heeft.

Een indruk van de wijze waarop het sawahbezit over de verschillende huizen verdeeld is, krijgt men uit de volgende cijfers.

De bewoners van 25 van het totaal van 133 huizen bezitten meer dan 1 ha sawahgrond; 21 daarvan zijn huizen der Kapalagroep en 4 zijn van de Rest. De bewoners van 8 van deze 25 huizen bezitten meer dan 2 ha, waarvan 7 van de Kapalagroep en 1 van de Rest. Slechts één man bezit meer dan 3, met name ruim 7½ ha sawahgrond; hij heeft dit te danken aan eigen capaciteiten.

De verhouding van de individuen tot hun grond, zoals die uit deze cijfers blijkt, is dus betrekkelijk eenvoudig weer te geven. De administratieve kamponggrenzen [2]) blijken voor de ligging van het grondbezit der kampongbewoners niet van belang te zijn. Dit grondbezit is niet gebonden aan hun kampongterritoor.

De afstand van woonerf tot bouwgrond is in het algemeen klein. De gronden van de meeste mensen liggen in hun eigen kampong benevens in een der daaraan grenzende kampongs. Degenen die de in Tjambaja gelegen gronden bezaten, hadden ook grond in Bontoramba zelf. Dit wijst erop dat men pas tot aankoop of ont-

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[1]) Er waren onder die 22, 13 sawahbezitters en 10 drogegrondbezitters; één man bezat dus naast een sawah ook droge grond in Bontoramba.

[2]) De Kapala int de grondbelasting van alle gronden op zijn kampongterritoor gelegen. Hij zorgt dat alle werkbare mannen die daar wonen hun diensten verrichten. Hij rapporteert misdrijven op zijn gebied begaan enz., enz.

ginning van verderweg gelegen gronden overgaat, als men in zijn directe omgeving reeds grond bezit. Grondenruil tussen mensen, die in elkaars woonkampong grond hebben, met de bedoeling dat beiden in plaats van een ver van hun huis verwijderd nu een dichtbij gelegen stuk grond zullen hebben, komt geregeld voor.

Verweg gelegen grond komt in het algemeen door vererving in iemands bezit. De gronden gelegen in de kampong, waar men zelf uit afkomstig is, of waar zijn ouders uit afkomstig zijn en waar familieleden wonen, behoudt men gaarne. [1]) De cijfers uit Pakatto tonen slechts, dat de band met de grond in de kampong van afkomst gelegen, pas langzamerhand wordt losgelaten, als in de nieuwe omgeving een goed geïntegreerde verwantengroep ontstaan is.

Het gemiddeld grondbezit bedraagt ruim een halve h.a. sawahgrond benevens bijna driekwart h.a. droge grond voor ruim 6 personen. Het zijn dus voor het merendeel allemaal kleine boerenbedrijven. [2])

Onder de kampongbewoners blijkt slechts een enkeling, dank zij bijzondere persoonlijke eigenschappen in staat te zijn om een areaal van meer dan 3 ha bijeen te brengen. Reeds in de na hem komende generatie valt dit echter weer uiteen, omdat het zelden voorkomt dat een man die het bezit vereende, een zoon heeft die het in stand weet te houden.

Deze verdeling van het grondbezit over de individuen geeft een beeld, dat bij dit soort gewone verwantengroepen als normaal beschouwd kan worden. Daarnaast kent men ook grootgrondbezitverhoudingen. In de kampong Borongpalala bijv. bedraagt het totale sawahareaal omstreeks 450 ha; het areaal droge grond is hier zeer gering. Van die 450 ha is omstreeks 160 ha in handen van inwoners van Borongpalala en omstreeks 290 in handen van mensen, die buiten Borongpalala wonen. Omstreeks 3 ha hiervan behoort aan een aantal kleine boeren van het Bontoramba type. De rest, bijna 290 ha dus, behoort aan enkele familieleden van de Vorst

[1]) Vgl. de gegevens der kolonistengroepen p. 57 e.v.

[2]) De cijfers die betrekking hebben op het belangrijkste vee (karbouwen, geiten, paarden) luiden verdeeld over de 3 groepen:

	karbouwen	geiten	paarden
Kapalagroep	193	23	11
Mangenregroep	19	—	—
Restgroep	26	14	1

van Goa, die gedeeltelijk in de kampong Karuisi, 15 km van Borongpalala verwijderd wonen, maar voor een deel ook in het 250 à 300 km ver gelegen Bone. Deze kampong kent dus duidelijk grootgrondbezit. Gemachtigden (koasa) van de grootgrondbezitters regelen er de werkzaamheden en verzamelen de opbrengsten. Deze verhoudingen zullen in het volgend hoofdstuk worden besproken.

Het oogstritueel.

De band tussen de kampongbewoners en hun grond komt tot uiting bij het oogstfeest, dat kort na de oogst op een bepaalde plaats van het kampongterritoor, „de Heer van het Land" (Patanna pa'rasanganga) genaamd, gehouden wordt. Op die plek staat een oude manggaboom en aan zijn voet liggen enkele grote vlakke stenen; daarnaast is een „huisje" (saukang) gebouwd; het rust op 4 palen; de vloer van anderhalve meter in het vierkant ligt omstreeks één meter boven de grond; de wanden zijn van volledig doorzichtig vlechtwerk; atapblaren dienen als dakbedekking. In het midden steekt een vijfde paal omstreeks 20 cm door de vloer heen, die „afgeknotte huispaal" (benteng polong) genoemd wordt. Boom, stenen en huisje vormen te zamen een belangrijke factor van het sawahritueel. Meestal zowel vóór de plant als na de oogst, maar eveneens bij andere momenten van de rijstgroei, worden daar offers gebracht, die met eenvoudige a.h.w. huiselijke feestelijkheden gepaard gaan. Hier wordt alleen het oogstfeest beschreven.

Als alle sawahs afgeoogst zijn, wordt de dag voor het ritueel vastgesteld; dit is het werk van de pinati [1]) van Bontoramba, die ook degeen is, die het eigenlijke ritueel op die dag verricht. Omstreeks 10 uur in de morgen begonnen degenen, die aan dit oogstfeest mee wilden doen zich reeds bij „de Heer des Lands" te verzamelen; het ritueel moet nml. plaats hebben voor de zon weer begint te dalen, omdat, zo meent men, het rijzen van de zon het groeien van de rijst ten goede komt. De vrouwen brachten schalen met offers mee. Het behoort zo te zijn, dat ieder huis een offer brengt, zegt men, en men gaat er daarbij vanuit dat iedereen bij de oogst geïnteresseerd is. Toen het ritueel begon, telde ik slechts 45 offerschalen, afkomstig uit 42 verschillende huizen; 34 van die 42

[1]) Pinati is de titel van de functionaris die in het algemeen met de uitvoering van het ritueel belast is. Vgl. B. F. Matthes, Wb. p. 111.

huizen behoorden aan de Kapalagroep, 1 was bewoond door mensen van de Mangenregroep, 5 behoorden aan de Restgroep; 2 schalen tenslotte waren afkomstig van mensen van buiten Bontoramba, die in dit gebied grond bezaten.

De tweede offerschaal uit een en hetzelfde huis was in 2 van de 3 gevallen bestemd voor het in dat huis woonachtige tweede gezin.

In de 3 van de 5 gevallen waar de Restgroep een offerschaal inbracht, bleek dat niemand uit het betrokken huis in de landrenteregisters was aangeslagen. Eén daarvan betrof een volgeling, die het offer bracht voor de sawahs van zijn elders woonachtige heer; het tweede iemand die de sawahs van een in Buttadidi woonachtig familielid bewerkte; het derde een der kampongfunctionarissen die pas in Bontoramba was komen wonen, maar daar (nog) geen grond bezat; deze man meende echter dat hij het aan zijn functie verplicht was om bij dit gemeenschapsfeest een tastbaar blijk van zijn deelname aan het kampongleven te geven.

Het totale aantal van 45 schalen werd laag geacht; het feit dat veel mensen ziek waren, gaf men hiervoor als excuus op.

De conclusie, uit deze cijfers te trekken, kan dus zijn, dat bij dit oogstfeest alleen die mensen een offer brengen, die sawahs in Bontoramba bezitten of bewerken, en die tevens geloven dat zij een zeker belang bij dit oogstfeest hebben.

Bij de leden van de Kapalagroep is, vergeleken bij de andere groepen, duidelijker de neiging te constateren om aan dit gemeenschapsfeest mee te doen.

Het niet meedoen van 17 van de 18 huizen der Mangenregroep kan behalve aan het feit dat slechts weinigen hunner sawahs in Bontoramba hebben, geweten worden aan het feit, dat in het Buginese land saukangfeesten veel minder voorkomen dan in Goa; van huis uit is dit soort feesten hun dus vreemder. Het meedoen van één hunner kan beschouwd worden als een teken van onderschikking aan de locale machthebbers en hun gebruiken. Want indien niemand hunner had meegedaan, zou dit door de Kapala en zijn verwanten niet geapprecieerd zijn. Voor deze groep geldt in dit geval, dat één hunner voor hen allen staat. Het was een der vooraanstaande leden van de Mangenregroep, die een schaal inzond.

Op de vraag hoe deze plaats aan zijn naam „Heer des Lands" is gekomen, werd het volgend verhaal verteld:

1. Pau-pauanna „Patanna Pa'-rasanganga", niarenga Besenga.	Het verhaal van „de Heer van het Land", genaamd Besenga.
2. Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Vroeger was er eens een moedig man die in Bontoramba woonde.
3. Naandjo taua ammantangi ri birinna agang lompoa.	Die man woonde aan de grote weg.
4. Naandjo aganga, punna nia' tau ammalo na'bongong iareka nammake pajung, andjo taua balalo mate karampasang.	Wanneer er nu mensen waren die de weg langs kwamen met hun sarong over het hoofd, of met een pajong, dan stierven die mensen spoedig. [1])
5. Nasiapa are sallona andjo taua appakamma naniareng tommo tau tabesse-besse panggaukanna;	En daarop werd die man, die dat op zijn geweten had, in plaats van een moedig een boosaardig man genoemd;
6. Sanggenna andjo taua appasang angkana:	Tenslotte deed die man de volgende mededeling:
7. punna sallang tenama' anrinni (sajanga') punna eroko assarea', nia' antu batu ritangngana pa'rasanganga, andjoremmako sarea';	indien ik in de toekomst niet meer hier zal zijn, (indien ik ten hemel opgestegen zal zijn) en indien gij mij iets wilt geven, dan is er die steen daar, in het midden van het land gelegen, daar moet gij mij dat dan geven;
8. mingka antu sallang batua alolokintu timboranna pa'-rasanganga ri poko taipaja;	maar die steen zal zich later naar het Zuiden van het land bewegen, naar de manggaboom,

[1]) Een lagere die met een sarong over het hoofd of met een pajong voor een hogere verschijnt, of zelfs maar voorbij diens huis loopt, toont hiermee weinig eerbied voor deze te bezitten; hij kan steeds straf verwachten.

9. punna andjoremmondjo batua papparekang tomma' balla', nasalloa' andjoremma' antu lammantang.	als de steen daar aangekomen zal zijn, maak daar dan ook voor mij een huis, opdat ik daar zal kunnen wonen.
10. Le'baki appasang allannja' tommi.	Toen hij dat meegedeeld had, steeg hij ten hemel.

Het verhaal blijkt een korte uitgave te zijn van de overal op Zuid-Celebes bekende tomanurungverhalen; dit zijn verhalen over uit de hemel neergedaalde mensen. [1]) In dit geval heeft de verteller in een en hetzelfde verhaal ook een verklaring gegeven van de naam Besenga. Deze combinatie is gebruikelijk.

Thans zal worden beproefd om van dit kortstondig oogstritueel een beschrijving te geven. [2])

Omstreeks 12.30 middag acht de pinati het moment gekomen om te beginnen. Hij gaat met het gezicht naar het Zuiden onder de manggaboom naast de daar gelegen steen zitten; op en naast die steen zijn, zo dicht mogelijk tegen elkaar aan, een veertigtal schalen met offers geplaatst. Alle bestaan uit kleefrijst met een hard gekookt ei daarin gedrukt en een halve drooggebakken kip (djangang panggang) er boven op. De pinati slaat een witte doek om zijn eigen hoofddoek heen en doet wierook in het reeds brandend wierookvat. Naast hem staan een glas water, een bakje met water voor handwassing en een schaaltje met wat sirih en pinang, zoals geëerde gasten die ook bij een maaltijd naast zich krijgen; zij zijn bestemd voor degeen, aan wie de offers thans aangeboden worden. Verder staat een flesje olie, en een mandje met gepofte rijst (bente) naast hem.

Hij legt thans eerst zijn hand op de steen en prevelt kort. Dan neemt hij het flesje met olie, houdt het even in de rook boven het wierookvat en druppelt tegen de richting van de wijzers van het uurwerk in, een kring olie op de van boven platte steen. Binnen die kring legt hij achtereenvolgens drie handen met gepofte rijst; iedere hand wordt steeds eerst even boven het wierookvat gehouden. De pinati neemt nu het wierookvat in de rechterhand en bewalmt driemaal met de linker de steen; vervolgens beweegt hij de rechterhand

[1]) Zie Friedericy's dissertatie p. 469 e.v.; 506 e.v.
[2]) Zie voor een beschrijving van de essentialia van het ritueel p. 61, 62.

met het vat boven de steen; drie maal tegen de wijzers van het uurwerk in en éénmaal daarna terug. Dan wordt het wierookvat weer neergezet en de pinati legt rustig enkele vingers van de rechterhand tegen de steen en prevelt opnieuw kort enkele zinnen.

Nu neemt hij het wierookvat opnieuw op en laat dit een kring beschrijven om de steen en alle daarop en daarnaast geplaatste schalen heen; enkele oudere vrouwen helpen bij het doorgeven, er duidelijk zorg voor dragend, dat het wierookvat om alle schalen heen gaat. Aldus wordt het van hand tot hand rondgegeven, drie maal heen en eenmaal terug. Na iedere rondgang komt het dus weer terug in de handen van de pinati die dan even de steen bewalmt a.h.w. om het punt van uitgang te markeren. Daarna opent hij achtereenvolgens 2 parappo [1]), houdt die even boven het wierookvat en legt ze vervolgens naast elkaar op de steen neer. De pinati beweegt het wierookvat nu opnieuw driemaal heen en eenmaal terug boven deze beide parappo in 't rond, en zet het naast zich neer. Daarmee is dit deel van het ritueel afgelopen; de pinati blijft even rustig zitten. Vanaf het moment, dat hij wat wierook in het vat liet vallen, tot dit moment toe zijn 7 minuten verlopen.

Thans zet hij zich in de saukang, met het gezicht naar het Noorden. Om de afgeknotte middenpaal staat een klein aantal schalen met offers. Enkele oudere vrouwen nemen de rest van de plaatsruimte in.

Hij voorziet het wierookvat van verse brandstof, houdt het olieflesje er even boven en druppelt de olie in een kleine kring boven op de doorsnede van de paal; hij legt binnen die kring drie handen gepofte rijst, steeds iedere hand eerst even in de rook houdend. Vervolgens beweegt hij het wierookvat driemaal heen en eenmaal terug boven de afgeknotte paal rond, en werpt enkele handen gepofte rijst — steeds na die eerst in de rook boven het wierookvat gehouden te hebben — over de schalen met spijzen. Daarna opent hij een derde parappo, houdt ook die even in de rook en legt hem vervolgens naast de paal neer. Dan beweegt hij het wierookvat opnieuw driemaal heen en eenmaal terug over deze parappo heen, legt enkele vingers van de rechterhand tegen de top van de afgeknotte middenpaal en prevelt kort. Opnieuw strooit hij vervolgens

[1]) Zie p. 63.

enige handen gepofte rijst over de spijsschalen en werpt enkele korrels over de schouder. Daarmee is het eigenlijke ritueel afgelopen. Ook dit gedeelte van het ritueel, dat zich in de saukang afspeelde, was binnen 7 minuten afgedaan.

Daarop werden de schalen met de offers weggehaald en aan de mannen voorgezet, die zich in rijen op matten geschaard hadden naar gelang van hun aanzien; de vrouwen behielden enkele schalen voor zich; zij aten in groepjes om de schalen gezeten, zonder dat een bepaalde ordening naar aanzien daarbij in acht genomen werd.

Sommige pinati nemen bij het ritueel van iedere schaal enkele vingers rijst plus de uiterste punt van een kippenpoot — dus alleen het been — en leggen dit bij de parappo neer. Dan is dus a.h.w. van ieders huis iets voor de voorouders achtergebleven.

Mannen laten thans opnieuw, gelijk in de ochtend al gebeurde, hun hanen vechten en onderwijl gaat de pinati rond en stipt al wie dat wil aan, met een mengsel van olie, aarde en fijngewreven rijst, plus nog iets, wat speciaal zijn geheim is; de daarvoor geëigende lichaamsdelen zijn het voorhoofd, de hals en de navel; het doel hiervan is om deze personen te laten meedelen in de voorspoed (pitjuru') van deze voorouder, via de aarde, waarmee hij in contact kwam (nibarakkakki). [1])

Na het eten blijven nog velen een tijdlang naar de hanen kijken; eerst successievelijk keert men naar huis terug. Bij de steen onder de boom, en in de saukang naast de afgeknotte middenpaal, blijven nog slechts wat pisang- en sirihblaadjes, wat pinangstukjes en rijstkorrels over; de wind jaagt gemakkelijk de verdroogde blaren uiteen; mieren en vogels ontfermen zich over de rest. De olievlekken slechts blijven zichtbaar als teken dat de voorouders geëerd werden.

Horizontale mobiliteit.

3 Aspecten van het verschijnsel der horizontale mobiliteit zullen hier beschreven worden. Ten eerste de verhouding van woonplaats tot geboorteplaats; ten tweede de migraties die per tijdseenheid op een bepaald kampongterritoor plaats hebben; ten derde de kolonisaties; daaronder worden hier verstaan de uitzwermingen van Makassaren naar Buginese streken.

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[1]) Het is een goed gebruik om zo kort mogelijk na afloop van het ritueel tot dit doel wat aarde zo dicht mogelijk bij de steen vandaan weg te halen (zie foto).

1. *De verhouding van woonplaats tot geboorteplaats.*

Van de 803 bewoners der kampong Bontoramba op 1 Juli 1949 werden 207 buiten de kampong geboren. Bijna 75 % van het totaal woonde dus op dat moment in zijn geboortekampong. [1])

119 van de 207 werden buiten Bontoramba, maar binnen de adatgemeenschap Borongloë geboren; de rest, d.w.z. 88 of ongeveer 9 % van het totaal der inwoners, daarbuiten; 30 individuen (ongeveer 3½ %), tenslotte, werden buiten het Landschap Goa geboren.

Het percentage in Bontoramba geborenen blijkt verder in de Kapalagroep, de meest gesettelde, hoger te liggen dan in de beide andere groepen, nl. 82 % tegen 54 % in de Mangenre- en 52 % in de Restgroep. Het hier volgend overzicht verduidelijkt deze percentages.

	Totaal aantal individuen	Buiten Bontoramba geborenen	Buiten Bontoramba maar binnen Borongloë geborenen	Buiten Borongloë maar binnen Goa geborenen	Buiten Goa geborenen
Kapala groep . . .	536	81	51	28	2
Mangenre „ . . .	94	42	17	5	20
Rest „ . . .	173	84	51	25	8
Bewoners van de Kampong Bontoramba per 1-7-1949	803	207	119	58	30

[1]) Sorokin vergelijkt in zijn werk „Social Mobility" (p. 381 e.v.) de territoriale circulatie der individuen in de West-Europese samenlevingen met die in India. Zijn boek is van 1927 en zijn cijfers zijn opnieuw een kwarteeuw ouder. Uit die cijfers blijkt, dat in het West-Europa van die tijd met name in Frankrijk 57,2 % van de plattelandsbewoners geboren werd in hetzelfde district als waar zij op het moment van hun registratie woonden; voor India echter was volgens de volkstelling 1901, dit percentage meer dan 90 %. Sorokin trekt hieruit de conclusie, die overigens ook op tal van andere gegevens gebouwd werd, dat West-Europa dus een veel grotere territoriale bewegelijkheid vertoonde dan India.

Opvallend is het grote aantal mensen in de Mangenregroep dat buiten Goa geboren werd, nml. 20 van de 42. In de Kapala- en Restgroep zijn deze aantallen resp. 2 en 8 van de 51. Een verklaring van dit verschijnsel vindt men in het feit dat hun land van herkomst buiten Goa ligt; velen hunner zijn daar geboren; het percentage blijft langer hoog dan men zou verwachten, doordat men kinderen bij voorkeur geboren ziet worden in het huis, althans in het land, waar de moeder zelve geboren werd. Vrouwen die zwanger zijn keren, althans voor hun eerste bevalling, bij voorkeur naar hun stamland Pangkadjene, terug.

32 van de 51 leden van de Kapalagroep, die buiten Bontoramba maar binnen de adatgemeenschap werden geboren, zijn afkomstig uit aan Bontoramba grenzende kampongs, nml. Buttadidi (10) en Songkolo (12) benevens uit het eveneens vlakbij gelegen Borong (9). In de verderweg gelegen kampongs zijn de aantallen kleiner: Parang Banua 4; Borongkaluku 3; Bontoa 2; Bontomanai en Kotjikang ieder 1; eveneens uit het aangrenzende Pagentungang 1. Pakatto (9) vormt een begrijpelijke uitzondering, omdat Pakatto naar boven reeds gemeld werd, als stamland van de leden der Kapalagroep beschouwd wordt.

Uit deze cijfers blijkt dus, dat omstreeks 80 % der Bontoramba-bewoners in of in de omgeving van Bontoramba geboren werd.

2. *Migraties.*

Het bleek verder dat de kampongbewoners herhaaldelijk, voor langer dan wel voor korter tijd, van huis wisselden. Dit verschijnsel is op zich zelf gemakkelijk waarneembaar; het is niet gemakkelijk in cijfers uit te drukken.

Door precies een jaar na de eerste kampongopname een tweede te verrichten werd gepoogd een inzicht te krijgen in het aantal dergenen dat van huis veranderde. De — n.m.m. vele — logeerpartijen en andere wisselingen die in de loop van dat jaar plaats hadden, maar waarbij door een nieuwe wisseling weer de oude toestand was hersteld, konden bij deze registratie dus niet achterhaald worden. De op deze wijze verkregen uitkomsten luiden als volgt.

In 76 van de 133 huizen had in de loop van het jaar (van 1 Juli 1948 t/m 30 Juni 1949) een verandering in de samenstelling plaats. Geboorte en overlijden werden als irrelevant voor het krijgen van

inzicht in deze bewegelijkheid niet als veranderingen geregistreerd. Gesplitst naar de door mij regelmatig onderscheiden 3 groepen bleek, dat 39 van de 81 huizen der Kapalagroep onveranderd van samenstelling waren gebleven, 4 van de 19 van de Mangenregroep en 14 van de 33 van de Restgroep.

Degenen, die per 1 Juli 1949 als inwoner van Bontoramba opgetekend waren en daar een jaar geleden nog niet woonden werden als immigranten geregistreerd en degenen die er op 1 Juli 1948 woonden maar op 1 Juli 1949 niet meer aanwezig waren, als emigranten; degenen die in de loop van het jaar in een ander huis van de kampong waren gaan wonen als transmigranten. [1]) Verdeeld over de 3 groepen (Kapala, Mangenre en Rest) krijgt men het volgend beeld van de bewegelijkheid der individuen.

	I.	E.	Trans.	Totaal	van huis veranderende individuen.
K	26	18	34	78	op een totaal van 536 leden v. d. K-groep
M	6	23	12	41	„ „ „ „ 94 „ „ „ M- „
R	10	12	4	26	„ „ „ „ 173 „ „ „ R- „
Totaal	42	53	50	145	„ „ „ „ 803 kampongbewoners per 1 Juli 1949.

Dit betekent dus dat in één jaar tijds 2/11 van alle kampongbewoners van huis wisselde.

De onderverdeling naar Kapala-, Mangenre- en Restgroep toont aan, dat de grootste migratie in de Mangenregroep plaats had; daar wisselde bijna 2/5 der groepsleden, terwijl in de Kapala- en Restgroep omstreeks 1/7 wisselde. Als reden zou hiervoor aangegeven kunnen worden dat de Mangenregroep het dichtste nadert tot hetgeen beneden een groep Kolonisten genoemd wordt; de leden van deze soort groepen blijken zich weinig aan hun woonplaats te hechten. Velen van de Mangenregroep vertrokken naar Makassar waar zij, volgens de mededelingen, meer konden verdienen dan in Bontoramba.

De migratie is, volgens deze cijfers, onder mannen en vrouwen

[1]) Transmigranten worden als individu éénmaal geteld, maar zij brengen verandering in de samenstelling van 2 huizen.

ongeveer gelijk; tegenover 72 migrerende mannen staan 73 migrerende vrouwen.

Het verschil in migratie tussen gehuwden en ongehuwden blijkt niet groot te zijn. Hierbij dient men de gevallen waarin een gehuwde man of vrouw alleen van huis verandert, te onderscheiden van het migreren in gezinsverband.

In één jaar verhuisden in Bontoramba 22 gezinnen met 35 kinderen, dus in totaal 79 personen. In 8 van deze 22 gevallen trok een jong paar weg uit het ouderlijk huis; een tweegezinswoning werd daardoor tot éengezinswoning gemaakt; dit verschijnsel is een directe uiting van het streven van ieder gezin naar een eigen huis. [1]) 3 Gezinnen wilden dichter bij hun in een andere kampong gelegen sawahs wonen en emigreerden dus daarheen; tweemaal was een vluchthuwelijk en tweemaal het feit, dat het huis ernstig beschadigd en kapot raakte, reden tot gezinsmigratie. In één geval werd ruzie als reden opgegeven, maar dit was tevens het enige geval, dat 2 gezinnen die onderling geen familie waren samen in één huis woonden. In een ander geval kwam een echtpaar uit een naburige adatgemeenschap in Bontoramba wonen om in dienst van een ander bepaalde werkzaamheden te verrichten. In de overige 5 gevallen werden de motieven niet duidelijk. [2])

Terwijl 79 personen in gezinsverband migreerden, wisselden 66 individueel van huis. De redenen, die daarvoor worden opgegeven, zijn zeer verschillend. Een oude weduwnaar woont afwisselend bij zijn respectievelijke kinderen; een wees gaat van de ene oom en tante naar de andere; een oude doofstomme man woont beurtelings bij zijn vele — en verre — neefjes en nichtjes, die hem liever zien gaan dan komen. Het sluiten van een huwelijk en het plegen van silariang zijn redenen tot huiswisseling; een Javaan en een armoedige wees die bij mensen in Bontoramba kwamen wonen en werken, verhoogden het aantal immigranten. Een ziekelijk jongetje gaat voor enkele weken of maanden bij zijn

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[1]) Een jonge man of jonge vrouw, die huwde en bij zijn echtgeno(o)t(e) ging wonen en dus van een gezinswoning een tweegezinswoning maakte, werd als transmigrant geregistreerd.

[2]) Het geringe aantal kinderen (35) dezer 22 gezinnen vindt zijn verklaring in het feit dat een aantal ervan jonge gezinnen zijn die voor 't eerst een eigen huis betrokken; de 2 sinds kort gehuwde silariangparen hadden ook (nog) slechts weinig kinderen.

grootvader logeren, wiens huis overigens 1 minuut lopen van dat van zijn ouders afligt, „om beter te worden". Een kind dat „lastig" is, wordt tijdelijk bij een vlak in de buurt wonende broer of zuster zijner ouders ondergebracht; in een andere omgeving gaat die lastigheid het gemakkelijkst over, zo leert de ervaring. Bij een jonggehuwd paar, dat net een eigen huis heeft gekregen, komt geregeld een zusje van de vrouw logeren, „voor de gezelligheid". Als een jonge man huwt gaat zijn broertje tijdelijk met hem mee, „om daar op de karbouwen te passen". Een vrouw die boos is op haar man vraagt een van haar vrouwelijke familieleden, buren tevens, bij haar te komen slapen; de afwijzing is duidelijk. Het zijn in het Makassaarse land, rationeel bezien, alle geldige redenen.

Het resultaat is, dat huisgenoten zelden lang in dezelfde combinatie in een huis wonen. De huisgenoten vormen als zodanig dus geen vaste groep. Geregeld komen om de meest verschillende redenen voor korter of voor langer tijd mannen of vrouwen, gehuwden of ongehuwden, maar steeds familieleden overnachten. De horizontale mobiliteit is een functie van de verwantengroep. [1])

Het aangeven van de reden voor deze frequent voorkomende migraties kan slechts in de vorm van een suggestie geschieden. Daartoe moet echter eerst een ander element van deze cultuur beschreven worden; dat is de toestand van „adjallo'".

Adjallo' is het beste te beschrijven als een woedeaanval. Het individu gooit zich op de grond; het krijst en trapt enige minuten heftig, en als de aanval over is, schijnt het weer geheel normaal. Dergelijke aanvallen werden door mij alleen bij kinderen waargenomen. Het waren in beide gevallen door hun omgeving verwende kinderen; alles wat zij deden werd overdreven bewonderd; zij mochten ook veel meer dan de anderen; niemand verbood hen iets; toen het meisje een hele bos padi vermorste, lachte de eigenaar slechts vriendelijk; toen de jongen speels een bord brak, werd dit verontschuldigd en als volkomen onbelangrijk voorgesteld. Alleen hun eigen ouders beknorden hen. Er kwam echter zelfs aan deze

[1]) Deze bewegelijkheid schijnt mij gelijk te zijn aan de vooroorlogse; niets wijst erop dat de Japanse tijd of de beroeringen daarna, hierop een stimulerende invloed hadden.

toegevendheid en belangstelling een eind. Dat is het moment, dat het kind de beschreven woedeaanval kan krijgen. [1])

Volgens mededelingen zouden ook volwassenen dergelijke aanvallen krijgen; ik maakte dit echter nooit mee. Een volwassene dreigt hier soms wel mee; bijv. als hij (zij) zijn zinnen op iets gezet heeft, dat hem schijnt te ontgaan. Zo een vrouw die, zelf uit Makassar afkomstig, op een feest bij haar familie in Goa de trom (ganrang) had laten spelen en die daarover nu ondervraagd werd door de betrokken Kapalakampong. Het spelen van de ganrang is in Goa nml. een prerogatief van de adel. Zij dreigde met adjallo', indien het gebruik van de trom haar verboden zou worden, en tenslotte werd de oplossing gevonden, dat de trom gespeeld mocht worden, omdat zij niet in Goa woonde en zij bij haar thuis, in Makassar, wel de ganrang mocht spelen.

In Makassar dreigde een meisje met adjallo', dat 16 jaar oud en nog op school was, en dat dit schoolbezoek door wenste te zetten tegen de duidelijke blijken van afkeuring van haar moeder en tantes in. Een man regelde zijn tweede huwelijk buiten zijn eerste vrouw om, omdat hij, zoals hij zeide, bang was, dat zij zou adjallo', en daarmee wellicht zijn tweede huwelijk verhinderen, als zij er eerder van hoorde.

De reactie van de omgeving op de bovenaangegeven woedeaanvallen was die van afkeer. Men wendde zich af, niemand deed een poging tot hulp; niemand ook toonde zich boos. Men meende, dat men hier verder niets aan kon doen.

Beide genoemde verschijnselen, de mobiliteit en het adjallo', dienen m.i. opgevat te worden als uitingen van een conflict, waarvoor het individu geen andere oplossing ziet; een conflict dat terug gaat op de persoonlijkheidsstructuur. Het was mij niet mogelijk hier verder onderzoek naar te doen. Het feit dat beide sexen het mobiliteitsverschijnsel gelijkelijk vertonen, zou er op kunnen wijzen,

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[1]) Matthes (zie Woordenboek p. 420) vertaalt adjallo' met amok maken. Adjallo' is m.i. een aanduiding voor een bepaalde geestestoestand, die inderdaad een aantal uiterlijke kenmerken met amok gemeen heeft, maar zolang de innerlijke drijfveren niet beter bekend zijn dan thans, schijnt het mij niet juist om zijn vertaling over te nemen. Daarnaast geeft Matthes als voorbeeld „tau andjalloki sarenna"; hij vertaalt dit met „iemand die amok maakt met zijn lot" en verduidelijkt dit door de toevoeging „d.i. iemand die steeds ontevreden is met zijn lot, bijv. vandaag deze, morgen die betrekking verlangt enz."

dat men hiervoor een analyse van de „basic personality structure" [1]) der Makassaren zou hebben te ondernemen.

Het feit, dat de Makassaren en Buginezen gaarne koloniseren en evenzo hun trek naar zee zijn wellicht op hetzelfde conflict terug te voeren.

Kolonisaties.

De verhuizing van een man van hoge adel met een groot aantal volgelingen naar een verweg gelegen gebied, zoals men dat een halve eeuw geleden wel zag gebeuren, zou in enkele gevallen verklaarbaar zijn uit moeilijkheden met zijn naaste verwanten ondervonden.

Bij de migraties van groepen Makassaren naar het Buginese land, die in recente tijd plaats hadden, wordt steeds een economische drijfveer vermeld. Het schijnt echter juister om te zeggen, dat veranderingen in de economische structuur de aanwezige neiging tot mobiliteit gestimuleerd hebben.

In meerdere kampongs ten Noorden van Pare-Pare gelegen zijn nml. grote groepen Makassaars sprekenden aangetroffen; in drie daarvan, met name in de kampongs Kape, Langa en Paria, werd een onderzoek ingesteld. De bedoeling was om de integratie van deze a.h.w. als kolonisten te midden der Buginezen levende groepen Makassaren na te gaan. Ter onderscheiding van de bovenbehandelde migraties wordt hier verder van kolonisaties gesproken.

Tot het houden van een kort onderzoek, werden steeds de in een bepaalde kampong wonende „Makassaren" bijeengeroepen; dit kwam er practisch op neer dat een aantal volwassen mannen verscheen.

Aan hen werd stuk voor stuk afgevraagd: hun naam en de namen van hun huisgenoten; wie er van deze gehuwd waren; of dit echtpaar familie van elkaar was en zo ja in welke graad; of dit huwelijk op feestelijke wijze dan wel na silariang tot stand gekomen was; welk gebied zij als hun stamland beschouwden; hoe lang zij hier reeds woonden; de redenen die hen er toe hadden gebracht om hun stamland te verlaten en hierheen te komen.

De resultaten verschilden in de 3 kampongs onderling weinig.

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[1]) Zie voor deze term A. Kardiner, laatstelijk in „The psychological frontiers of society", New York 1945.

Overal bleek de band met het stamland zeer nauw te zijn. In de oogsttijd kwamen extra familieleden over om mee te oogsten; na de oogst gingen geregeld mensen van de kolonistengroep, zij het tijdelijk, naar hun stamland terug. Overal werd als reden der kolonisatie opgegeven, dat men hier gemakkelijker zijn levensonderhoud kon verdienen dan in het stamland. In twee van de drie kampongs was het aantal mannen groter dan het aantal vrouwen, een verschijnsel dat in kolonisatiegebieden, waar het zware werk op de mannen neerkomt, als normaal te beschouwen is. [1])

In de tijd waarin de meeste kolonisten gekomen waren, was slechts een algemene lijn aan te wijzen. Mannen van naar schatting omstreeks 50 jaar gaven op, dat zij als jonge man, dus een 25 jaar geleden voor 't eerst hier gekomen waren, aanvankelijk vaak als seizoenwerkers, en dat zij hier pas later waren blijven wonen. De overige opgaven varieerden vanaf 20 jaar tot één jaar geleden toe. Mijn indruk is dat, nadat eerst enkele pioniers gearriveerd waren, omstreeks 1935 in groten getale Makassaren naar het Noorden begonnen te trekken. Uit de mededelingen van een aantal informanten bleek, dat hun huidige woonplaats niet hun eerste was, maar dat zij zich na hun vertrek uit het stamland reeds eerder elders hadden neergezet. Men kan constateren dat eenmaal op trek, verder trekken een veel voorkomend verschijnsel is.

Een ornament bezaten de migranten niet: „dat bleef in Galesong", werd eenmaal met zoveel woorden gezegd. Saukangs zag ik op de sawahs niet; voorouderhuisjes of offerbakjes [2]) ontkende men in huis te hebben. Als reden daarvan werd opgegeven dat de Buginezen, tussen wie men hier leefde, strenge Islamieten waren, die van zulke ouderwetse zaken niet hielden.

Op enkele uitzonderingen na bezaten deze kolonisten geen grond in het Buginese land. [3]) Zij bewerkten er gronden die toebehoorden aan grootgrondbezitters; dat zijn hier zowel leden van de adel, als gedurende de laatste 10 à 15 jaar rijk geworden handelaren. De Sadangirrigatieleidingen maakten sinds omstreeks 1939 uitge-

[1]) Zie tabel op p. 60 voor de cijfers.
[2]) Zie p. 65, 66.
[3]) In Paria bleek, dat de daar werkende groep voornamelijk op een aantal langs de zeekust gelegen visvijvers werkzaam was; zij hadden deze in deplorable staat aangetroffen maar geheel in orde gebracht; thans kweekten en verhandelden zij de vis, woonden op de vijvercomplexen en leefden daar op — voor 't moment — zeer gunstige voorwaarden.

strekte droge gebieden tot potentieel vruchtbare sawaharealen. Het tekort aan mankracht is echter nijpend; de kolonisten kunnen, zolang deze toestand voortduurt, zeer goede bewerkingsvoorwaarden bedingen. Hun onderhandelingspositie is sterk. Zo bedong één groep, dat een bepaald grootgrondbezitter geen andere padisnijders op zijn sawahs zou laten snijden dan alleen hen.

De behoefte om in het nieuwe woongebied grond te kopen en zich daarmee een vastere economische positie te verschaffen is gering. Sommigen achtten zelfs een zover van het stamland gelegen sawah een onsafe bezit. Meerdere kolonisten bleken met hun in het Buginese land verdiende gelden in hun stamland gelegen, maar vroeger verpande sawahs ingelost, en zelfs nieuwe sawahs daar in pand genomen te hebben. De band daarmee bleek op dit punt dus zeer sterk te zijn.

Vele jonge kolonisten keren naar hun stamland terug om te huwen. Volgens de verkregen cijfers is het percentage huwelijken tussen niet-familieleden gesloten bij de kolonisten slechts weinig hoger dan in Bontoramba. Een klein aantal huwelijken werd met Buginezen gesloten. Bij lang en ver van huis wonen blijken huwelijken met buurtgenoten aanlokkelijk te zijn.

Daarnaast valt het lage percentage silarianghuwelijken op. Zonder nader onderzoek is het moeilijk om hiervoor een reden aan te wijzen. „De Buginezen trouwen gemakkelijker dan wij"; „zij vinden silariang niet zo belangrijk"; in deze vorm werden de Buginese ideeën geformuleerd en vergeleken met de eigen ideeën op dit punt; wellicht is het lage percentage silarianghuwelijken een gevolg van het feit, dat de Makassaren deze ideeën althans voor een deel aanvaardden.

De huizen dezer kolonisten zijn kleiner en staan op lagere palen dan die hunner Buginese kamponggenoten; de wanden zijn vaak van atap terwijl de Buginezen houten of bambuwanden hebben; hun woningen maken dus als geheel een armelijke indruk vergeleken, zowel met die der Buginezen, als met die hunner familieleden in hun stamland. Het gemiddeld aantal bewoners van een huis is even lager dan dat in Bontoramba.

Evenals voor de Buginezen in het Makassaarse land vormt de gemeenschappelijke taal voor deze kolonisten een bindend element.

De band met de verwantengroep in het stamland is sterk. Huwelijken met nieuwe buurtgenoten zijn zeldzaam. De vererings-

	Totaal geregistreerde huizen	Totaal aantal individuen	Mannen	Vrouwen	Feesthuwelijken	Silariang huwelijken	Gehuwden zijn familieleden van elkaar	Gehuwden zijn geen familieleden van elkaar	Gemiddeld aantal individuen per huis	Plaats van herkomst	
Kape	25	133	80	53	27	1	19	9	5⅓	Galesong	7
										Lebakkang	10
										Pangkadjene	4
										Maros	4
Langa	28	165	85	80	22	7	26	3	5.9	Galesong	28
										Lebakkang	9
										Segeri	2
Paria	15	80	34	46	16	1	8	9	5⅓	Pangkadjene	1
										Maros	2
										Djeneponto	1
Totaal 1949 . .	68	378	199	179	65	9	53	21	5.56	.....	
Bontoramba . . 1948	129	787	382	405	105	27	104	28	6.1	.....	

gemeenschap is uiterst zwak; men blijft deelgenoot van de vereringsgemeenschap in het stamland. Het gemeenschappelijk wonen en werken op hetzelfde territoor legt banden tussen zijn bewoners. De band met de grond is zwak. De reeds aanwezige groepen hebben deze in bezit. In individuele gevallen is het mogelijk geweest voor een nieuwkomer om zich een stuk grond te verwerven; de meesten zijn wat hun grondbezit betreft ingesteld op hun stamland.

Taal en samenwoning zijn dus de factoren die — voorlopig — de integratie der kolonistengroepen bevorderen.

De vereringsgemeenschap.

De Makassaarse verwantengroep werd boven in eerste instantie omschreven als een verwantengroep, waarvan de leden op de daartoe bestemde plaatsen en tijden hun voorouders vereren.

Deelname aan de voorouderverering is in de eerste plaats aan verwantschap gebonden; dit brengt met zich mede, dat iemand wiens ouders bijv. geen familie van elkaar waren, en wiens beide grootouderparen ook geen familie van elkaar waren, en die dus tot vier verschillende verwantengroepen behoort, bij al die vier groepen aan de voorouderverering kan deelnemen. In de practijk doet een individu in de allereerste plaats mee met de verering van de groep waarbij hij woont. Maar hij kan zeer wel aan die van een zijner familieleden deelnemen, ook al verkeert hij niet dagelijks met hen; zijn keus wordt daarbij voor een belangrijk deel bepaald door het sociaal aanzien van die familieleden; er is een voorkeur aanwijsbaar om zich in rituele zaken te richten tot de vooraanstaande leden der verwantengroep.

Hier zullen thans eerst de voornaamste aspecten van het ritueel beschreven worden. Daarna kan dan op de overeenkomstigheden met het ornamentenritueel worden gewezen.

Essentialia van het ritueel.

In de rituele voorschriften is ondanks locale verschillen en ondanks persoonlijke inzichten van degeen, die het ritueel verricht — pinati [1]) genoemd — een grote eenheid aanwijsbaar. Een aantal ingrediënten treft men overal aan; als zodanig kunnen rijst, olie, wierook en water worden genoemd. Een aantal handelingen

[1]) Zie p. 62.

wordt in dezelfde volgorde steeds opnieuw verricht. Zij worden hier kort vermeld.

Door het omdoen van een witte hoofddoek maakt de pinati zich kenbaar als degeen die contact van de thans levenden met de voorouders tot stand wil brengen. Het werpen van rijst, meest in gepofte vorm (bente), over de offers, geschiedt omdat men gelooft dat rijst geluk aanbrengt. Met het olieflesje legt hij een kring van oliedruppels om de offers. Nadat hij wierook in een brandend wierookvat gedaan heeft, beschrijft hij daarmede dezelfde kring, en wel eerst driemaal tegen de wijzers van het uurwerk in en vervolgens eenmaal daarmee mee. Daarna legt hij de essentie van het offer, de „parappo" [1]), door hem zelve klaargemaakt, naast de offerschalen binnen de kring neer. Zowel de gepofte rijst als de parappo houdt hij ter reiniging steeds even boven het wierookvat, zodat hetgeen daar binnenkomt steeds zuiver is. Een denkbeeldige kring scheidt dus hetgeen met de voorouders in contact wordt gebracht van de rest van de wereld. De pinati legt dan enkele vingers van de rechterhand a.h.w. tegen die kring aan en prevelt enkele momenten. Daarmee is dit ritueel afgelopen.

Hetgeen gepreveld wordt houdt de pinati geheim. Daarnaast deelt hij steeds het feitelijk gebeuren aan de voorouders mede. Zo bij het planten: „Wij zijn hier gekomen om U mede te delen dat wij gaan planten; als wij goede oogst krijgen zullen wij het beste daarvan U aanbieden". Of bij het oogstfeest: „hier breng ik U het beste van mijn oogst".

De pinati.

De pinati van Bontoramba was een familielid van de Kapala. Hij stond om zijn persoonlijke eigenschappen in zijn verwantengroep hoog in aanzien, hij trad op als regelaar van huwelijken en had steeds een leidende rol bij de daaraan voorafgaande besprekingen over de onkosten van het feest enz. Hij kende het bruiloftslied en was een gewaardeerd onderkenner en genezer van ziekten, (sanro is de titel van zo'n functionaris). In al deze kwesties werd hij, op een enkele uitzondering na, alleen door de leden van de Kapalagroep te hulp geroepen. Hij had verder vanzelfsprekend de leiding bij het oogstfeest, dat voor het hele grond-

[1]) Zie p. 63.

gebied van Bontoramba gold en waaraan dus ook leden der andere groepen deelnamen. Hij onderscheidde zich in het gewone leven in kleding en uiterlijk niet van de andere Bontorambabewoners.

De essentie van hetgeen aangeboden wordt, de parappo, maakt hij zelf klaar. De verdere voorbereiding van het ritueel dat zeer gedetailleerd is, en veel tijd vraagt, wordt door de vrouwen uitgevoerd; zij zijn stuk voor stuk met rituele zaken beter op de hoogte dan de mannen. Het toebereiden der offers, het wijden van het water, dat bij het ritueel gebruikt zal worden, het wijden van de schalen en schotels waarvan gegeten zal worden, het zoeken van de bladeren van bepaalde voorgeschreven soort, die bij het ritueel nodig zijn, het maken van de „kaarsen" (kandjoli), het zijn alle evenzovele onderdelen van het ritueel die door vrouwen verzorgd worden. Het zijn ook geen werkzaamheden die een ieder kent. De namen der bladeren en de ordening der offers hebben een eigen betekenis; daarmee mag men zich niet vergissen. Een informant typeerde de verhouding eens door te zeggen „de Islam is de godsdienst der mannen, de voorouderverering die der vrouwen". Als er geen pinati aanwezig is, ziet men dus een der oudere vrouwen invallen. Bij kleine feestelijkheden die een gezin betreffen, verrichten vrouwen veelal zelf het ritueel; in gevallen dat de hele gemeenschap bij het feest betrokken is treedt de pinati op.

De parappo.

De parappo behoort tot het essentiële van hetgeen de voorouders aangeboden wordt. Het woord betekent: iets aanbieden of geven aan een hogere. Uiterlijk is de parappo een onaanzienlijk bundeltje van pisangblad, ter grootte van één à twee vuisten. De inhoud blijkt te bestaan uit sirihbladen die op verschillende manieren werden gevouwen; iedere manier van vouwen heeft zijn eigen naam (bijv.: poto, tontong lebong, putu rabing, kalomping). Steeds behoort bij ieder sirihblad een stukje pinangnoot en een likje kalk (paleo). De aantallen dezer blaren nu verschillen naar stand. In de familie van de Vorst van Goa vormt het getal 9 de grondslag van de parappo; [1]) in die van het Adatgemeenschaps-

[1]) Met het getal dat de grondslag van de parappo vormt, wordt bedoeld, dat een parappo in het ene geval bijv. uit 4 poto, 4 kalomping enz. bestaat en in het andere geval bijv. uit 6 poto, 6 kalomping enz.

hoofd 7; in die van de kampongmensen komen de getallen, 7, 6, 5 en 4 voor.

Per verwantengroep zijn verder enkele verschillen aanwijsbaar. Bij het ritueel op de sawah is het aantal blaren in sommige groepen iets lager dan bij een huwelijks- of ander familiefeest; 4 resp. 6 waren de aantallen in de Kapalagroep van Bontoramba. In enkele verwantengroepen werd verder een onderscheid tussen jongen en meisje opgemerkt; is het aantal der blaren voor een jongen 6 dan is het voor een meisje 7. [1]) Ook wordt verschil gemaakt tussen het offer, dat aan de voorouders op de zolder wordt aangeboden en hetgeen — ter gelegenheid van hetzelfde feest — te water gelaten wordt; 6 resp. 7 waren die aantallen bij een feest in de Kapalagroep.

De rojongzang.

De rojongzang vormt een ander belangrijk onderdeel van het ritueel. Oude vrouwen neuriën onverstaanbaar, monotoon de klanken; de woorden zijn hen vaak niet precies bekend. Het geschiedt bij huwelijksfeesten en andere belangrijke plechtigheden in de verwantengroep, en gaat gepaard met het slaan van trommen (ganrang), kleine bekkens (kantjing) en ijzeren staafjes (ana' battjing). De voor de oorlog in Borongloë opgenomen rojongzang ging verloren. De vrouw die mij haar gaf overkwam velerlei ongeluk; zij was niet bereid tot een herhaling.

Eetverbod.

In een enkele verwantengroep is, zij het zwak, het besef aanwezig dat de leden van een zelfde groep een zelfde diersoort niet mogen eten. [2]) In Goa is nog wel algemeen bekend, dat de leden der karaëngsgroep (de adel) het vlees van de witte karbouw niet mogen eten.

In de verwantengroep van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd van Borongloë leeft zwak het besef, dat men een bepaalde soort aal niet mag eten. Men vertelt ter verklaring hiervan een verhaal van de volgende inhoud. Een vrouw, die een verbod overtreden had, werd daarvoor gestraft met de opdracht om water uit de rivier in een mand naar een bepaalde plaats te transporteren. De mand hield

[1]) Deze getallen werden waargenomen bij enkele geboortefeesten.
[2]) Dr. Chr. Nooteboom wees mij in 1939 het eerst op dit verschijnsel.

echter geen water. Toen kwam er een aal, die in de mand rond kronkelde en aldus met het slijm van zijn huid de naden van de mand dichtte, waardoor de vrouw haar opdracht kon volvoeren. Uit dankbaarheid legde zij daarop de gelofte af, dat zij en haar nakomelingen de aal en diens nakomelingen niet zouden eten.

In de Kapalagroep noch in een der andere groepen in Bontoramba kon men echter een dergelijk verhaal produceren. Noch ook kon men een bepaald dier dat door een aantal verwanten niet gegeten mocht worden, noemen.

Pantasa'.

Op de zolders der Makassaarse huizen treft men herhaaldelijk een pantasa' (lett.: ledikant) aan; het is een huisje op palen, in totaal 70 à 100 cm hoog, met klambustof behangen; het heeft een kleine naar voren gerichte opgang naar het huis (sapana), zoals alleen de adel heeft; in dit huisje ziet men een klein kussen en een matje liggen.

Verzorging dezer pantasa' houdt voornamelijk in, dat er iedere Donderdagavond bij zonsondergang (malang Djuma') een kaars bij brandt, en dat steeds een met water gevuld glas, een schaaltje met sirihpinang en een kommetje water voor handwassing, zoals bij ieder eten gebruikelijk is, gereed staat. Men meent, dat de voorouders (pattautoaang) hier neerdalen, en men zorgt er dus voor dat, hetgeen men gewend is om een geëerd gast aan te bieden, hier steeds aanwezig is.

In of bij die pantasa' vindt men een kleine gesloten mand (baku paballe, lett.: medicijnmand); daarin worden enkele bij het ritueel behorende voorwerpen bewaard. Naast de pantasa' treft men verder in enkele gevallen een grote openstaande mand (salosso) aan; daarin worden de grotere rituele voorwerpen bewaard.

Men vertelt, dat vroeger bijna alle huizen hun pantasa' hadden, maar dat de Nederlandse troepen er in 1905 vele kapot maakten, omdat daarbij bloedoffers gebracht werden, die steeds nieuw verzet tot gevolg hadden. Men vertelt verder dat propagandisten van de vereniging Muhammadijah tegen deze pantasa' ageerden, zodat vele mensen geen nieuwe meer maakten als de oude kapot was.

In 1949 stond in 17 van de 133 huizen van de kampong Bontoramba een pantasa'. 10 in de 81 huizen van de Kapalagroep; 2 in de 19 huizen van de Mangenregroep en 5 in de 33 huizen van de

Restgroep. Meerdere van deze waren kennelijk nieuw, d.w.z. één of slechts enkele jaren geleden gemaakt. In 5 huizen werd een grote staande mand (salosso) met rituele voorwerpen aangetroffen.

Behalve pantasa' ziet men op de huiszolders z.g.n. „andja'". Een andja' is een plaats om het offer op te leggen dat men aan wil bieden; het is een hangend bambubakje zonder opstaande randen. Bij dezelfde telling bleek dat in de 133 huizen van Bontoramba 38 andja' aanwezig waren, die als volgt over de 3 groepen verdeeld waren: 30 in de 81 huizen van de Kapalagroep, geen één in de 19 huizen van de Mangenregroep, en 8 in de 33 huizen van de Restgroep.

Iemand die een offer wil brengen maakt nu in het algemeen meer dan 1 parappo klaar; 3 of 4 is gebruikelijk; één vrouw verklaarde, dat zij er wel 12 klaarmaakte. Men brengt de andere dan naar de pantasa' of andja' van de familieleden, die naar men meent daarvoor in aanmerking komen. Slechts enkele van de familieleden, die een pantasa' in huis hebben krijgen dus een parappo. Dit is volgens de mededelingen afhankelijk van hetgeen de voorouders daaromtrent hebben voorgeschreven. Een Makassaar spreekt de reden waarom hij enkele familieleden wel en andere niet met een parappo bedenkt, ongaarne uit. Men kan echter constateren, dat parappo bij voorkeur gebracht worden naar de huizen dergenen, die men om hun persoonlijke eigenschappen apprecieert. En meestal blijken dit in de verwantengroep algemeen geapprecieerde persoonlijkheden te zijn; zij zijn degenen die de meeste goederen weten te verzamelen, wier raad gaarne gevraagd, wier pitjuru [1]) gaarne ontvangen wordt, en met wie men bij voorkeur huwelijksrelaties aanknoopt.

Zo zijn er in iedere verwantengroep enkele personen aanwijsbaar, op wie zich de belangstelling der andere verwanten concentreert. Deze leidende persoonlijkheden streven er enerzijds naar om onderling huwelijksbanden te leggen, anderzijds pogen zij de overhand over elkaar te krijgen. De bilaterale verwantengroep kan dus moeilijk als eenheid optreden. Het voorouderritueel, in zijn boven beschreven vormen, houdt de onderlinge tegenstrijdigheden binnen de verwantengroep slechts in stand.

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[1]) Zie p. 177.

De vereringsgemeenschap bij het ornament.

Kooreman [1]) nam waar, dat groepen Makassaren, die op een bepaald territoor bijeenwoonden, een bepaald voorwerp, dat hij ornament noemde, vereerden. In de literatuur na hem noemt men deze gemeenschappen wel ornamentsschappen; men beschouwt ze als territoriale eenheden. Nooteboom vatte later Kooremans omschrijvingen samen. Hij sprak van „voorwerpen van uiterlijk zeer willekeurig karakter, die door een bepaalde menschengemeenschap worden vereerd en als heilig beschouwd". [2]) In 1940 meende ik het verband tussen ornament en voorouders te kunnen aangeven door te stellen, dat de voorouderverering zich vaak aan een ornament hechtte. [3]) Als de „bepaalde gemeenschap" van Nooteboom werd toen de familiegroep beschouwd. Thans zal gepoogd worden de verhouding van ornament en voorouderverering nader te bepalen.

Het ornament van Borongloë wordt bewaard op de zolder van de woning van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd. Het is een oude vlag, waarop een haan staat afgebeeld; de vlag wordt, in een witte doek gewikkeld, in een gesloten mandje in het voorouderhuisje (pantasa') bewaard.

De verering die bij dit ornament plaats heeft, komt op alle belangrijke punten met de bovenbeschreven voorouderverering overeen. De ingrediënten en de gang van het ritueel zijn dezelfde. De parappo heeft er een zelfde taak en een soortgelijke samenstelling; rojongzang en rituele voorwerpen vinden er een gelijksoortige toepassing. Ook hier is de gehele voorbereiding in handen der vrouwen, en treedt de pinati op bij de uitvoering van het ritueel, waar dit de hele groep en niet enkele verwanten betreft. De tomanurungmythe van Borongloë, door Friedericy met eigen woorden weergegeven, komt op de belangrijke punten met die van Bontoramba overeen. Op de heilige plaats van Borongloë, waar het ritueel bij de belangrijkste gebeurtenissen voor de groep plaats heeft, vindt men steen, saukang (offerhuisje) en bomen opnieuw bijeen.

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[1]) P. J. Kooreman: De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden. Indische Gids, 1883, p. 143 e.v.

[2]) Chr. Nooteboom: Naar aanleiding van de Rijksraden in Zuid-Celebes. K. T. 1937, p. 168.

[3]) H. Th. Chabot: Over de Makassaarsche samenleving en een erfrechtelijke kwestie. T. B. G. 1940, p. 325 e.v.

Degenen die het ornament vereren, vormen te zamen de „vereringsgemeenschap". Het ornament van Borongloë nu wordt vereerd in de eerste plaats door het Adatgemeenschapshoofd en zijn verwanten; ook verwanten die buiten de adatgemeenschap wonen nemen daar soms aan deel. In de tweede plaats nemen volgelingen en slaven van het hoofd en zijn verwanten aan het ritueel deel; in de derde plaats zijn andere onderdanen die op het adatgemeenschapsterritoor wonen en in de vierde plaats degenen die buiten Borongloë wonen, geen familie van het hoofd zijn, maar om een andere reden daaraan mee willen doen.

In de practijk vormen de beide eerste categorieën kwantitatief bezien, steeds het grootste contingent bij de feesten. De derde categorie zou daarbij het talrijkst moeten zijn, maar hier volstaat men met vertegenwoordiging. Het kamponghoofd vertegenwoordigt zijn kampong. Bij alle belangrijke feesten van Borongloë zijn dus alle kamponghoofden aanwezig. Zij zenden eventueel bericht van verhindering of een waarnemer.

Op analoge wijze wordt het ornament van Goa vereerd, door ten eerste de familieleden van de Vorst, onafhankelijk van het feit of zij in Goa wonen; ten tweede door de volgelingen en slaven van de Vorst en van zijn familieleden; ten derde door alle (andere) onderdanen van de Vorst binnen Goa woonachtig; deze groep wordt in de eerste plaats bedoeld, als men zegt dat „het gehele volk van Goa" aanwezig was bij een feest dat geacht wordt heel Goa aan te gaan; bij dergelijke feesten zijn de hoofden der adatgemeenschappen aanwezig ter vertegenwoordiging van hun gebied; door, ten vierde, diegene die hoewel geen familie van de Vorst, en buiten Goa woonachtig, toch aan het feest deel willen nemen.

De vereringsgroep is dus groter naarmate het ornament in een machtiger verwantengroep zijn plaats vond. De ornamenten van de machtigste landschappen als Bone, Luwu en Goa genieten in heel Zuid-Celebes verering.

Het ligt in de lijn der verwachtingen, dat nu de landschappen van Zuid-Celebes sinds 1948 een federatie vormen, het bestuur daarvan in de handen van een besturende Raad (Hadat Tinggi) gelegd is, en de Vorsten van Bone en Goa resp. Voorzitter en Vice Voorzitter van dat college zijn geworden, de verering van de ornamenten dier beide rijken in de hele daërah naar rato zal toenemen.

In de adatgemeenschap Borongloë zijn behalve het ornament van het hoofd nog twee andere ornamenten bekend. Voor een Adatgemeenschapshoofd vormt een ornament binnen zijn gebied een potentiële bedreiging. Alleen een verwantengroep, die een ornament heeft, heeft practisch de mogelijkheid om als eenheid naar buiten op te treden. En ornament is in het algemeen in het bezit van een verwantengroep, die in vroeger tijden een sterker machtspositie had dan thans. Verhalen over de oude glorietijd blijven voortleven, en iedere jonge generatie wacht zijn kans af om de oude machtspositie te heroveren.

De genoemde beide ornamenten treft men aan in de kampongs Borongrappo en Bontoa.

In Borongrappo wonen de verwanten van een vorig Adatgemeenschapshoofd van Borongloë, dat in 1916 werd afgezet. Zij behielden hun ornament. De opvolger, de vader van het huidige hoofd, was verwant aan de Borongrappogroep; hij behoorde tevens tot een groep die een eigen ornament bezat; dit laatste werd bij zijn verheffing het ornament van heel Borongloë. In 1939 had hierbij een z.g.n. reinigingsritueel plaats en bij die gelegenheid werd het ornament van Borongrappo naar dat van Borongloë toegebracht. In het ritueel werd daarbij de feitelijke onderschikking van het eerste aan het laatste kenbaar gemaakt.

De verwantengroep te Bontoa heeft zich in de woelige tijden van 1946—1947 achter het Adatgemeenschapshoofd geschaard. Als teken van gunst, tevens een teken van onderschikking, zijn de wapenen van de mannen van Borongloë voor de strijd bij dat ornament op rituele wijze met bloed bestreken.

De geschiedenis van deze verwantengroep en zijn ornament is niet duidelijk geworden. [1])

[1]) Mondelinge overleveringen zijn steeds fragmentarisch. Iedere verwantengroep telt slechts enkele mannen of vrouwen, die iets van de geschiedenis van hun familie weten; hun kennis beperkt zich echter tot enkele gebeurtenissen, en dat zijn dan alleen degene die de grootheid der verwantengroep bewijzen. Een geregeld verhaal is nooit te krijgen. Alleen in een concrete moeilijke situatie vertelt een der vooraanstaande leden der groep hoe in een gelijksoortige situatie vroeger de oplossing luidde en dus hoe z.i. thans de verhoudingen gezien en de moeilijkheden opgelost zouden moeten worden. De verteller kiest daarbij zijn woorden zo gewoon en gemakkelijk, dat duidelijk is, dat hij zich niet aan een bepaalde text of zelfs aan details gebonden acht; men krijgt eerder de indruk dat hij improviseert, en aan de hand van enkele gegevens de huidige toestand belicht, zoals hem dat voor zijn groep op dat moment het beste schijnt; tevens blijkt hij volledig overtuigd van de „objectieve" juistheid zijner weergave.

De leden dezer beide vereringsgemeenschappen zijn de leden der locale verwantengroep, enkele familieleden buiten de kampong-grens woonachtig, een enkele volgeling en een hoogst enkele slaaf en eventueel nog een vreemde, die zich om een bepaalde reden bij de verering aansluit.

Ornamenten zijn dus in rijk, adatgemeenschap en kampong waarneembaar. Nergens is de vereringsgemeenschap van een ornament vast af te grenzen. Hoe groter de feitelijke macht van een verwantengroep, hoe groter de vereringsgemeenschap bij het ornament dier groep blijkt te zijn.

De verhouding tussen de ornamenten onderling vormen een afspiegeling van de feitelijke machtsverhouding der verwantengroepen. Twee gelegenheden waarbij dit waarneembaar was, worden hier vermeld.

1. Bij de rituele „reiniging van het land" (akawarru butta) die in Borongloë een aantal jaren voor de tweede wereldoorlog voor het laatst plaats had, voerden het hoofd met zijn familieleden en volgelingen, het ornament van Borongloë door de verschillende kampongs der adatgemeenschap. In iedere kampong werd overnacht, een karbouw geslacht, feest gevierd en bij het ornament geofferd. In de kampongs waar men een ornament bezat, bracht men de onderschikking hiervan t.o.v. dat van Borongloë in het ritueel tot uiting. Deze feestelijkheden versterkten het saamhorigheidsgevoel binnen de adatgemeenschap en verhoogden door de daarbij tentoongespreide rijkdom het aanzien van Borongloë zowel in eigen als in anderer ogen.

2. Enige dagen voor de inhuldiging van de nieuwe Vorst van Goa in 1947 ontmoetten de ornamenten van Goa en Borongloë elkaar op een bepaalde in Borongloë gelegen plaats, Tamarunang geheten. Aan deze plaats is de volgende mythe verbonden.

1. Pau-pauanna Tamarunang.	Het verhaal van Tamarunang.
2. Riolo, riwattu erona appare' kota Karaëngnga ri Goa,	Lang geleden, toen de Vorst van Goa een fort wilde bouwen,
3. nanrai' assuro angngalle batu ri binangaja ri Songkolo.	beval hij zijn mensen het binnenland in te gaan om in de rivier bij Songkolo stenen te halen.

4. Naandjo tau angngallea batu narasai naalle batu aganna Barugaja ri Songkolo.	En de mensen die die stenen haalden, namen toen per ongeluk een steen mee net zo als er bij de Baruga van Songkolo [1]) ligt.
5. Le'baki nabonei rakina batu, narasatommi napanai' andjo batua;	Toen zij hun vlot met stenen laadden, hebben zij die steen per ongeluk ook ingeladen;
6. nanampa naluraṅg kalau',	en vervolgens voeren zij weer terug,
7. ero'na erang kalau' ri kota napareka Karaēnga ri Goa.	de rivier af, met de bedoeling die steen naar het fort te brengen dat door de Vorst gebouwd werd.
8. Naandjo parakika narapina Pakua tudjunna wara' pammantanganna kammakammanne, rakika tea sikali alolo,	Maar toen de vlotvoerder bij Pakua kwam, dat ten Noorden van de huidige ligplaats van de steen gelegen is, toen wilde het vlot niet alleen absoluut niet verder,
9. sanggennandjo rakika tabbuli-bulinta, naandjo batua tenatodong nakkulle tuguru'.	maar kantelde het zelfs om; de steen wilde er echter niet af.
10. Siapa sallona andjo rakika tabbuli-bulinta, andjo batua nampa tommi alolo kale-kale nai' ri pammantanganna kammakammanne.	Enige tijd nadat het vlot gekanteld was, begon die steen uit zichzelf naar zijn huidige ligplaats toe te kruipen.
11. Djari battunamo nai' andjo batua, nampa tommi ero' alolo andjo rakika kalau'.	En toen die steen daar aangekomen was, toen pas wilde het vlot verder de rivier afvaren.

[1]) Een baruga (Zie Matthes: Woordenboek p. 195) is een feestloods. Op de plaats, die als „de baruga van Songkolo" wordt aangeduid, is echter thans geen feestloods aanwezig. De steen die daar ligt is tegenwoordig de investituursteen van Borongloë.

12. Saba' nitjini' naandjo buata appakamma, naia battuna nai', nia' ngassemmi taua battu antjiniki nani-passamaturukimo ri tau djaia niareng Tamarunang.	En omdat men gezien had, wat die steen deed, waren alle mensen, toen hij op zijn ligplaats aangekomen was, gekomen om naar hem te kijken, en al die mensen waren het er over eens, dat hij de „niet van het vlot afvallende (Tamarunang) genoemd moest worden.

De naamsverklaring is duidelijk. Daarnaast vindt men de verhouding van Tamarunang tot Songkolo en tot Goa aangegeven.

In gesprekken, in 1948 gevoerd, over de betekenis van deze ontmoeting der ornamenten, legde men er van de zijde van de Vorst de nadruk op, dat hierin de onderschikking van Borongloë aan Goa tot uiting was gekomen. Voor het overige stelde men de kwestie als onbelangrijk voor. Van de kant van Borongloë verklaarde het hoofd, dat d.m.v. dit ritueel Borongloë aan Goa de steun had gegeven, zonder welke dit land beschouwd zou worden als ten zeerste te zijn verzwakt.

Indien men de steen in de mythe als een symbool van Borongloë zou willen opvatten, dan wordt hier de zelfstandigheid van Borongloë tegenover Goa duidelijk voor ogen gesteld.[1])

Een verwantengroep zonder ornament blijkt slechts een geringe feitelijke macht uit te kunnen oefenen. De oppositieverhouding van de vooraanstaande leden dier groep onderling, schijnt de belangrijkste reden daarvan te zijn.

De binnen een verwantengroep bestaande tegenstellingen tussen de vooraanstaande leden der groep worden, waar een ornament aanwezig is, niet opgeheven; zij treden slechts in een aantal gevallen achter de eenheid terug. Waar de locale verhoudingen er aanleiding toe geven, komen die tegenstellingen, eventueel met nog groter scherpte, naar voren. De broederstrijd van Sidenreng is daarvan een klassiek voorbeeld. [2])

Waar een ornament is, is soms de tendentie aanwijsbaar van twee verwantengroepen om tot een te worden. Een voorbeeld diene ter verduidelijking.

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[1]) De verteller was de Kapala van Bontoramba.
[2]) Zie p. 121, 122.

Het vroegere, in 1916 nog jonge, Adatgemeenschapshoofd behoorde tot twee verwantengroepen die resp. in Borongrappo en in Parang Banua bijeenwoonden. Toen hij in dat jaar hoofd werd, beschouwden de leden van beide groepen zich gaarne als zijn familieleden. Hij was voor beide een zeer vooraanstaand familielid, tot wie zij zich bij voorkeur richtten met een verzoek om hulp en op wiens feesten zij zich gaarne vertoonden. De kampong Parang Banua waar het nieuwe hoofd aanvankelijk woonde, is door de Djene'berangrivier van de rest van de adatgemeenschap gescheiden; de verbinding erheen was moeilijk. Op aandrang van het Bestuur verhuisde hij met enige volgelingen en familieleden uit Parang Banua naar de aan Borongrappo grenzende kampong Borongkaluku. Successievelijk volgden anderen.

Het Adatgemeenschapshoofd zelf noemde een 30-tal jaren later met zekere trots al de bewoners van de drie kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo en Parang Banua, zijn familieleden. Hij liet zijn kinderen met familieleden althans uit twee dezer trouwen.

Tussen de verwantengroepen van Borongrappo en Borongkaluku is in de loop der jaren een aantal huwelijken gesloten. Er is geregeld onderling verkeer. Enkele huizen van mensen van Borongkaluku zijn al dicht bij die van Borongrappo gebouwd. Een geïntegreerde verwantengroep is echter niet ontstaan. Het feit dat de Borongrappogroep zijn eigen ornament behield, is daarvan waarschijnlijk een der voornaamste redenen.

De groep te Borongkaluku, die aanvankelijk een eenheid met die van Parang Banua vormde, vertoont duidelijk de tendentie een groep apart om het Adatgemeenschapshoofd te gaan vormen. De Djene'berangrivier, die het onderling verkeer bemoeilijkt bevordert de afscheidingstendentie. Er zijn daarnaast tekenen die erop wijzen dat er prijs op wordt gesteld om de bestaande banden te handhaven. Het geregeld onderling sluiten van huwelijken is daarvan een voorbeeld. De band met de doden is een ander. Er is reeds een aantal mensen te Borongkaluku overleden en begraven. Maar het thans oude Adatgemeenschapshoofd heeft al gezegd, dat hij in Parang Banua begraven wil worden, dichtbij de plaats waar ook zijn ouders en ooms liggen.

Een ornament in statu nascendi.

In de pantasa' in het huis van de Kapala van Bontoramba bevindt

zich, gewikkeld in een vuil witte doek, een ruw gesneden houten beeldje van omstreeks 25 cm hoogte. De vader van de huidige Kapala had dit zelf gesneden en aan zijn zoon overhandigd, zoals deze vertelde. Het werd mij met een zekere eerbied maar toch ook met een zekere verlegenheid getoond. Van een verering door de verwanten van de Kapala bleek niets. Er was geen tomanurung-mythe aan verbonden. Wat is nu de betekenis van dit beeldje, dat op deze zo belangrijke plaats bewaard wordt?

Er werd reeds op gewezen dat de Kapalagroep een jonge maar reeds goed geïntegreerde verwantengroep is. De band met Pakatto is aanwijsbaar, maar zwak.

Kooreman schreef al, dat het aannemen van verovering als een der voornaamste oorzaken van het ontstaan van rijken, onverenigbaar is met het federatief bestuursbeginsel, dat men daarin aantreft. [1]) Hij meende, dat men die oorzaak eerder zal moeten zoeken in een vrijwillige toetreding tot een federatie en onderwerping aan het gezag van een Tomanurung. „Men meene niet, dat de tijd van de Tomanoeroeng's voorbij is", schreef hij in 1883. [2])

Na de onderwerping van de Vorsten van Zuid-Celebes in 1905 was die tijd echter wel voorbij. Tomanurungs werden als bedriegers of rustverstoorders opgevat. Zij kregen niet meer de kans om een federatie tot stand te brengen. Daarmee verdween echter niet het geloof in de Tomanurungs.

Het schijnt, dat de Kapala van Bontoramba rekening houdt met de mogelijkheid van het optreden van een Tomanurung, die zijn thans reeds goed geïntegreerde groep te zamen met enkele naburige groepen tot een federatie zal verenigen. De groep waaruit het ornament der federatie afkomstig is, zal daarin vanzelfsprekend de leiding hebben. De Kapala is hierop voorbereid. Het beeld is a.h.w. een ornament in statu nascendi.

De heilige plek van Borongloë.

Vijf minuten gaans van het hoofdenhuis ligt in een klein bosschage de z.g.n. „Platte Steen" (batu lappara') van Borongloë. [3]) Daarop

[1]) Zie Kooreman, t.a.p. pagina 194.
[2]) Zie Kooreman, t.a.p. pagina 193.
[3]) Velen noemen de steen: batu napara', hetgeen volgens Matthes' woordenboek (p. 635) betekent „een gladde steen onder in het water, als 't ware een steen die plat uitgestrekt is".

stond volgens de mythe het voorouderpaar van de verwantengroep van het huidige hoofd, op het moment, dat het zijn laatste mededelingen aan het volk deed, om vervolgens ten hemel te varen. [1])

Toen ik in 1939 voor het eerst in Borongloë kwam, stond een bouwvallig hutje over die steen heen gebouwd. Omstreeks die zelfde tijd schijnt van de zijde van de vereniging Muhammadijah aanmerking op deze „steenverering" gemaakt te zijn. Kort daarop bouwden mensen van Borongloë onder leiding van het hoofd der adatgemeenschap en de oude Imang een nieuwe optrek.

De steen is van boven plat. Van boven bekeken bedraagt de grootste lengte omstreeks 60 cm en de grootste breedte omstreeks 40 cm. Hij steekt overal 2 à 3 cm boven de grond uit. Tegelijk met de verbouwing werd nu aan weerskanten van de platte steen, in het verlengde van de lengteas, op een onderlinge afstand van omstreeks 80 cm. een puntige steen geplaatst; deze beide stenen staken ieder omstreeks 15 cm boven de grond uit; zij maken in combinatie met de steen beschouwd, op een bezoeker de indruk van afgesleten mesans. Het hoofd deelde desgevraagd mede, dat zich hier een graf bevond; wiens graf kon hij niet met zekerheid meedelen.

De bedoeling van de plaatsing der beide stenen schijnt duidelijk. Uiterlijk maakte de steenverering plaats voor een grafverering; aan de eisen van de moderne tijd was hierdoor dus tegemoet gekomen.

Op deze steen stonden de beide laatste Adatgemeenschapshoofden van Borongloë op het hoogtepunt van hun inhuldigingsfeest; daar namen zij de eden van trouw (aru) van enkelen hunner Kapala en volgelingen in ontvangst.

Vlak bij de steen is een huisje (saukang) gebouwd. Het staat op palen; de vloer vormt een rechthoek van één bij anderhalve meter; de wanden zijn van doorzichtig gevlochten bambu. Een vijfde paal steekt in het midden van de vloer daar doorheen en houdt omstreeks 30 cm. boven de vloer op. Dit noemt men de afgeknotte huispaal (benteng polong). Steen en saukang horen bijeen. Bij iedere gelegenheid dat er geofferd wordt, legt men

[1]) Friedericy geeft deze mythe in zijn proefschrift met eigen woorden weer. Zie aldaar, p. 506 e.v.

een parappo zowel bij de afgeknotte huispaal als bij de platte steen. [1])

Op deze plek werd ter gelegenheid van het inhuldigingsfeest van het nieuwe Adatgemeenschapshoofd het ornament van Borongloë, de vlag, ontrold en aan het volk getoond. Ook het jaarlijkse grote oogstfeest van Borongloë heeft hier plaats.

Borongloë heeft een eigen ornamentssawah; die is hier echter voor het ritueel van minder belang dan elders wel het geval is. In andere adatgemeenschappen of in rijken wordt de ornamentssawah ieder jaar als eerste in de gemeenschap met extra ritueel beploegd; daarna is het pas toegestaan om de andere in die gemeenschap gelegen sawahs te bewerken. Tot die datum is ook, zegt men elders, het inlossen van een verpande sawah geoorloofd; wie daarna komt moet wachten tot na de volgende oogst.

Een samenvatting van het bovenstaande geeft het volgend resultaat.

Onder vereringsgemeenschap wordt verstaan een groep mensen die aan een zelfde voorouderritueel deelneemt.

Ieder individu heeft zijn eigen voorouders. Verwanten hebben gemeenschappelijke voorouders. Verwanten kunnen dus aan elkaars ritueel deelnemen.

Waar geen ornament aanwezig is, zijn binnen een verwantengroep steeds meerdere vereringsgemeenschappen aanwijsbaar. De grenzen daarvan zijn vaag. Een individu kan aan het ritueel in meerdere gemeenschappen deelnemen. Een vereringsgemeenschap groepeert zich om een individu, dat door zijn persoonlijke eigenschappen een vooraanstaande plaats in de verwantengroep inneemt. Na diens dood valt die groepering weer uiteen; de leden sluiten zich ieder naar eigen keuze bij anderen aan. Er is geen continuïteit.

Tussen de vooraanstaande leden van een verwantengroep bestaat steeds een oppositionele verhouding, die door de vereringsgemeenschappen slechts versterkt wordt. Er bestaat geen mogelijkheid voor zo'n verwantengroep om naar buiten een duurzame krachtige eenheid te vormen.

Een verwantengroep met een ornament is sterker geïntegreerd.

[1]) Als het ritueel van de verwantengroep van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd uitgaat, is het basisgetal van de parappo in de saukang 7 en dat van de andere 9.

Waar een ornament is, is een vereringsgemeenschap aanwijsbaar, die behalve een verwantengroep nog een aantal mensen omvat. De omvang van deze gemeenschap is echter evenmin ooit precies aan te geven.

Het is dus onzeker wie te zamen de vereringsgemeenschap bij een ornament vormen. Nooteboom's boven weergegeven omschrijving van een ornament zou dus vereenvoudigd kunnen worden. Een ornament is een voorwerp, dat door een gemeenschap van mensen vereerd wordt.

Naast deze vereringsgemeenschap, zijn in een verwantengroep, die zich om een ornament beweegt, nog een aantal uiterst zwakke, kleine vereringsgemeenschappen aanwijsbaar. Zij omvatten niet meer dan één of enkele huishoudens. Hun leden richten zich voor gezins- of huishoudelijke aangelegenheden tot de eigen voorouders in de eigen pantasa'. Zij kunnen zich daarnaast ook steeds richten tot de voorouders die bij het ornament vereerd worden.

Ornamenten zijn ook in handen van gewone kampongmensen. De rijkssieraden zijn dus niet „inhaerent aan de vorstelijke waardigheid" [1])

De vorstelijke waardigheid is evenmin „slechts weggelegd voor hen, die van het zuiverste bloed zijn". [1]) Dan zou het afstammingsprincipe volledig overheersen en dat is niet het geval.

Een ornament behoort in handen te zijn van het groepslid met het zuiverste bloed en de beste persoonlijke eigenschappen. Van degeen, die het ornament in handen heeft gelooft men dus, dat hij het zuiverste bloed en de beste persoonlijke eigenschappen heeft, totdat anders blijkt.

Iemand die de beste persoonlijke eigenschappen toont te bezitten, is dus volgens Makassaars idee, van hoog bloed.

Een Vorst wordt geacht die persoonlijke eigenschappen in hoogste potentie te bezitten. Zij komen echter niet steeds tot uitdrukking.

Een ornament versterkt de eenheid der groep. Het bevordert tevens de continuïteit dezer eenheid. Een doorbreking, op grond van persoonlijke eigenschappen moet echter in het licht van het bovenstaande steeds mogelijk geacht worden.

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[1]) Zie Friedericy, t.a.p. pagina 501.

HOOFDSTUK II.

STAND.

De Makassaars-Buginese maatschappij staat in de ethnologische literatuur bekend als een standenmaatschappij. Friedericy [1]) besluit tot een indeling in twee standen, de adel en het volk. Daarnaast vermeldt hij het bestaan van tussenstanden, hoofdenstanden en slaven. De verwantengroepen waaruit deze maatschappij is opgebouwd blijven bij hem op de achtergrond. Uitgaande van hetgeen hier thans van bekend is, zal nu eerst de verhouding van verwantschap en stand worden aangegeven. Enkele inleidende opmerkingen gaan daaraan vooraf.

Het gehele Makassaars-Buginese land is, zoals reeds gezegd, opgedeeld in landschappen. De Vorst, die aan het hoofd van een landschap staat, behoort tot een bilaterale verwantengroep, die een stand apart vormt, de adel. De leden dezer groep worden karaëngs genoemd; zij wonen in hoofdzaak bijeen in enkele aan elkaar grenzende kampongs en vormen een goed geïntegreerde groep. Zij onderscheiden zich van de andere in hun landschap woonachtige verwantengroepen doordat hun gemeenschappelijke afstamming naar algemeen besef hoger is dan die der andere groepen. Dit besef komt o.m. tot uiting in de omgangsvormen met de lageren, het volk, dat met de term tau samara' (lett.: gewone mensen) aangeduid wordt.

Men kan niet zeggen, dat de adel zich van de lagere verwantengroepen onderscheidt door een bepaald ritueel of door het gebruik van een ander speciaal kenmerk [2]), want alle verwantengroepen onderscheiden zich van hun omgeving door zo'n bijzonderheid. Iedere verwantengroep is zich daar zeer wel van bewust en de leden beroemen zich er ook op. Daarnaast kan men constateren, dat de karaëngsgroep meer van deze speciale kenmerken bezit dan de andere groepen; en verder, dat zij het gebruik hunner eigen kenmerken in sommige gevallen aan de leden der andere groepen verbiedt en dat zij de macht heeft om aan dat verbod de hand

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[1]) H. J. Friedericy: De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië. 1933. Deel 90 IV, p. 582.
[2]) Zie voor de term „specialities", R. Linton: The study of man, p. 272 e.v.

te houden. De speciale kenmerken der adel dienen als standsprerogatieven.

Tussen de lageren onderling geeft dit zelden aanleiding tot moeilijkheden, omdat in de meeste gevallen niemand er prijs op stelt om een speciaal kenmerk van een willekeurige andere groep over te nemen.

De adellijke verwantengroepen, die in de respectievelijke landschappen wonen, zijn, evenmin als de niet-adellijke, volledig endogaam. Huwelijken tussen de leden dezer groepen, die dus in twee of meer verschillende landschappen wonen, komen geregeld voor. Hierin gedraagt de adellijke verwantengroep zich gelijk de lageren.

De verwantengroep van de Vorst vormt een goed geïntegreerde groep, welks streven er binnen het landschap op gericht is om de bestaande machtsverhoudingen te handhaven. Friedericy verzamelde zijn materiaal in de kringen van de adel. Het beeld, dat hij van de standenorganisatie geeft, is in vele opzichten het beeld, dat men van de samenleving krijgt, indien men deze beziet door de bril van de adel. Hij legt dus sterk de nadruk op de kenmerken die de adel van de andere groepen onderscheidt, en op de „tussenstanden" met de bijbehorende termen. Een dezer termen is ana' tjera'; hiermee duidt men in adellijke kringen een kind aan, geboren uit het huwelijk van een man van adel met een vrouw uit het volk.

Stand en verwantschap vallen bij de adel voor een groot deel samen. Iemand van het volk kan in de adel slechts via verwantschap, dat wil dus zeggen via inhuwelijking, opgenomen worden. Inhuwelijking heeft echter niet direct volledige opname ten gevolge; termen als ana' tjera' reguleren die. Daardoor kan opname pas na verloop van generaties plaats hebben. Deze termen hoort men dus alleen gebruiken in de hoogste stand. Zij hebben een denigrerende gevoelswaarde. Onder het volk hoort men ze nooit. Een kind uit een menghuwelijk is voor hen iemand met adellijk bloed, ook nog na twee à drie generaties; zo iemand bezit door dit „bloed" alleen al aanzien.

Leden der lagere verwantengroepen, die dus van de kant van de adel bezien één geheel vormen, zijn zich onderling van hun eenheid niet bewust. Iedere Makassaar acht zijn eigen verwantengroep hoger dan die uit zijn omgeving. Hij wil zich steeds opnieuw

boven een als even hoger beschouwde groep in die omgeving, verheffen. Er is in alle verwantengroepen een constant streven naar hoger waar te nemen, zonder dat dit in een sociale hiërarchie vastgelegd werd. De groepen staan dus steeds in een oppositieverhouding tot elkaar. Iedere groep poogt enerzijds de andere te overheersen en anderzijds niet door de ander overheerst te worden.

Deze groepen vormen ook niet een „social class" in de betekenis die Ogburn en Nimkoff daaraan hechten. Men kan van de „gewone mensen" niet steeds zeggen dat zij „meet on equal terms" dan wel dat zij „essentially the same social status" [1]) hebben. Men kan dus van te voren nooit zeggen of twee individuen samen mogen huwen, want dat zou een zekere gelijkheid impliceren; op zijn minst betekent het, dat de man niet lager is dan zijn a.s. vrouw. De onzekerheid omtrent de „stand" van ieder individu is duidelijk.

Indien men als vreemdeling aan iemand uit deze groepen vraagt tot welke stand hij behoort, raakt hij in verlegenheid. Hij denkt niet aan de mogelijkheid dat bedoeld wordt, hem van de adel te onderscheiden, en m.b.t. zijn omgeving kan hij geen stand aangeven, omdat er geen sociale hiërarchie met vaste standskenmerken bestaat. Hij kan zijn stand slechts bij benadering aangeven door op zijn verwantengroep te wijzen; daarmee is echter nog niets gezegd over de mogelijkheid van een toekomstig huwelijk. Dit hangt verder af van zijn persoonlijke eigenschappen en uiteindelijk van de waardering van zijn positie op een bepaald moment. Iemands stand is hier niet meer dan de mogelijkheid om op een bepaald moment een bepaald huwelijk te sluiten.

Friedericy heeft aan zijn beschrijving der standen en hun onderlinge verhouding een verklaring van hun ontstaan verbonden. Hij meende aan te kunnen tonen, dat de standenorganisatie uit een exogame fratriegroepering ontstond. Zijn theorie is het eerst voorgedragen door de Josselin de Jong. Deze heeft een dergelijke structuurverandering bij de Natchez kunnen aanwijzen; standen ontwikkelden zich daar uit clans. [2])

De ideeën over het ontstaan der standen zijn sindsdien weinig

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[1]) W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff: A handbook of sociology. London, 1947, p. 210 e.v.

[2]) J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong: The Natchez social system. Proceedings of the Twenty-third International congress of Americanists, Sept. 1928, p. 553 e.v.

veranderd. Van Heek [1]) zegt hierover, als laatste in 1948: „Naarmate echter in de primitieve samenlevingen de groepen in afmeting toenemen, meer onderling contact verkrijgen, hun organisatievormen gecompliceerder en hun geaccumuleerde goederenvoorraden groter worden, begint zich hun interne hiërarchische geleding duidelijker af te tekenen".

Grotere hoeveelheden hoeven op zich zelf echter nog geen structuurveranderingen met zich te brengen en het zijn juist deze die ons interesseren. Het probleem van de vorming van een standenstructuur blijft hier in wezen onberoerd.

De argumenten door Friedericy voor zijn theorie aan een analyse der Makassaarse cultuur ontleend, komen mij echter niet overtuigend voor. Zijn theorie en mijn bezwaren worden daarom hier kort weergegeven. [2])

Friedericy nam op grond van een analyse der scheppingsmythe aan, dat in een vroeger stadium der maatschappijontwikkeling een fratrie-indeling moet hebben bestaan. Om nu het voortkomen van de huidige, uit de mythische organisatie aanvaardbaar te maken, noemt hij een aantal kenmerken, die beide gemeen hebben: „Tweedeeling, superioriteit van de eene groep boven de andere, patrilocaliteit des huwelijks, het niet-locaal zijn der groepen, dit alles hebben de beide organisaties gemeen. Bovendien vonden wij, waar wij eerst groot verschil meenden te zien, bij nadere beschouwing, in de huidige samenleving duidelijke teekenen van vroegere exogamie der beide groepen en moederzijdige afstamming". [3])

Als duidelijke tekenen der moederzijdige afstamming noemt hij dan in de eerste plaats de kinderverdeling, volgens welke bij een scheiding de vrouw alle oneven en de man alle even kinderen zou krijgen. Van een dergelijke verdeling is mij nergens ooit gebleken, hoewel ik er in meerdere plaatsen [4]) opzettelijk navraag naar gedaan heb.

In de tweede plaats noemt hij de „aanteekening in het dagboek der vorsten van Gowa en Tello": „De bij ons bestaande bepaling

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[1]) F. van Heek: Klassen- en standenstructuur als sociologische begrippen. Inaugurele rede. Leiden 1948, p. 7.

[2]) H. J. Friedericy: De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren. Bijdragen, 1933, 90. IV.

[3]) H. J. Friedericy: idem, p. 599.

[4]) Behalve in Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba en Watampone.

dat de vaders geen aandeel in de kinderen hebben wordt door Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana (Karaëng-Karoenroeng) afgeschaft". Voor de oorlog wees de toenmalige taalambtenaar van Zuid-Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, mij er reeds op, dat deze mededeling op slaven betrekking heeft. Als argument in dit verband verliest de mededeling dus zijn kracht.

Als duidelijk teken van een vroegere exogamie noemt Friedericy verder het verschijnsel der hypergamie in Zuid-Celebes. Hypergamie is echter een zo verbreid verschijnsel, dat het mij zonder meer niet juist voorkomt om het hier als een argument voor een vroegere exogamie te gebruiken.

Van de 4 gemeenschappelijke kenmerken moet de vermelding van het patrilocale huwelijk op een vergissing berusten. Mijn cijfers wezen anders uit. [1]) De overeenkomst van de huidige organisatie met de mythische, die dan dus gebaseerd zou zijn op tweedeling, superioriteit van de ene groep boven de andere, en het niet locaal zijn der groepen, acht ik niet sterk genoeg om op grond daarvan tot het ontstaan van de huidige standen uit een exogame verwantengroepering te besluiten.

Het ontstaan der standen in Zuid-Celebes onttrekt zich aan de historische waarneming. De tendentie tot het vormen van een verticale geleding is aanwezig; in welke situatie de huidige sociale hiërarchie, nml. die van karaëngs en niet-karaëngs, adel en volk, zich realiseerde, is niet duidelijk.

Het door Friedericy gelegd verband tussen stand en verwantschap zal thans verder uitgewerkt worden. Zoveel mogelijk zal daarbij de term stand [2]) gebruikt worden ter aanduiding van de verhouding van adel tot volk en de termen hoogte of aanzien voor de verschillen tussen de mensen van het volk onderling. De overgangen zijn echter zo vloeiend, dat dit niet steeds mogelijk zal zijn.

Boven werd al gezegd dat stand in Zuid-Celebes in de eerste plaats huwelijksmogelijkheid betekent. Een huwelijk is de uitdrukking van op dat moment geldende standsverhoudingen. Stand en verwantschap raken elkaar in het huwelijk. De huwelijkspolitiek der ouderen en de bruidsprijs zijn twee elementen die dus besproken dienen te worden.

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[1]) Zie boven p. 33.
[2]) F. van Heek, t.a.p. pagina 7.

Huwelijkspolitiek.

Het streven der individuen is gericht op het stijgen in aanzien. Dit streven komt o.m. tot uiting in het verwerven van rijkdommen (gronden, vee, sieraden), in het overwinnen van anderen in gevecht of schermutseling, in het hen overtroeven bij ieder persoonlijk contact, in de overname van uiterlijke vormen der hogeren. Dit streven vindt zijn bekroning in het huwelijk der kinderen, omdat daarbij het door iemand persoonlijk gewonnen aanzien binnen de grenzen door zijn afstamming gesteld, wordt vastgelegd.

Bij een huwelijk wordt een zekere gelijkheid der huwelijkspartners verondersteld; iemand die middels zijn persoonlijke eigenschappen in aanzien gestegen is, en op grond daarvan een van zijn kinderen weet te laten trouwen met een lid van een eigenlijk als iets hoger beschouwde groep, heeft het hoogst bereikbare bereikt. Door dat huwelijk wordt het feit, dat hij in aanzien steeg, voor een ieder waarneembaar; zijn verworven aanzien wordt daarbij a.h.w. gefixeerd; bij een latere sociale waardering van zijn kinderen wordt van het door hem bereikte uitgegaan. Zijn familieleden eren in hem de man, die het aanzien van hun groep verhoogde; want als familieleden zijn en blijven zij in principe zijn gelijken en stijgen dus met hem. Huwelijksfeesten zijn vergeleken met de andere feesten der Makassaren de kostbaarste, gezien de economische draagkracht van de groep. Meer dan andere zijn zij de waardemeter van het sociaal aanzien.

Het kiezen van een huwelijkspartner is dus een zaak, die niet aan de jongeren zelf overgelaten kan worden. Het is een zaak der ouderen en bij voorkeur der vooraanstaande ouderen der verwantengroep. Zij zoeken naar de h.i. beste oplossingen; zij wikken en wegen de mogelijkheden en door hun samenwerking komen tenslotte de huwelijken tot stand. Er is daarbij een zekere huwelijkspolitiek waarneembaar.

In de huwelijkspolitiek der ouderen zijn twee tegengestelde tendenties aanwijsbaar. Er is enerzijds het streven naar een nauw samenhangende verwantengroep, waarvan de leden zoveel mogelijk te zamen huwen; er is anderszijds het streven naar het leggen van relaties met leden van andere, bij voorkeur als even hoger gewaardeerde verwantengroepen. Een succesvolle politiek voert degeen, die in beide richtingen zijn streven weet te realiseren en tevens een

goede harmonie tussen die beide tot stand weet te brengen. Degenen die wat betreft hun sociaal aanzien de middelmaat der verwantengroep vormen, stellen zich spoedig tevreden met eerstgenoemd streven. De vooraanstaande leden der groep richten hun belangstelling eerder buiten hun eigen groep.

De huwelijkspolitiek der ouderen is dus te zien als een onderdeel van hun streven naar verhoging van het aanzien van hun groep. Als voorbeeld wordt hier de politiek aangegeven, die door het Adatgemeenschapshoofd van Borongloë gevoerd werd bij de tot standkoming van de 7 huwelijken van zijn kinderen die tussen 1938 en 1948 voltrokken werden. De huwelijkspolitiek wordt nooit in deze vorm geformuleerd; zij is aan degenen die haar voeren niet bewust; deze doen slechts wat hen in de gegeven omstandigheden het beste lijkt.

Het Adatgemeenschapshoofd was zelf getrouwd met een dochter van het hoofd van een naburige adatgemeenschap buiten het rijk Goa gelegen; zijn oudste zoon werd, als eerste, gehuwd met een meisje uit die verwantengroep en wel met een nicht in de zesde graad; de reeds bestaande band met zijn vrouwsfamilie werd hierdoor dus versterkt.

Zijn tweede zoon werd gehuwd met de dochter van een bekend handelaar, een hadji, uit Makassar, een handelsrelatie en tevens een oude vriend, met wie hij reeds op jonge leeftijd afgesproken had, om hun kinderen later te laten huwen. Toen dit huwelijk na enige jaren weinig succesvol bleek, werd het ontbonden. Een nieuw huwelijk met de dochter van het hoofd van een aangrenzende adatgemeenschap werd vervolgens gesloten; een lid van het Zelfbestuur van Goa verleende hierbij zijn medewerking.

De derde, als landschapsambtenaar in het Buginese land werkzaam huwde daar naar eigen keuze; een mogelijkheid die later beschreven zal worden.

De vierde was reeds als jonge man, een teken van gunst voor zijn vader, door een lid van het Zelfbestuur van het rijk Goa in huis genomen en door deze vervolgens met de dochter van een van zijn andere gunstelingen, een rijk Buginees handelaar, gehuwd. De vader had deze zoon a.h.w. overgegeven aan het Zelfbestuurslid; op diens keus van de huwelijkspartner had hij verder geen invloed meer.

Het vijfde kind, een meisje, huwde met haar neef in de achtste

graad, een kleinzoon van de oude Imang van Borongloë; hierdoor werd dus de familieband met de eerste godsdienstbeambte der adatgemeenschap nauwer aangehaald.

De leden van de uitgebreide verwantengroep van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd bewonen bijna drie kampongterritoren. Het zesde kind, weer een zoon, huwde de dochter van het hoofd van een dezer kampongs. Adatgemeenschapshoofd en kamponghoofd waren i.c. eigen neven.

Het zevende kind tenslotte, een meisje, huwde een harer zesde graads neven in een dier andere kampongs woonachtig.

Aan de hand van dit voorbeeld kunnen enige opmerkingen gemaakt worden.

1. Het Adatgemeenschapshoofd, de vader, was in dit geval de centrale figuur, die de verschillende huwelijken van zijn kinderen tot stand bracht. Maar dit hoeft niet steeds zo te zijn. Indien men in een en dezelfde kampong, in een en dezelfde verwantengroep, achtereenvolgens in verschillende huizen, verschillende huwelijksplechtigheden meemaakt, dan valt het op, dat steeds weer dezelfde ouderen daarbij aanwezig zijn en leiding geven bij de regeling van alle details van het feest; met de betrokken ouder wordt overleg gepleegd, maar de feitelijke leiding is in handen van anderen. Hetzelfde blijkt het geval te zijn als men naspeurt, wie het was, die deze huwelijkspartners bijeenbracht. Met de eigen ouders der kinderen wordt daarover wel gesproken, maar de aangelegenheid is van dusdanig belang voor de verwantengroep, dat dit niet zonder meer aan hen overgelaten wordt. Als zij suggesties doen, wordt daarmee rekening gehouden; als zij komen praten, wordt hun raad gegeven. Maar als zij niets doen, nemen anderen, en dat zijn de vooraanstaande leden der verwantengroep, initiatief.

2. Zoals het huwelijk van de vierde zoon door een lid van de hoge adel georganiseerd, geregeld en bekostigd werd, zo bracht in de loop der jaren het Adatgemeenschapshoofd op zijn beurt ook vele huwelijken tot stand van zijn ondergeschikten; soms nadat deze hem van hun voorkeur hadden laten blijken, soms geheel op eigen initiatief. [1]) Daarmee wordt de bestaande band tussen hoog en laag ten zeerste versterkt. Men vergeet degeen die zijn huwelijk tot

[1]) Bij een telling kwam hij tot 18, ongerekend de huwelijken van zijn eigen kinderen.

stand bracht nooit. Zo'n huwelijksfeest is veel minder groot, dan de hogere voor zijn eigen kind zou opzetten maar toch steeds uitgebreider dan het geweest zou zijn, indien het door de familieleden der huwenden zelf zou worden gegeven. Daarbij krijgt de lagere als feestkledij bijv. een hoofdtooi van een bepaalde kleur, of een kris van een bepaald type te dragen, waar hij eigenlijk geen recht op heeft, maar wat hem thans door de hogere wordt toegestaan; daardoor stijgt zijn aanzien.

3. Uit dit voorbeeld blijkt verder, dat onjuist is de algemene mening, dat alle familieleden onderling elkaars gelijke zouden zijn. Het is duidelijk dat het Adatgemeenschapshoofd, dat een vooraanstaand man in zijn groep is, de huwelijkspartners voor zijn kinderen, v.z.v. hij die uit zijn familieleden kiest, bij voorkeur betrekt uit kinderen van de andere vooraanstaande leden van zijn groep. Er is dus binnen de verwantengroep een neiging tot endogamie der vooraanstaande leden aanwijsbaar. Ook tussen familieleden onderling kunnen zulke grote verschillen in aanzien bestaan, dat een huwelijksverbintenis door een der partijen ongewenst geacht wordt.

Het conflict der tendenties treedt in een goed geïntegreerde verwantengroep het duidelijkst aan de dag in de huwelijkspolitiek der vooraanstaande leden. Voor de gewone leden is dit conflict minder nijpend. Zij vinden in hun groep voldoende huwelijksmogelijkheden.

De bruidsprijs (sunrang).

Het huwelijk van zijn kind is voor een Makassaar een zeer belangrijke gebeurtenis, omdat daarbij het door hem in zijn leven verworven aanzien een ieder duidelijk voor ogen gesteld wordt. Hoe meer dagen en nachten het feest duurt, hoe meer gasten (grotendeels familieleden) aanwezig zijn, hoe meer karbouwen er geslacht worden en hoe ruimer de pannjambungi (het voor die gelegenheid vóór aan het huis aangebouwde verlengstuk) is, des te hoger is zijn aanzien. Maar het element van het huwelijk, waarin die waardering het duidelijkst meetbaar tot uitdrukking komt, is de bruidsprijs, de sunrang.

De sunrang wordt niet zonder meer door de man en zijn familie aan de vrouwsfamilie overgegeven. De sunrang is bij de huwelijkssluiting (nikka') aanwezig; de huwelijkssluiter tekent het bedrag in het huwelijksregister op in een oude, thans reeds lang uit de

circulatie verdwenen muntsoort, in realen.[1]) De vrouwsfamilie vraagt veelal de sunrang geheel in specie (rijksdaalders of guldens) te voldoen, maar dat gebeurt meestal slechts gedeeltelijk; voor de rest van de waarde wordt dan een sawah of een karbouw overgedragen. Als teken van zodanige overdracht voegt men een handvol aarde (van de sawah) of een neusring (van de karbouw) bij de specie, die zich bevindt in een platte ronde koperen doos (kampu), die alleen bij het huwelijk gebruikt wordt. In de kampu vindt men verder verschillende soorten bladen, en een stukje hout wier namen hoog, rijk, stijgend, uitzettend, betekenen; dat is hetgeen men de sunrang en daarmee de verwantengroep der vrouw toewenst, het beste wat te wensen mogelijk is.

De sunrang kan niet ieder bedrag zijn; het is steeds een even getal. De hoogte van de sunrang is door de locale machthebbers, i.c. het Zelfbestuur van Goa, vastgesteld. Hij werd gedeeltelijk gebonden aan een bepaalde stand (gewone mensen) gedeeltelijk aan een bepaalde functie (het Adatgemeenschapshoofd) gedeeltelijk aan familieverwantschap (familieleden van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd). Door de naast elkaar stelling van deze ongelijksoortige grootheden is tevens de mogelijkheid gegeven, om volgens het ene voorschrift een hogere sunrang te krijgen dan waarop men volgens het andere recht heeft.

De hoogte van de sunrang is in principe gebonden aan de hoogte van de verwantengroep der vrouw; haar aanzien en daarmee dat van haar groep is kenbaar aan de bij haar huwelijk betaalde sunrang. Het is dus voor haar familieleden van belang een zo hoog mogelijke sunrang te ontvangen; het is echter voor de familieleden van de man evenzeer van belang om een zo hoog mogelijke sunrang te betalen op grond van het principe dat eigenlijk man en vrouw gelijk in aanzien zijn. Het is dus begrijpelijk dat de sunrang de neiging heeft te stijgen.

De Vorst is in zijn rijk de hoogste. Hij, en met hem zijn familieleden van gelijk bloed, behoren dus binnen dat rijk de hoogste sunrang te hebben. Hij heeft er dus belang bij, dat de sunrang in zijn gebied duidelijk naar rang en stand voor iedereen kenbaar vastgesteld is, opdat zijn onderdanen geen hogere sunrang betalen

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[1]) Een reaal werd en wordt steeds gewaardeerd op *f* 2.—. Het muntstuk, de reaal, ziet men bij deze betalingen niet. Daarvoor werd het te zeldzaam.

of ontvangen dan hijzelf. Vandaar dat men in lontars herhaaldelijk voorschriften over de hoogte van de sunrang aantreft. De natuur blijkt echter steeds sterker dan de leer te zijn; steeds ontstaat enige tijd nadat die hoogte officieel werd vastgesteld opnieuw de neiging tot overschrijding van de aangegeven grenzen; het gegeven voorschrift wordt maar al te gaarne vergeten; hoe langer hoe meer mensen blijken na verloop van tijd een sunrang te hebben betaald en ontvangen die hoger was, dan hen was toegestaan. Het gevolg is, dat a.h.w. periodiek een nieuwe sunrangregeling gegeven moet worden. Het laatste desbetreffend voorschrift in het rijk Goa dateert van 1940. Dit stelt de sunrang voor

familieleden van de Vorst	op	28	reaal
voor het Adatgemeenschapshoofd	„	26	„
voor familieleden van de vorige	„	24	„
voor gewone mensen	„	20	„
voor slaven van de Vorst	„	12	„

Het is leerzaam om te zien hoe deze regeling in de practijk werd toegepast. Daartoe werd in de huwelijksregisters van de adatgemeenschap Borongloë over de jaren 1946 en 1947 gespeurd naar de redenen die er toe leidden, om een sunrang van 26, 24, of 22(!) reaal vast te stellen, waar partijen slechts recht schenen te hebben op resp. 24 en 20 reaal. Het resultaat is als volgt:

De sunrang van 26 reaal, volgens de regeling alleen voor het Adatgemeenschapshoofd bestemd, werd ten eerste voldaan bij het huwelijk tussen 2 afstammelingen van het voormalige hoofd van de adatgemeenschap Bonto. Karaëng Bonto was nog in het begin dezer eeuw het hoofd van een kleine, maar min of meer zelfstandige adatgemeenschap, die vervolgens met Borongloë versmolt. Zijn afstammelingen bezitten nog steeds iets van zijn aanzien. Zij wonen thans op Borongloë's territoor en kunnen dus geen hogere sunrang dan het Adatgemeenschapshoofd krijgen; hier blijkt, dat hun wel een gelijke sunrang toegestaan werd. Een sunrang van 26 reaal werd verder voldaan bij het huwelijk van een eigen neef van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd met de dochter van een van diens aanzienlijke volgelingen; 24 reaal had hier het maximum mogen zijn.

Een sunrang van 24 reaal, bestemd volgens de betrokken regeling voor familieleden van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd, werd ook voldaan, ten eerste bij het huwelijk van een dochter van een der

volgelingen van dit hoofd; ten tweede bij het huwelijk van een zuster van een der kamponghoofden; ten derde bij het huwelijk van een dochter van een volgeling van een afstammeling van Karaëng Bonto; ten vierde bij een huwelijk tussen binnen Borongloë woonachtige Buginezen, die ter toelichting van het feit, dat zij een sunrang van 24 reaal geregistreerd wilden zien, verklaarden, dat zij in hun eigen stamland op een sunrang (Bg. sompa) van 44 reaal recht hadden. Een sunrang van 22 reaal tenslotte werd toegestaan aan een paar vreemdelingen, die verklaarden in eigen land een hogere sunrang dan die van 20 te ontvangen.

Wil men een overzicht hebben over de hoogte van de sunrangs zoals die in het tijdsbestek van één jaar werd voldaan, dan kunnen de hiervolgende cijfers daartoe dienen. In de adatgemeenschap Borongloë (ruim 14000 inwoners) kreeg de Imang, die met het bijhouden der huwelijksregisters belast is, tussen 1 Juli 1948 en 1 Juli 1949, 107 huwelijken in te schrijven. Daarvan bedroeg de sunrang:

in	2	gevallen	26	reaal
„	24	„	24	„
„	2	„	22	„
„	77	„	20	„
„	1	geval	12	„
„	1	„	f 5.—	

Het bedrag van f 5.— werd geregistreerd bij een huwelijk tussen Javanen, die deel uitmaken van een groep van omstreeks 200, die in de kampong Pakatto bijeenwoont. Deze lage sunrang, want als zodanig vatten de Makassaren dit bedrag op, is een der redenen waarom de laatsten geneigd zijn om de Javanen als mensen van allerlaagste stand te beschouwen.

De sunrang van 12 reaal werd betaald aan de vader van een vrouw, die als slaaf van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd beschouwd werd.

9 Van deze 107 huwelijken werden gesloten tussen mensen uit de kampong Bontoramba. In 7 van die 9 gevallen was de sunrang niet 20 maar 24 reaal, en in slechts twee gevallen 20 reaal. Deze verhouding, die indien men let op het totaal der huwelijken waarvoor 24 resp. 20 reaal betaald werd, zeer ongewoon is, kan slechts voor een deel begrijpelijk gemaakt worden. Voor ieder van die 7 gevallen, wist men een bepaalde reden aan te voeren; zij volgen hier.

Zowel een zoon als een dochter van de Kapala van Bontoramba huwden dit jaar. Voor beiden achtte men een sunrang van 24 reaal op zijn plaats. Van één paar had de moeder van de vrouw Buginese familieleden, bij wie in haar eigen land steeds een veel hogere sunrang werd betaald dan die van 20 reaal. Van een ander paar beschouwde men de vrouw als familie van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd; „zij was niet gelijk" (tena nasangkamma) zo zeide de Imang, en dus kon zij ook geen 26 reaal(!) ontvangen, maar die verwantschap was toch al voldoende om haar boven de normale 20 reaal te verheffen. In het vijfde geval was de man een familielid van de Imang zelve; het was een vriendelijkheid van de familieleden van de bruigom om aan de bruid, die eigenlijk als lager beschouwd werd, de sunrang te bieden, die in zijn groep gebruikelijk was, omdat zij daarmee toonden haar geheel als gelijke te aanvaarden (sunranna bura'ne naerang). In het zesde geval werd verwantschap met de ex-Kapala van een aangrenzende kampong (Buttadidi) opgegeven als reden waarom 24 reaal voldaan werd, en in het laatste verklaarde een tante van het meisje, dat een sunrang van 24 reaal in haar familie steeds gebruikelijk was. Het merkwaardige hierbij was, dat deze tante zelf een vluchthuwelijk gesloten had met een man die door haar familieleden als zoveel lager beschouwd werd, dat zij nooit in een verzoening hadden willen toestemmen. [1])

Met uitzondering van dit laatste geval betroffen de eerste 6 huwelijken mensen van de Kapalagroep; het is niet onmogelijk dat de huwelijksbanden door de Kapala met de familie van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd gelegd [2]), een reden vormden voor de Imang, om voor de familieleden van deze Kapala in een aantal gevallen een sunrang van 24 reaal in te schrijven, waartegen hij in andere gevallen bezwaren zou hebben gemaakt. Uiteindelijk is het Adatgemeenschapshoofd degeen, die er voor heeft te waken, dat de sunrang zijner onderdanen, die van hem en zijn familieleden niet te zeer nadert. De verschillen moeten blijven bestaan. Daarvan is een ieder overtuigd.

Bij deze gegevens kunnen enkele opmerkingen gemaakt worden.

1. Het blijkt, dat bij het opgeven van de redenen waarom bij

[1]) Zie voor verdere uitwerking van dit geval hoofdstuk III, derde gedeelte.
[2]) Een dochter van de Kapala huwde een kamanakang (frans: neveu) van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd.

een bepaald huwelijk een bepaalde sunrang voldaan wordt, in de eerste plaats naar de vrouw gezien wordt. „De sunrang van de vrouw mag nooit dalen", wordt wel gezegd; dat betekent dat de sunrang van een meisje nooit lager mag zijn dan die voor haar moeder betaald werd. Bij een huwelijk van een vrouw met een lagere man — het uitzonderlijke geval wordt beneden besproken — voldoet deze dus steeds de sunrang van de vrouw; daarnaast verricht hij dan nog vele andere extra betalingen. Ook bij een huwelijk van een man met een lagere vrouw voldoet de manskant vaak de sunrang die in de vrouwsgroep gebruikelijk is; soms echter wil de man doen uitkomen dat hij zijn schoonfamilie zeer genegen is, en dan betaalt hij de sunrang, die in zijn eigen groep gebruikelijk is, maar dit is een vriendelijkheid zijnerzijds. In het gewone geval, d.w.z. bij een huwelijk tussen twee mensen die als gelijken in aanzien beschouwd worden, is de vrouw a.h.w. de waardemeter van haar groep. Haar sunrang mag niet dalen, omdat daardoor haar aanzien, dat zijn belangrijkste realisering vindt in de sunrang, niet mag dalen, omdat daardoor op zijn beurt weer het aanzien van haar verwantengroep zou dalen.

2. Het volgelingenschap [1]) blijkt een reden tot verhoging van de sunrang, boven het niveau van de verwantengroep van die volgeling. Opnieuw dus een voorbeeld dat het volgelingschap iemands aanzien verhoogt.

3. De functie van kamponghoofd blijkt voor diens zuster en dochter reden tot ontvangst van een hogere sunrang te zijn. Hetzelfde kan van de Imangsfunctie gezegd worden; de Imang van Borongloë, die de inlichtingen over de hoogte van de sunrang verschafte, gaf meerdere malen ter verklaring van het feit dat in een bepaald geval een hogere dan de voorgeschreven sunrang voldaan was, als reden op, dat de vrouw in kwestie familie van hem was. Hier blijkt dus het voordeel van verwantschap, want deze werd door de Imang gehonoreerd met een hogere sunrang dan anders mogelijk geweest zou zijn. Hij zou het verzoek tot inschrijving van een hogere sunrang niet hebben kunnen weigeren, zonder dat hem verwaandheid verweten zou zijn; want daardoor zou hij getoond hebben, zijn familie niet meer als gelijken, en dus niet meer als familie te willen kennen.

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[1]) Zie p. 102 e.v.

4. De sunrang blijkt locaal gebonden; Buginezen, die in hun eigen land een regeling hebben, waarbij een veel hogere sunrang voldaan wordt, moeten zich aan de locale regeling onderwerpen; het is een publiek geheim, dat zij in werkelijkheid vaak de eigen sunrang van 44 reaal overdragen, maar dat in de registers een bedrag van 24 (22 of 20) reaal wordt opgetekend; de huwelijkssluiter weet hiervan, en gaat er stilzwijgend mee accoord; officieel bestaat er dus geen strijd met het principe, dat aan het hoofd van een bepaald territoor de hoogste sunrang toekomt.

5. Het tijdstip dat de regeling gegeven werd (1940) dient men te kennen om te begrijpen hoe het mogelijk is, dat voor een zuster van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd een hogere sunrang voldaan werd dan voor het hoofd zelf; in strijd dus met de bestaande regeling. Voor die zuster die in 1939, dus voor de nieuwe regeling afkwam, huwde, werd nml. een sunrang van 28 reaal ontvangen, maar toen ruim een jaar later dit hoofd zelf ging trouwen — na de nieuwe regeling — mocht hij niet meer dan 26 reaal voldoen. Aan het recente voorschrift door de Vorst gegeven was niet te ontkomen. Begrijpelijk was in deze situatie de ietwat verstoorde opmerking van dit hoofd dat hij er nu in het vervolg goed voor zou zorgen, dat niemand meer dan 26 reaal ontving.

6. De sunrang blijkt ook voor de mensen die familieleden zijn niet steeds gelijk. Een kleine speling is mogelijk en juist die speling opent de mogelijkheid tot het aangeven van de nuancen, die voor de Makassaar zo belangrijk zijn. Ook onder familieleden bestaan hoogteverschillen. „Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala", (al zijn ze eigen neef en nicht, hun stand verschilt), wordt gezegd van de kinderen van een paar broers, die met vrouwen van verschillende stand huwden of van de kinderen van een paar halfbroers, die dezelfde vader, maar moeders van verschillend bloed hadden. In zulke gevallen is het conflict niet te vermijden. Toen een zoon van de laagste der beide vrouwen een aanzoek deed t.b.v. zijn zoon bij zijn halfbroer m.b.t. diens dochter, werd hij geweigerd. Als reden gaf de moeder van het meisje op dat zij haar a.s. schoonzoon nog gezoogd had; gegeven de bestaande verwantschap is dit zeer wel mogelijk, maar het verhinderde de andere partij niet om boos te zijn, omdat zij de werkelijke reden der weigering zeer goed begreep.

Afstamming en persoonlijke eigenschappen leiden binnen de

verwantengroep tot hetgeen boven reeds genoemd werd, een endogamie der vooraanstaanden dier groep. Ook binnen de kring der familieleden zijn dus de huwelijkscandidaten beperkt. Tegenover anderen wordt dit echter niet toegegeven; de nadruk wordt dan juist gelegd op het grote aantal der familieleden en op hun — in principe — onderlinge gelijkheid. Het streven naar hoger, dat met zich brengt een zeker streven naar exclusivisme, wordt ongaarne gereleveerd. De andere familieleden, die in hùn streven naar hoger dus blijkbaar achterbleven verwijten degeen, die zich exclusief toont, dat hij zijn familie niet meer wil kennen, en daarvoor zwicht een ieder. Een van de dingen die de familieleden van een vrouw, die met een hogere man huwt, het meest in haar appreciëren is, dat zij haar familie steeds blijft bezoeken en ontvangen, zonder zich de hogere te tonen.

Over huwelijksmogelijkheden wordt steeds een zekere geheimzinnigheid betracht. Bij een onderzoek naar de hoogte van de sunrang krijgt men slechts aarzelend inlichtingen. [1]) Deze beide ervaringen zijn slechts te begrijpen vanuit het bovenaangegeven conflict der tendenties. De hoogte der sunrang is nml. nooit geheel vast; steeds is een kleine stijging mogelijk. Men legt zich dus ongaarne vast t.a.v. bepaalde huwelijksmogelijkheden binnen de verwantengroep. Er zijn steeds wel familieleden met wie men op dat moment geen nauwere band wenst. Waar men met trots wijst op zijn uitgebreide familie betekent dit geen onderlinge gelijkheid der leden; het is wel een teken van sociaal aanzien, en daarover spreekt men gaarne.

In het vorige hoofdstuk bleek reeds, dat huwelijken tussen familieleden in de achtste graad geregeld en tussen die in de tiende graad zeer zelden voorkwamen. Er is dus een moment dat de kennis der familieverwantschap verdwenen is, nml. als drie generaties achtereen geen huwelijken tussen de afstammelingen van twee broers en/of zusters werden gesloten. Indien men dit gegeven nu in verband brengt met het streven naar een endogamie der vooraanstaanden, dan ziet men hoe het mogelijk is dat familieleden successievelijk door het ontbreken van de gewenste persoonlijke eigenschappen of door een slecht gevoerde huwelijkspolitiek uit

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[1]) Niet als men die inlichtingen aan de Vorst vraagt. Hij geeft het lijstje op, zoals dat door hem is vastgesteld. Maar de lageren zijn minder positief.

de kring dergenen, die men als familieleden kent, kunnen verdwijnen. Indien iemand een zesde graads familielid gaarne mag en zij beiden laten hun kinderen huwen, dan is daarmee bereikt dat hetgeen ver was, dichtbij gebracht werd; het streven naar een samenhangende groep familieleden realiseerde zich dan. Maar indien een dergelijk huwelijk (tussen achtste graads neef en nicht dus) niet tot stand komt betekent dit, dat een klein aantal individuen los van deze grote groep komt te staan en, hetzij in een andere groep opgaat, hetzij als kleine groep verder een eigen leven voert. In het laatste geval kan gesproken worden van daling in aanzien hoewel de sunrang gehandhaafd blijft; want als er enkelingen zijn, die los van een goed geïntegreerde verwantengroep zijn komen te staan, dan betekent dit, dat zij weinig succesvol waren in hun streven naar hoger; ware dit wel het geval, dan zou, van de zijde der andere groepsgenoten naar een huwelijk met een hunner gestreefd zijn, omdat succes familieleden, even goed als niet-familieleden, aantrekt.

Verticale mobiliteit van personen.

De hoogte van een individu wordt bepaald door zijn afstamming en zijn persoonlijke eigenschappen beide. Men meent, dat mannen naar hoger behoren te streven en dat vrouwen er slechts voor hebben te zorgen dat zij niet dalen; streven naar hoger wordt van de laatsten niet in de eerste plaats verlangd.

Een man kan door persoonlijke eigenschappen in aanzien stijgen. Het verworven aanzien kan in een huwelijk worden vastgelegd. Resultaat van alle streven is, een enkele uitzondering daargelaten, een huwelijk met een ongeveer even hoge vrouw.

Een huwelijk van een man met een hogere vrouw is streng verboden. Het enige geval waarin het zonder meer duidelijk is dat de vrouw hoger is dan de man, is een huwelijk van een vrouw van adel met een man die niet van adel is. De eigenschappen waarin een man moet uitmunten om zo'n huwelijk te kunnen sluiten worden duidelijk aangegeven.

Geleerdheid, dapperheid, en rijkdom worden als zodanig genoemd. Van Sjech Jusupu, een zeer vereerd heilige in Zuid-Celebes, wiens graf steeds druk bezocht en wiens levensgeschiedenis gaarne voorgedragen wordt, verhaalt men, dat hij, als reeds erkend ge-

leerde, de hand vroeg van de dochter van de Vorst van Goa. De Vorst zou hier welwillend tegenover gestaan hebben, maar de leden van de Rijksraad (Hadat) van Goa waren er tegen; zij zwichtten pas toen de Vorst hen er op wees, dat reeds in de oude lontars de drie bovengemelde eigenschappen genoemd worden als redenen waarom het een man toegestaan kan worden om een hogere vrouw te huwen.

Voorbeelden van krijgsoversten, die op grond van hun successen, in de strijd behaald, een huwelijk met een hogere vrouw konden sluiten, werden in de weinige historische geschriften die ik kon raadplegen, niet aangetroffen.

De tegenwoordige generatie kent het geval van een rijk handelaar uit Makassar, een hadji, die met een der vrouwelijke volgelingen van de Vorstin van Goa huwde. Deze man was een gunsteling van de Vorst, die zijn adviezen in vele kwesties volgde; hij had zijn stijging in aanzien dus geheel aan zijn persoonlijke eigenschappen te danken. Daarnaast is het geval bekend van een jonge man, uit een gewone familie geboren, maar als bestuursambtenaar werkzaam en daarbij zeer vermogend, die een dochter van een der Adatgemeenschapshoofden huwde. De sunrang bleef in deze gevallen gelijk aan die voor de moeder en de zusters der vrouw voldaan was, maar een uitzonderlijk hoog bedrag werd gevraagd, en betaald, ter bestrijding van de onkosten van het feest; het kopen van bloed (ammalli tjera') noemt men dit.

In deze zeer zeldzame gevallen bestond dus naar algemene opvatting een groot verschil in afstamming tussen man en vrouw, maar ook bij de min of meer geregeld voorkomende gevallen, dat die verschillen klein zijn, zijn geleerheid, rijkdom en moed van belang. Een Imang of een geëerd guru ngadji [1]) kan een huwelijk sluiten, of wel hij kan dit zijn zoon doen sluiten, waar zijn broer, die een gewoon kampongman bleef, geen kans op zou hebben. Toen in een van de gevechten, die in 1946 in Goa ontstonden, een man door zijn moedig gedrag een aantal familieleden van zijn vrouw redde, een vrouw met wie hij eigenlijk niet had mogen trouwen, omdat zij wat hoger was dan hij, en wier familie hem dan ook had doodverklaard [2]), toen was dit hunnerzijds reden

[1]) Iemand, die de kinderen onderricht in het lezen van de Korān.
[2]) Zie hoofdstuk III, derde gedeelte.

om in de verzoening toe te stemmen. In deze gevallen, waarin de verschillen in hoogte klein zijn, kan er aarzeling over bestaan of man en vrouw samen mogen huwen. Als de beide partijen het eens zijn en het huwelijk doorgaat, is het voor een buitenstaander niet wel mogelijk om het af te keuren; men meent dat men de redenen die tot het huwelijk leidden niet kon beoordelen. [1])

Kinderen uit een dergelijk huwelijk, ook uit die waarin het verschil in hoogte der ouders aanzienlijk is, worden in de verwantengroep van hun moeder officieel als gelijken beschouwd, omdat men vasthoudt aan de idee dat een vrouw niet mag dalen. De dochters huwen bij voorkeur in hun moedersgroep; over de zonen bestaat aarzeling. Feitelijke gegevens ontbreken. Van termen om deze kinderen aan te duiden (analoog met ana' tjera') werd niet vernomen.

Bij huwelijken van een man met een lagere vrouw, zijn het alleen degene, waarin het verschil in hoogte groot is, die vermelding verdienen. Want huwelijken waarin de man een klein weinig hoger is dan zijn vrouw zijn normale huwelijken. Zij zijn niet te onderscheiden van huwelijken waarvan de partners als gelijk worden beschouwd. Men noemt een huwelijk van een neef (samposikali) van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd met de dochter van een Kapalakampong een huwelijk tussen gelijken, maar van de zijde van het hoofd wordt de idee van een verbintenis van zijn nicht met een zoon van de Kapala verworpen, omdat men deze jonge man als lager beschouwt dan het meisje.

Mannen, die tot de Karaëngsgroep behoren, trouwen geregeld met vrouwen uit het volk. De familieleden der vrouw zien een dergelijk huwelijk gaarne, omdat zij zelve hierdoor ook in aanzien stijgen. Een voorbeeld moge dit verduidelijken.

Een der Vorsten had een zoon, daëng Ali geheten, bij een vrouw uit de familiegroep van een der Adatgemeenschapshoofden; zijn broer had een dochter, daëng Batje genoemd, bij een gewone kampongvrouw. Daëng Ali werd als aanmerkelijk hoger beschouwd dan zijn volle nicht; zij trouwden en woonden bij zijn vader, de Vorst in. Van de familieleden van daëng Batje's moeder, gewone kampongmensen immers, wordt nu verwacht, dat zij bescheiden

[1]) Over de gevallen waarin verschil van mening bestaat, wordt gehandeld in hoofdstuk III, derde gedeelte.

zullen zijn en niet steeds bij hun zuster (resp. nicht of tante) op bezoek zullen gaan. Van daëng Batje op haar beurt wordt verwacht, dat zij deze familieleden vriendelijk ontvangt; dat zij zich tegenover hen niet trots toont, maar hen netjes onthaalt; niet te rijk, dat zou een teken van hoogmoed zijn, maar ook vooral niet te armoedig, want dat zou betekenen dat de bezoekers niet gewaardeerd werden. Voor daëng Batje is de komst van haar familieleden prettig, omdat haar man dan ziet, dat deze haar appreciëren hetgeen haar positie tegenover hem weer versterkt. Door haar hebben haar familieleden dus een zeker recht om in het paleis te komen; een paar nichtjes — de beste worden er voor uitgekozen — mogen daar tijdelijk komen wonen; zij leren er de betere manieren van de adel; zij stijgen daardoor in aanzien en hebben dus later de kans om een beter huwelijk te doen, hetgeen het aanzien van haar hele groep weer ten goede komt.

Kinderen uit een huwelijk van een man en een lagere vrouw worden als lager dan hun vaders familieleden en hoger dan die van hun moeder beschouwd. De dochters laat men bij voorkeur huwen in de verwantengroep van hun vader.

De positie van de zonen uit deze huwelijken is moeilijk; door hun afstamming kunnen zij niet met dochters uit hun vadersgroep trouwen; voor een huwelijk zijn zij aangewezen op de groep van hun moeder. In de practijk blijkt, dat zij zich vaak als de wildsten en stoutmoedigsten onder de jonge mannen gedragen. Wellicht geschiedt dit onbewust om ten koste van alles zich een meisje van iets hoger bloed waardig te tonen.

Karaëngs noemen degenen, die uit zulke huwelijken geboren zijn ana' tjera' (lett.: bloedkinderen), maar de kampongmensen noemen hen karaëng. Het eerste is een denigrerende, het laatste een vererende benaming. Lageren kennen de mensen met karaëngsbloed, die in hun kampong wonen; deze worden op grond van hun bloed als iets hoger dan hun omgeving gewaardeerd. Bij navraag blijkt dan bijv., dat hun overgrootvader een karaëng was, die met een der vrouwen uit de daar wonende verwantengroep getrouwd was; dat zijn zoon met een familielid van zijn moeder gehuwd was en zo vervolgens. Met het feit dat hun grootvader (overgrootvader) een karaëng was, houdt men rekening bij de bepaling van de sunrang; dat besef wordt levend gehouden.

Het wekt verwarring als men de ana' tjera' een tussenstand noemt. Zij vormen geen verwantengroep, die tussen adel en volk instaat. Het betreft hier steeds individuele gevallen, die de band met hun vadersgroep, de karaëngs, gemeen hebben. Zij streven naar opname in de verwantengroep van hun vader; zij vormen onderling echter geen geïntegreerde groep omdat zij door hun moeder steeds tot verschillende verwantengroepen behoren. Maar bij welke der beide groepen, die van hun vader dan wel die van hun moeder, zij zich ook vestigen, zij worden door hun omgeving niet als gelijken beschouwd.

M.b.t. deze ana' tjera' is het direct duidelijk, dat de belangen van zoons en dochters gescheiden liggen. De eersten zijn voor een huwelijk aangewezen op hun moedersgroep; de laatsten op hun vadersgroep.

Verticale mobiliteit van cultuurelementen.

Sorokin heeft er reeds op gewezen, dat niet alleen individuen of groepen, maar ook cultuurelementen kunnen rijzen of dalen. [1]) Iedere stand heeft zijn eigen uiterlijke kenmerken waardoor zijn leden zich onderscheiden van de andere standen. Omgangsvormen en kleding, wijze van eten en feestviering zijn daarvan de meest spectaculaire. Steeds streven de hogere groepen er naar om de eigen vormen voor de eigen leden te bewaren. Steeds streven de lageren er naar om elementen van de leden der hogere stand over te nemen, omdat zij alleen daardoor reeds in aanzien stijgen.

Dit streven naar overname wordt door de hogeren tegengegaan. In het ene geval wordt overname belachelijk geacht en in het andere maakt het de boosheid der hogeren gaande; soms heeft bestraffing plaats. Overname van elementen van de hoogste stand heeft niet direct door de laagsten van het volk plaats, maar geleidelijk aan; eerst door de even lageren en zo vervolgens. Het blijkt, dat niet alleen hogeren maar soms ook lageren zich tegen overname door een andere lagere verzetten, d.w.z. tegen een stijging in sociaal aanzien van een mededinger.

Een aantal kenmerken is gebonden aan de verwantengroep van de Vorst, en wordt daardoor tot standskenmerk.

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[1]) P. Sorokin: Social Mobility. New York and London, 1927, p. 133.

De Vorst spreekt van zijn slaven (ata), maar het Adatgemeenschapshoofd, dat in gezelschap van een man van adel over de zijne zou spreken, zou zich belachelijk maken. De Vorst acht het gebruik van een bepaald soort speer (lallung) bij het ornamentenritueel voor ieder ander dan voor zijn eigen familie verboden. Hierover ontstonden nooit moeilijkheden; deze speersoort bleek nml. bij leden van de lagere verwantengroepen veelal onbekend te zijn. Maar wel ontstonden moeilijkheden over het gebruik van de feesttrom (ganrang), dat eveneens alleen aan familieleden van de Vorst is voorbehouden. Geregeld bleek echter, dat de ganrang clandestien toch ook door anderen bespeeld werd. In vele gevallen liet de Vorst dit oogluikend toe, maar toen hij — in 1941 — hoorde, dat in een bepaalde kampong trom gespeeld was, waar dit z.i. niet had mogen gebeuren, zond hij de betrokken Kapala uit op onderzoek. Er volgde geen straf op de overtreding en ook geen verbod voor de toekomst. Het feit dat de gast, die de trom had meegebracht, van buiten Goa afkomstig was, werd als excuus aanvaard, maar alleen om de verdere moeilijkheden te voorkomen, die uit een werkelijk verbod zouden zijn voortgevloeid. Het spelen van de ganrang is een privilege van de Vorst van Goa; iedereen, ook de vreemdeling heeft zich daaraan te houden. Dit gegeven is in overeenstemming met hetgeen boven m.b.t. de hoogte van de sunrang medegedeeld werd, waar Buginezen, die in hun eigen land een veel hogere bruidsprijs (sompa) hebben dan de Vorst Goa, zich binnen zijn rijk, althans uiterlijk, onder zijn sunrang stellen.

De Vorst van Goa staat bij zijn inhuldiging op de Goase investituursteen; daar wordt het voorgeschreven ritueel aan hem voltrokken; daar neemt hij de betuigingen van trouw van Rijksgroten en Adatgemeenschapshoofden in ontvangst. De beide laatste Adatgemeenschapshoofden van Borongloë, stonden resp. in 1939 en 1947 op de „Platte Steen" van Borongloë. Daar werd ritueel aan hen voltrokken; daar namen zij de betuigingen van trouw van vooraanstaande familieleden en Kapalakampong in ontvangst. Maar terwijl de Goase Vorsten bij hun inhuldiging honderden jaren geleden reeds op hun steen stonden, was dit in Borongloë niet het geval.

De inhuldiging van de vader van het huidige hoofd, die in 1916

plaats had, geschiedde wel met ritueel (adinging dinging) bij de „Platte Steen" maar hij stond er niet op en trouwbetuigingen hadden niet plaats. Toen dit hoofd echter in 1938 aftrad, regelde hij zelf het inhuldigingsfeest van zijn zoon en daarbij werd het staan op de steen als een oude adat voorgesteld. Typerend is dat deze overname van een ritueelonderdeel van de karaëngsgroep, niet in de allereerste plaats door leden dier groep werd afgekeurd, maar wel door enkele leden van een der andere vooraanstaande verwantengroepen van Borongloë. Zoals een oude man zei: „Jij, Gallarrang [1]) stond er niet op, (op de steen nml.) en nu laat je je zoon er wel op staan".

Deze wijze van streven naar hoger werd dus door een lid van een der oppositie voerende families der adatgemeenschap becritiseerd. Degeen tegen wie de opmerking gericht was, het oude Adatgemeenschapshoofd, vertelde later, dat die oude man kort daarop ziek geworden en sindsdien eigenlijk nooit meer gezond geworden was. Dit betekende z.i. dat hetgeen hij gedaan had, juist, en de critiek, onjuist geweest was; de voorouders zouden zich tegen hem gekeerd hebben, indien zij het door hem verrichte ritueel onjuist geacht hadden. Hier blijkt dat een leidende figuur er dus niet tegen op ziet om in rituele zaken bewust ingrijpend, veranderingen aan te brengen.

De dochter van een gunsteling, die tijdelijk bij de heer van haar vader in huis is, leert daar koekjes van bepaalde naam en vorm maken, die alleen bij die hogere bekend zijn; zij leert er de omgangsvormen, die daar in de huiselijke kring en bij het dagelijks eten gebruikelijk zijn. Thuis teruggekeerd valt haar veranderde manier van doen direct op: zij spreekt tot haar moeder slechts op zachte toon; zij eet niet zo gulzig als de anderen; zij gedraagt zich echt als een welopgevoed meisje uit de betere kringen. Zij wordt, althans de eerste tijd, ook wat anders behandeld dan de andere kinderen. „Zij draagt het teken van daëng X" [2]) wordt waarderend van haar gezegd; daardoor heeft zij kans op een beter huwelijk d.w.z. op een huwelijk met een hogere man dan een van haar zusters aan wie het voorrecht, tijdelijk in het huis van daëng X te verblijven, niet ten deel viel.

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[1]) Titel van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd van Borongloë.
[2]) Bata piarana daëng X; lett: het etiket van verzorging door daëng X.

Toen de 7 jarige zoon van mijn gastheer mij cigaretten aanreikte en toen hij kwam meedelen dat het eten klaar was, viel hij daarbij even door op de knieën, een gebruik dat in de verwantengroep van zijn vader volledig onbekend was, maar ontleend aan de karaëngs-familie, waar deze in zijn jonge jaren in huis was geweest en dat nu aan die zoon geleerd was. De vader lachte voldaan: „hij kent zijn manieren", en hij bedoelde daarmee, dat zijn zoon de goede manieren, nml. die der hogeren zich eigen gemaakt had. Tegenover een hogere gast is het een teken van beleefdheid om hem met zijn eigen omgangsvormen te omgeven; de lagere, die toont dat hij deze kent, stijgt daardoor tevens in aanzien. Indien dit een dagelijks gebruik zou worden, dan zou het hem in deze verwantengroep als belachelijk aangerekend worden; men zou er slechts in zien, een geforceerde manier om zich van zijn omgeving te onderscheiden.

Het dragen van bepaalde sieraden door een bruid, en van een kris of een hoofdtooi (sigara') van een bepaalde kleur door de bruigom, is vaak een vriendelijkheid van een hogere; deze kan bij wijze van gunst toestaan, dat een lagere zich voor een bepaalde gelegenheid tooit met zaken die bij de hogeren horen; en daardoor stijgt die lagere in aanzien.

Een vrouw, die bij het overlijden van haar moeder, deze liet behandelen alsof zij een familielid van de Vorst was, werd hoog-moedig geacht. „Zij durft" was de reactie van haar omgeving; men meent, dat wat zij doet gevaarlijk is, omdat zij daardoor in de toestand van „bassung" komt; d.w.z. dat zij voor deze daad gestraft kan worden met een opgezwollen buik. Maar niemand spreekt zijn afkeuring openlijk uit, omdat het immers zeer wel mogelijk is, dat wat zij doet juist goed is; en dan zou degeen die aanmerkingen maakte gestraft worden, zoals in het geval van het staan op de investituursteen gebeurde.

Indien iemand zich gedraagt als een hogere, en indien hij dit doet met een grote zelfverzekerdheid, en met succes, dan bepalen die gedragingen mede zijn sociaal aanzien.

Het volgelingenstelsel.

Het volgelingenstelsel is een der best waarneembare aspecten van de verticale tendentie. Het kan omschreven worden als het

geheel der betrekkingen tussen een hogere (karaëng, heer) en zijn lageren, die hij ana' ana'na [1]) of taunna (zijn mensen) noemt. Aan dit stelsel ligt het besef ten grondslag, dat er een gezagsverhouding bestaat van hoog over laag, die door de laatste wordt aanvaard, en tevens het besef, dat hoog en laag elkaar nodig hebben bij hun streven naar meer aanzien. Deze verhouding is gebaseerd op samenwerking. De verhouding tussen (bijna) gelijke groepen daarentegen, wordt het beste gekarakteriseerd met oppositie. Daarover handelt een volgende paragraaf.

Naast afstamming zijn de persoonlijke eigenschappen van het individu bij het streven naar hoger van belang; men vindt het belang dezer eigenschappen weergegeven in de zegswijze, dat een goede karaëng goede en een slechte karaëng slechte volgelingen heeft. Als eigenschappen die een hogere nodig heeft om een goede hogere te zijn, kunnen genoemd: moed in de strijd en handigheid in het debat. Hij moet risico's durven aanvaarden; hij moet actief zijn en tegelijk activiteit in anderen weten te stimuleren; hij moet organisatietalent hebben; daarnaast is een zekere generositeit tegenover zijn lageren onontbeerlijk. Een dergelijk motorisch karakter trekt lageren aan; voor zo iemand werkt men gaarne. Als eigenschappen, die in een lagere geapprecieerd worden, dienen dan vermeld: trouw aan de heer; moed, in de zin van de bereidheid om zijn heer bij te staan en om beledigingen deze aangedaan te wreken; en verder een zeker initiatief binnen de hem gelaten vrijheid.

In de Indische Gids van 1883 verscheen van de hand van de bestuursambtenaar Kooreman een viertal opstellen over de ervaringen, die hij gedurende een verblijf van bijna 10 jaren in Zuid-Celebes had opgedaan, waarin hij ook het volgelingenstelsel beschrijft. [2]) Kooreman wist zijn indrukken op een duidelijke en levendige wijze weer te geven. De verhoudingen die hij schetst, herkent men ook thans nog als typisch voor Zuid-Celebes, maar tevens wordt duidelijk, dat veel veranderde. Zijn beschrijving wordt hier thans eerst weergegeven. Daarna volgen de eigen gegevens,

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[1]) Ana' ana'na betekent lett.: zijn kinderen, dus hier: „a.h.w. zijn kinderen".
[2]) P. J. Kooreman: De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden. Indische Gids 1883, p. 375 e.v.

waarbij enkele malen gewezen zal kunnen worden op hetgeen bleef en op hetgeen veranderde.

„.... hoe hooger men van adel was, hoe meer men het voorrecht van straffeloosheid bezat. Den kleinen man ontbrak het bijna geheel aan bescherming tegen de aanmatigingen van vexatiën van de Anakaraeng's. Hiervan was een gevolg, dat hij gedwongen werd bescherming te zoeken bij degenen, die het kwaad bedreven, bij de adel. Deze nam die bescherming op zich, maar voorwaardelijk, dat is, de Anakaraeng eischte voor zijn beschermeling een zekere mate van onderhoorigheid, waaruit zich de verhouding ontwikkelde, die wij gewoon zijn aan te geven door „volgeling zijn", maar eigenaardiger en juister wordt omschreven door het Makassaarsche woord voor volgeling Ana ana. (Ana betekent kind, Ana ana kindje of klein kind). Tusschen den Anakaraeng en zijn beschermeling bestond dus de verhouding van een groot en krachtig man en een klein kind of kindje.

De volgeling was verplicht den Anakaraeng als zijn heer (Karaeng) te erkennen, hem op jacht en op reis te vergezellen, hem te helpen bij de verschillende landbouwwerkzaamheden, kleine geschenken te brengen en diensten te presteeren bij zijn feesten, hem bij te staan als hij werd bedreigd of aangevallen, of als hij een beleediging moest wreken, in een woord hij moest zijn heer volgen (minawang), volbrengen wat hem werd opgedragen. De Anakaraeng daarentegen nam op zich zijn ana ana's te beveiligen tegen willekeur van wie ook, en werd hun vermeend of werkelijk onrecht aangedaan, dan trok hij voor hen partij. De betrekking was zoo nauw, dat het beleedigen van een volgeling gelijk stond met het beleedigen van zijn Heer, en deze zich reeds beleedigd gevoelde, als aan zijn volgeling ergens een slechte ontvangst ten deel viel. Werd den volgeling een paard of karbouw ontstolen, dan zeide de Heer: mijn karbouw of mijn paard is gestolen, en hij liet niets onbeproefd om het gestolene terug te krijgen, en zich op den dader — juister zijn beleediger — te wreken, want hij dacht er niet aan den dief aan den bevoegden rechter over te leveren".

„De band tusschen Anakaraeng en ana ana was vrijwillig, en kon dus verbroken worden. De Karaeng ontsloeg zijn volgelingen zelden wegens wangedrag, in den regel als hij niet aan zijn ver-

reikende verplichtingen voldeed, of ongehoorzaam was geweest, en de volgeling koos zich een anderen Karaeng, als hij meende, dat hij niet voldoende werd beschermd, als zijn Heer te veel diensten van hem vorderde, of naar zijn meening een ander volgeling meer bevoordeeld werd. Zelden ging men echter daartoe over, omdat men zich daardoor den haat en wraak van zijn gewezen Heer op den hals haalde.

De Karaeng's waren ook verplicht om voor de stoffelijke belangen van hun volgelingen te zorgen. Zij hielpen hen met padievelden, met padie, ploegvee, soms, b.v. bij huwelijken en sterfgevallen, met geld. Niet alle Karaengs kwamen echter deze verplichting na; velen waren meer op hun eigen belang dan op dat van hun ana ana's bedacht.

Hoe hooger het aanzien was van een Anakaraeng, des te meer volgelingen hij had; omgekeerd, hoe meer volgelingen hij had, des te grooter zijn aanzien en invloed was, en de anakaraeng, die de meeste volgelingen had, was ook het aanzienlijkst en het invloedrijkst.

Volgelingen waren: verre bloedverwanten, lieden die van geslacht tot geslacht de volgelingen van één familie waren geweest, en lieden, veelal vreemdelingen, die vrijwillig volgeling waren geworden. Zij woonden niet allen in de nabijheid van hun Heer; sommigen waren zelfs buiten het Glarang- of regentschap gevestigd, en kwamen alleen op, als zij geroepen werden, of bescherming behoefden.

Geraakte een volgeling in geschil, had hij iets misdaan, dat hem in moeilijkheden kon brengen, of wel was hij benadeeld of beleedigd, dan wendde hij zich niet tot zijn hoofd, zijn Glarang of tot den regent, maar tot zijn Heer, zijn Karaeng, die als zijn verdediger optrad, zijn rechten handhaafde, en altijd trachtte hem uit moeilijkheden te redden. Het ligt voor de hand, dat, hoe aanzienlijker, hoe invloedrijker persoon zich de belangen van zijn volgeling aantrok, des te gemakkelijker recht werd verkregen, des te meer kans er was in het gelijk gesteld te worden, zelfs al had men ongelijk, of om ongestraft te blijven, als men misdaan had.

Dit volgelingenstelsel kreeg zulk een groote uitbreiding, dat niet alleen Anakaraeng's, maar ook alle adellijken, zelfs welgestelde inlanders volgelingen hadden, zoodat naast de verdeeling van het

grondgebied in Glarangschappen en Kalompowankampongs een verdeeling van de bewoners ontstond in adellijken ieder met hun volgelingen, en dus ieder een macht uitmakende in het regentschap".

Het citaat was lang maar lonend. Kooreman toont verder aan, dat de functie van het Europese bestuur eigenlijk die van een superkaraëng is, die effectieve bescherming weet te geven aan allen, die daarom vragen, zonder dat daar direct verplichtingen tegenover staan. Dit heeft z.i. tot gevolg gehad, dat in de loop der decennia het beroep op bescherming tot de anakaraëngs gericht, verminderde, zodat daarmee hun macht verdween, en dat staatjes in de staat — in de zin van een adellijk heer, die tezamen met zijn volgelingen een eenheid vormt binnen een rijk — niet meer voorkwamen.

Uit de thans ter beschikking staande gegevens blijkt, dat in de loop der laatste 75 jaar, de vormen waarin dit volgelingenstelsel zich manifesteerde, zich gewijzigd hebben. De algemene kentrekken die thans aangetroffen worden zijn de volgende.

De hogere is verbonden met een aantal lageren, zijn mensen. De laatsten bewerken zijn sawahs in de ruimste zin van het woord, d.w.z. van de eerste grondbewerking af, tot de aflevering van de bossen bij hem aan huis toe; zij verzorgen zijn maistuinen en bewaken zijn langsapbomen als die vrucht dragen; zij doen boodschappen voor hem op de pasars; dragen hout en water aan voor dagelijks gebruik, verrichten herstellingen aan het huis, vervaardigen de gewone gebruiksvoorwerpen uit bamboe of hout, en helpen tenslotte bij een feest van hun heer de talloze werkjes te verrichten, die dan vereist worden. Daartegenover staat dat, indien deze lageren ongehuwd bij hun heer inwonen, er voor hun eten en kleren gezorgd wordt, en dat er kans is dat hun heer hen laat trouwen en hun huwelijksfeest verzorgt. Als zij eenmaal gehuwd zijn, wordt voor het paar een woning gevonden en krijgen zij een aantal bossen na de oogst bij zich thuis. Deze lagere leeft dan met zijn gezin apart, maar staat t.a.v. de te verrichten werkzaamheden dagelijks in contact met zijn heer. Nauw met deze verbonden geniet hij mee van de feesten, die het eentonige kampongbestaan breken, en deelt hij in het daarbij ten toon gespreide sociaal aanzien.

Van een vaste afspraak bij de aanvang der verhouding is nooit sprake. De band kan ieder moment worden verbroken; dit gebeurt echter steeds geleidelijk; een abrupte breuk ziet men ongaarne,

omdat dit duidt op ruzie en omdat men meent, dat het beter is weg te gaan voor het conflict uitbreekt.

De band tussen een hogere en zijn mensen is beide partijen ten voordeel bij hun streven naar hoger. Het verliezen van een volgeling betekent voor de hogere een vermindering van zijn sociaal aanzien; zijn generositeit tegenover zijn mensen is hierbij van belang; wie de naam heeft veel te laten werken en weinig te geven krijgt moeilijk mensen en daarmee is zijn streven naar hoger direct ten zeerste beperkt. Het slaken van de band met zijn heer betekent voor een lagere, dat hij daardoor de bescherming en hulp van de hogere verliest en daarmee tevens het sociaal aanzien dat van deze op hem afstraalt. Het verlies van bescherming telde driekwart eeuw geleden echter zwaarder dan thans; de positie der lageren is in die tijd sterker geworden.

In de veelheid van vormen waarin het volgelingenstelsel zich manifesteert kunnen thans enige nuancen worden aangebracht.

Slechts bij uitzondering heeft een gewoon kampongman een vreemde bij zich in huis, die voor hem werkt, en t.a.v. wie van een volgelingenverhouding gesproken zou kunnen worden. Een dergelijke verhouding is daarbij uitgesproken tijdelijk; worden de persoonlijke banden in de loop der jaren sterker, werkt en woont de vreemdeling tot zijn genoegen, dan wordt de verhouding voortgezet. Maar vaak ziet men, vooral als de lagere gehuwd is, dat hij na verloop van tijd voor zichzelf begint, met een eigen tuin, of een eigen sawah; daarmee is dan de volgelingenverhouding zo niet verbroken dan toch losser geworden; de volgelingen van eerst wonen in dat geval niet meer als dienstbaren, maar als nieuwelingen in de kampong. [1]) Het is dan verder afhankelijk van de persoonlijke verhouding tot hun heer of zij bij speciale gebeurtenissen als feesten nog komen helpen.

In Bontoramba is als voorbeeld hiervan aanwijsbaar een echtpaar dat silariang gepleegd had, in de tijd voor de verzoening bij een der rijke mensen van de kampong werkzaam geweest was, een eigen huis betrokken had, en vervolgens ook na de verzoening daar was blijven wonen. Verder woonde in Bontoramba een jonge vrouw, een wees, die moeilijkheden met haar elders woonachtige familieleden had gekregen en nu bij een der vooraanstaande

[1]) Zij werden bij de telling in Bontoramba tot de Restgroep gerekend.

kampongbewoners in huis was opgenomen. In de derde plaats dient hier vermeld een Javaan, een ex-kolonist, die bij iemand van de Mangenregroep in huis was gekomen en voor deze werkte. [1]) Dergelijke gevallen kent men in iedere kampong.

Nog minder frequent is de band van een gewoon kampongman met een lagere, die teruggaat op de vorige generatie. Ter onderscheiding van de nieuwe dienstbaren worden deze laatsten wel erfdienstbaren (sossorang) genoemd. Men heeft daarbij vaak te doen met een verwantengroep, die enkele generaties terug, een leidende positie innam, maar die sindsdien die positie aan een andere groep heeft moeten afstaan. De aanwezigheid van een enkel gezin erfdienstbaren herinnert dan nog aan die tijd van thans voorbije glorie. Het is veelal aan goede persoonlijke verhoudingen te danken, dat de bestaande band tussen een der hogeren en dat gezin bleef voortbestaan. Een voorbeeld hiervan werd niet in Bontoramba, wel echter in de kampong Pakatto aangetroffen. De slavenbruidsprijs werd hier nog kort geleden betaald.

Een kamponghoofd heeft tegenwoordig vaak iemand in huis, die briefjes voor hem overbrengt en extra boodschappen verricht; zijn functie brengt de behoefte aan een vertrouwd boodschapper [2]) met zich; vaak neemt hij daarvoor een jong familielid.

Familieleden zijn in principe elkaars gelijken en dus kan tussen hen ook nooit sprake zijn van een volgelingenverhouding. Als een ongehuwde jonge man bijv. voor een vooraanstaande oom [3]) gaat werken, is dit steeds een tijdelijk verschijnsel, omdat iemand die zijn oom helpt, er aan meewerkt om het verschil in aanzien tussen die oom en zijn eigen gezin te vergroten; dit heeft tengevolge, dat een jonge man op den duur, liever dan zijn oom te helpen bij het verwerven van meer sociaal aanzien, voor zijn ouders en zijn jongere broers en ongehuwde zusters gaat werken.

Mensen, die voor een bloedverwant werken, kunnen wel volgelingen genoemd worden, maar dat gebeurt eigenlijk alleen als zij

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[1]) De beide laatstgenoemde individuen werden bij de telling als familieleden van hun huisheer geregistreerd.

[2]) De suro (lett: boodschapper), heeft in Borongloë de taak van de verzorging der gemeentediensten — tot kort voor de oorlog: der herendiensten — toegewezen gekregen; hij doet geen boodschappen. Deze ontwikkeling is echter locaal zeer verschillend.

[3]) Hier gebruikt in de betekenis van purina, dus: iemand van de oudere generatie.

bijv. te zamen met niet-familieleden als volgelingen van een hoofd optreden; onder dezen behoren zij dan tot de eersten. Door hun minder geprononceerde persoonlijke eigenschappen zijn zij t.o.v. hun familielid tot gehoorzamen, d.w.z. tot volgen bestemd, maar door hun afstamming zijn zij t.o.v. de andere volgelingen de hogeren en dus de leidenden.

De woning van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd is het centrum van de adatgemeenschap Borongloë. Het adatgemeenschapskantoor is daarvan a.h.w. slechts een verlengstuk. Belastingzaken, grond- en vee-overdrachten, ruzies die in vechtpartijen eindigen, schakingen, huwelijken, vreemdelingen, al hetgeen de ornamentenverering betreft, alles wordt daar door het hoofd behandeld. T.a.v. sommige kwesties worden de aanbrengers verwezen naar het kantoor en de kantooruren, maar de meesten ontvangt hij thuis; daar wordt hun zaak besproken en zo mogelijk direct geregeld. Een actief hoofd trekt op deze wijze veel berichten tot zich. Om hem heen bevindt zich geregeld een aantal volgelingen.

Zij werken voor hem op de sawahs en in de tuinen en daarnaast doen zij boodschappen voor hem; sommigen brengen bij voorkeur berichten over of roepen mensen op; enkele anderen zijn speciaal belast met de verzorging van paard en sjees (bendi). Maar allen zijn, als goede volgelingen, tevens de oren en ogen van hun heer; zij brengen hem al hetgeen er in de kampongs gebeurt over, zodat hij daarvan geheel op de hoogte is. Zij treden eventueel hardhandig op, als iemand tegenover hem een onbeleefdheid begaat, want het is tevens hun taak een gezagsaantasting op een voor een ieder duidelijke manier af te straffen; iedere poging daartoe dient direct onderdrukt; niet reageren wordt beschouwd als een teken van zwakte. In deze tijden van gefixeerde grenzen is dit niet zo erg, maar in de oude tijden van voor 1905 dreigde dan spoedig afvalligheid met alle gevolgen van dien.

De volgelingen van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd van Borongloë waren in Juli 1948 zeven in getal: een zijner neven (samposikali); een Javaan, die als ex-romusha [1]) in Zuid-Celebes was gebleven, de taal geleerd had en zich in Borongloë thuis was gaan voelen; en verder een vijftal zonen en schoonzonen van volgelingen van zijn vader, uit de tijd dat die hoofd was.

[1]) Japans woord dat de betekenis kreeg van dwangarbeider.

Een ander Adatgemeenschapshoofd had een zelfde aantal volgelingen, maar daaronder bevond zich een drietal leeftijdgenoten, die door persoonlijke banden met hem verbonden waren; banden, die dateerden uit vorige levensperioden, de schooltijd o.a., en die nu de basis van hun volgelingenverhouding vormden.

Het verschil tussen deze beide Adatgemeenschapshoofden is duidelijk. In het laatste geval heeft men te maken met een hoofd, dat voor de handhaving van zijn macht, althans voor een deel, steunde op door hem persoonlijk gelegde banden. In het eerste geval met een hoofd dat, voorzien van persoonlijke eigenschappen die bij de Makassaren weinig in tel waren, practisch geheel steunde op de banden, die door voorgaande generaties gelegd waren. Het feit dat hij zich in deze tijden als hoofd wist te handhaven is slechts te danken, aan de steun van zijn vader, het vroegere hoofd en aan die van het Zelfbestuur van Goa.

De familieleden van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd wonen over een drietal kampongterritoren verdeeld. In zijn verwantengroep stelt men het steeds voor, alsof het aantal volgelingen, dat bij en tussen die familieleden in, in die kampongs woont, zeer groot is; dit dient om het sociaal aanzien van de eigen groep zo hoog mogelijk voor te stellen; het bezit van veel volgelingen betekent immers, dat een groep zich aanmerkelijk boven zijn omgeving verheft. In feite bleek, dat in de verwantengroep van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd slechts een achttal huizen met volgelingen werd aangetroffen. De bewoners hadden steeds een speciale band met een der familieleden van het hoofd; voor deze verrichtten zij de gebruikelijke werkzaamheden; bij feesten van de andere leden dezer verwantengroep werkten zij eveneens mede.

Volgens mededelingen is het aantal volgelingen van de karaëngsgroep zeer groot, speciaal het aantal dergenen wier vorige generatie ook reeds voor die verwantengroep werkte. De karaëngs zouden ieder een of meer volgelingen hebben, die veelal in de buurt van hun heer woonden. [1]) Deze voorstelling van zaken beantwoordt alweer volkomen aan het gestelde ideaal: hoe meer volgelingen hoe groter aanzien. Maar gegeven de ervaring opgedaan bij de verwantengroep van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd die, zij het op

[1]) De sawahbewerking is hier geheel in handen van volgelingen, zo vertelt men, omdat men een karaëng ongaarne op de sawah aan het werk ziet.

lager niveau, een zelfde voorstelling van zaken gaf, dient men ook hier voorzichtig te zijn, zolang alleen op blote mededelingen moet worden afgegaan.

Het belang van het volgelingenschap in de vroegere door Kooreman beschreven vorm verminderde. Nieuwe vormen ontstonden; men vindt deze in de grotestads verhoudingen van Makassar. Op het platteland is de verhouding van grootgrondbezitter tot grondbewerker hiervan een voorbeeld.

Het volgelingenstelsel in en om de stad Makassar is aanwijsbaar waar rijke handelaren met koop en verkoop van rijst en vis, zand en stenen hun geld verdienen. Zij hebben voor hun handel een groot aantal mensen in hun dienst. En deze dienstverhouding is het beste te beschrijven als die van volgelingen tot hun heer, waarbij de persoonlijke eigenschappen van de handelaar, de punggawa, van overwegend belang zijn. Ook hier wreekt een volgeling een belediging zijn punggawa aangedaan; ook hier worden verrichte diensten — vaak naast een vast loon of stukloon — onregelmatig en globaal gehonoreerd; ook hier heeft de punggawa een persoonlijke band met een aantal van zijn mensen. Als hij overlijdt verloopt direct zijn handel; zijn organisatie is op persoonlijke banden met zijn ondergeschikten gebouwd.

Grootgrondbezit.

Een aantal kenmerken van het volgelingenstelsel vindt men terug bij het grootgrondbezit [1]) in de verhouding van de grootgrondbezitter tot zijn vertegenwoordiger (koasa) en van ieder van deze tot hun resp. grondbewerkers. In Zuid-Celebes bestaat over het algemeen geen tekort aan gronden, waardoor een groot aantal kleine boeren gedwongen zou kunnen worden, om grond van anderen te gaan bewerken. De hier aangetroffen vorm van grootgrondbezit dient begrepen te worden vanuit de verhouding van hoog tot laag. De beide factoren afstamming en persoonlijke eigenschappen, die wij boven reeds leerden kennen, zijn hiervoor van belang.

Een grootgrondbezitter heeft in het algemeen enige honderd-

[1]) Geen cijfers zijn beschikbaar om aan te geven wanneer precies van grootgrondbezit gesproken kan worden en wanneer niet. De hier gegeven voorbeelden zijn ontleend aan verhoudingen waarbij aan het bestaan van grootgrondbezit geen twijfel kan bestaan; één man bezat steeds meer dan 20 h.a.

tallen sawahs, die verdeeld liggen in meerdere onderling ver verwijderde kampongs. Hij zelf woont daar meestal ver vandaan; hij stelt dus per kampong, of per streek als dat zo uitkomt, iemand aan als zijn koasa om de daar gelegen sawahs te laten bewerken. Die koasa neemt op zijn beurt een aantal mensen uit dat gebied als bewerkers aan; zij krijgen zoveel sawahvakken als zij wensen of aankunnen. De taak van de koasa is ervoor te zorgen, dat de sawahs bewerkt worden, dat dit zo goed mogelijk gebeurt, dat de verdeling van de geoogste bossen volgens de gemaakte afspraken plaats heeft en dat tenslotte een redelijk aantal bossen de grondbezitter bereikt. Deze moet zijn vertegenwoordiger dus kunnen vertrouwen. Hij kiest daartoe dus bijvoorkeur iemand uit, die al in een persoonlijke betrekking tot hem staat en die verder bewezen heeft in staat te zijn, zijn eigen gronden goed te beheren en te bewerken. Een koasa is veelal een flinke persoonlijkheid; zo iemand trekt ook gemakkelijk bewerkers aan, hetzij onder zijn eigen familieleden, hetzij onder de andere kampongbewoners. Door zijn koasaschap stijgt hij in aanzien. Als reden dat de sunrang voor een meisje hoger was dan in haar verwantengroep gebruikelijk, werd opgegeven, dat haar vader koasa was.

Iemand, wiens aanzien alleen gebaseerd is op zijn afstamming, zal niet steeds tevens grootgrondbezitter zijn; hij bezit immers in feite vaak niet de persoonlijke eigenschappen, die nodig zijn om de beste koasa aan zich te binden; minder goede koasa trekken op hun beurt weer minder goede bewerkers aan; de opbrengstverdeling wordt minder goed georganiseerd; het aantal bossen dat zo'n grootgrondbezitter thuis zou ontvangen zou dus slechts nauwelijks lonen. Een grootgrondbezitter, die al te voordelige bewerkingscontracten zou willen afsluiten, ervaart, dat dit niet geapprecieerd wordt; het gevolg hiervan is, dat de bewerkers, die zijn gronden niet nodig hebben om in hun levensonderhoud te voorzien, hetzij gronden van anderen gaan bewerken, hetzij voor zich zelf beginnen.

Niet iedere man van adel brengt dus het initiatief en het organisatievermogen op om een nieuw complex sawahs te ontginnen. Dit kan slechts een man van adel, die, naast de vereiste afstamming, de daartoe vereiste persoonlijke eigenschappen bezit. Zijn die persoonlijke eigenschappen aanwezig, dan blijkt dat velen, liever dan voor zich zelf te beginnen, een stuk grond onder leiding

van een zijner koasa voor hem ontginnen. De band met de hogere wordt dus van groot belang geacht. [1]

Iemand die zijn aanzien alleen dankt aan zijn persoonlijke eigenschappen, krijgt, evenmin als degeen wiens aanzien geheel op zijn afstamming gebaseerd is, het rendement van zijn grond dat hij rationeel economisch gedacht zou mogen verwachten. In de na-oorlogse tijden, toen vele Makassaarse handelaren grote sommen verdienden, had men kunnen verwachten, dat velen van hen al was het maar een klein deel van hun geld in gronden in het binnenland hadden belegd; dat zij sawahs hadden gekocht of althans grote stukken grond op hun naam in de landrenteregisters hadden laten inschrijven, met de bedoeling die later te doen ontginnen. Uit de landrenteregisters van Goa blijkt hiervan echter niets. De mening van een dezer handelaren, dat hij voor dat geld wel sieraden kocht, maar geen gronden, omdat gronden moeilijk snel te verkopen zijn als men geld nodig heeft, wijst slechts de richting waarin de verklaring gezocht moet worden.

Voor een handelaar, die geen familie van de Goase adel is, is het moeilijk om een goede koasa, en via deze een groot aantal bewerkers, aan zich te binden. Indien hij een aantal gronden zou aankopen, zou zijn oogstdeel de moeite niet lonen. Een gewoon kampongman bewerkt bij voorkeur de gronden van een vooraanstaand man uit de karaëngsgroep. Daarin heeft hij vertrouwen; dat versterkt zijn positie; een band met een man van adel kan steeds van waarde blijken. Zolang economische noodzaak echter niet dringt en de persoonlijkheid van de grootgrondbezitter hem niet van diens bijzondere persoonlijke eigenschappen overtuigt, is er voor hem geen reden om voor deze, een rijke vreemdeling, te gaan werken. Men beschouwt deze vreemde in principe als een gelijke, die men dus mag beconcurreren en benadelen terwijl men tegenover een man van adel in principe in een verhouding van laag tot hoog staat, die gebaseerd is op samenwerking. Een rijke vreemdeling zou zijn gronden slechts met succes kunnen laten bewerken, indien hij een huwelijk met een der karaëngs tot stand zou weten te brengen. Inhuwelijking betekent, dat hij geacht wordt de verlangde persoonlijke eigenschappen te bezitten.

[1] Soms stelt iemand die veel gronden bezit een z.g.de koasa lompo (grote vertegenwoordiger) aan, die dan op zijn beurt weer locale koasa, ter onderscheiding wel kleine vertegenwoordigers (koasa tja'di) genoemd, aanstelt.

De verhouding van afstamming tot persoonlijke eigenschappen is wellicht te vinden in de Makassaarse idee, dat de meest geapprecieerde eigenschappen inhaerent zijn aan de verwantengroep der karaëngs, en dat de Vorst geacht wordt deze eigenschappen in hoogste potentie te bezitten.

Iemand, die wat betreft zijn afstamming niet tot de verwantengroep der karaëngs behoort, maar die blijk geeft die eigenschappen wel te bezitten, beschouwt men dus min of meer als karaëng. Een huwelijk met een lid der karaëngsgroep is in dat geval mogelijk.

Iemand, die tot de verwantengroep der karaëngs behoort, maar die die eigenschappen niet blijkt te bezitten, wordt toch geacht hen in potentie te bezitten. Men houdt rekening met de mogelijkheid dat zij alsnog tot uiting zullen komen.

De persoonlijke eigenschappen nodig om een „goede" heer te zijn in Kooremans tijd, verschillen van die in deze tijd. Het oude persoonlijkheidsideaal heeft zijn aantrekkingskracht (nog) niet verloren; er is daarnaast een nieuw aan het ontstaan, dat (nog) niet geaccepteerd is. H. J. Merlijn schetste in zijn boek Bontorio het oude ideaal in de figuur van „de laatste generaal" en het nieuwe in diens zoon. De laatste schets slaagde m.i. daarom minder goed, omdat deze „djurutulisfiguur" door hem met een aantal persoonlijke eigenschappen toegerust werd, die de Gouvernementele instanties tussen 1905 en 1924 wel gaarne in de jongere adellijke hoofden zagen, maar die in deze vorm als nieuw ideaal niet aanvaard werden.

Enkele dezer eigenschappen nu waren aanwezig in het hoofd dat, zoals boven gesteld werd, geen volgelingen door zijn persoonlijke eigenschappen aan zich had weten te binden en dat dus moest steunen op familie en bestuur om zich in zijn functie te handhaven.

Slaven (ata).

Matthes vertaalt de term ata met „slaaf, dienaar, onderdaan". Deze vertaling is ook thans nog juist. Als de Vorst van Goa over zijn ata spreekt moet uit het verband van de zin opgemaakt worden of hij daarmee zijn slaven, zijn volgelingen, dan wel zijn onderdanen bedoelt, dan wel eventueel zijn adellijke bondgenoten. Indien iemand zich tegenover de Vorst diens ata noemt, is dit een zelfvernedering, die — vooral als het een voornaam man betreft —

vaak neerkomt op een buiten alle proporties staande verheffing van de Vorst en daarmee van de spreker zelve.

Evenmin als men iemands stand als een vaste kenbare grootheid aan kan geven, kan men ook het begrip ata met één term vertalen; vertalen is slechts mogelijk, indien de betrekking van de spreker tot degeen als wiens ata hij zich beschouwt, duidelijk is. Ata duidt een relatie aan. Een bewoner van de kampong Pakatto, die zich een ata (onderdaan) van de Vorst van Goa noemt, blijkt ook zelf een ata (slaaf) te bezitten.

Voorzover de term ata met slaaf vertaald wordt, blijkt, dat slaven bij de hoogste stand behoren. Friedericy deelt mede, dat zij algemeen geminacht werden, maar dat de hofslaven tegenover de gewone mensen een bevoorrechte positie innamen. [1]) De slaven blijken niet in een vaste sociale hiërarchie geplaatst te kunnen worden. Zij vormen te zamen ook geen geïntegreerde groep. Zij hebben elk voor zich hun banden met hun heer. Men kan hun positie slechts aangeven in de verhouding tot hun heer.

De positie der slaven in het Makassaars-Buginese land geeft geen aanleiding om deze met bijzonder sentiment te bezien. „Mochten de slaven al geminacht zijn, de behandeling, die zij ondervonden moet, voorzover ik heb kunnen nagaan, niet slecht zijn geweest," schrijft Friedericy. [1]) Volgens hem vertoonden voor 1905 de slaven in hoofdzaak de volgende kenmerken:

1. slaaf worden geschiedde door mensenroof (in de oorlog), door koop en door rechterlijke vonnissen;
2. slaven werden als rechteloos beschouwd;
3. slaven hadden een aparte sunrang, die lager was dan die van andere mensen;
4. niet de banden met hun familieleden maar die met hun heer waren voor hen in de allereerste plaats van belang.

Een onderzoek naar de huidige verhoudingen onder deze groep leverde m.b.t. deze punten het volgend resultaat.

Ad 1. Mensenroof, mensenkoop en veroordeling tot slavernij bij rechterlijk vonnis, zijn omstreeks 1905 officeel verboden en in feite hoogstens de eerste jaren daarna, maar al spoedig niet meer

[1]) H. J. Friedericy, diss. p. 551.

voorgekomen.[1]) Nieuwe slaven kwamen er dus niet meer bij.

Ad 2. Er zijn thans geen mensen meer aan te wijzen die voor de rechter als rechteloos beschouwd worden. Indien er al mensen zijn die bijv. geen eigen grond hebben, dan wordt nooit verklaard, dat zij die niet mogen hebben, maar slechts dat zij die niet nodig hebben, omdat er al voor hen gezorgd wordt; een ieder weet dat deze mensen vrij zijn om naar elders te trekken, daar te gaan wonen en er grond te kopen of te ontginnen. In meerdere rechterlijke vonnissen bleek dat lageren rechten konden doen gelden tegenover hogeren.

Ad 3. In de bovenvermelde regeling uitgaande van de Vorst van Goa ter vaststelling van de hoogte van de sunrang voor de verschillende rangen en standen in zijn rijk, werd ook de sunrang voor „de slaven van de Vorst" gefixeerd en wel op 12 reaal. Over andere slaven wordt niet gehandeld. In de huwelijksregisters van de adatgemeenschap Borongloë werd over het tijdvak 1940—1949 tweemaal deze slavensunrang geregistreerd. Het waren echter geen slaven van de Vorst van Goa, maar slaven van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd en van een lid van een der vooraanstaande verwantengroepen in de kampong Pakatto, voor wie de vorstelijke slavensunrang opgetekend werd.

Ad 4. Van een aantal personen kan worden gezegd, dat zij leven bij en werken voor hun heer. Zij hebben geen eigen gronden. Hun verwantengroep omvat slechts enkele gezinnen, is niet geïntegreerd en niet traditioneel. Zij nemen deel in de vereringsgemeenschap van hun heer.

Met deze gegevens voor ogen is het onvruchtbaar om te debatteren over de vraag of bijv. iemand, wiens ouders „slaven" waren, voor wiens huwelijk een sunrang van 12 reaal werd betaald, maar die, immers vrij om te gaan waar hij wil, in Makassar een handel opzette, slaaf is of niet. Terwijl hij in zijn kampong van herkomst nog beschouwd wordt als erfslaaf, geldt hij wellicht in Makassar als een schrander handelsman.

Het aantal dergenen die in hun eigen kampong als slaaf beschouwd worden, loopt terug. Er komen geen nieuwe slaven meer bij, er gaan er slechts af; in enkele gevallen geschiedde dit zelfs

[1]) Hier wordt gedoeld op het gebied der Zelfbesturen, dat pas in 1905 onder directe invloed van het Gouvernement kwam te staan. Toen pas kon de „afschaffing der slavernij" daar feitelijk doorgevoerd worden.

via een officiële vrijverklaring (sura' maradeka) door de heer afgegeven, zoals in 1939 in Mandar nog geschiedde, [1]) maar in de meeste gevallen, doordat kinderen van slaven verhuisden naar andere gebieden en daar als op zichzelf staande individuen gelijke kansen als andere enkelingen kregen in hun streven naar hoger. Alleen als in een kampong een gezin woont waarvan algemeen bekend is, dat de resp. ouders slaven waren, dat bij hun huwelijk de slavensunrang betaald werd en dat dit huwelijk geheel door hun heer geregeld en verzorgd werd, en als dit paar dan in die zelfde kampong is blijven wonen, daar geen grond heeft maar de grond van hun heer bewerkt en verder de gebruikelijke werkzaamheden voor hem verricht, dan kan men zeggen dat zo'n paar in die kampong nog als slaaf beschouwd wordt.

Dit houdt in algemene bewoordingen gesteld, thans in Borongloë in, dat van minachting slechts blijkt, als over hun huwelijksmogelijkheden gesproken wordt; dan blijkt dat gewone mensen (tau samara') liever geen huwelijksbanden met hen aangaan; hun huwelijkskansen — en dit geldt speciaal voor de jonge mannen — zijn beperkt; van een zekere minachting bleek mij verder slechts toen ik als onderzoeker naar hun officiële positie navraag deed. Het werk dat de slaven verrichten is gelijk aan het werk dat vele anderen verrichten, die als volgelingen beschouwd worden.

Kooreman noemt in 1883 de slaven niet bij zijn omschrijving van het begrip volgelingen. Bij hem vormen de slaven een aparte groep.

Friedericy [2]) verklaart bij zijn analyse der Makassaars-Buginese maatschappij, dat de slavenstand „eigenlijk secundair is" en „geen wezenlijke taak in het leven der maatschappij" had. Hij schakelt deze dus bij zijn verdere behandeling uit. Uit zijn gegevens kan echter moeilijk anders geconcludeerd worden, dan dat de slaven in een speciale verhouding tot de karaëngs stonden, en dat zij — in Goa — onderling geen andere band hadden, dan het besef, dat zij allen bij leden van een en dezelfde verwantengroep thuis hoorden. Hiervoor pleit de bovenvermelde sunrang regeling, waarin de Vorst alleen voor zijn slaven een aparte sunrang vaststelt. En hiervoor pleit verder het feit, dat bijv. het Adatgemeenschapshoofd van Borongloë tegenover een karaëng niet over zijn ata maar over

[1]) Juridisch kan deze vrijverklaring natuurlijk geen enkele betekenis hebben na de officiele vrijverklaring van alle slaven door het Gouvernement.
[2]) Zie Friedericy, idem, p. 582.

zijn mensen (tauma) spreekt, omdat spreken over zijn ata een uiting van hovaardij zou zijn; hij zou zich daardoor a.h.w. aan een karaëng gelijk stellen en belachelijk maken. Hij spreekt wel over zijn ata tegenover zijn onderdanen, maar veel minder openlijk dan de Vorst dat doet. [1])

Het schijnt dat het bezit van slaven iets is wat gelijk een bepaald ritueel of een bepaalde kleur bij de karaëngsgroep behoort, en wat, gelijk zoveel andere bij de hoogste groep behorende cultuurelementen, door de lagere groepen successievelijk overgenomen wordt. Het bezit van slaven werd i.c. door die hoogste groep aan de lageren niet streng verboden, maar toch ook niet zonder meer toegestaan. Dit verklaart waarom het Adatgemeenschapshoofd in zijn eerste gesprekken met de onderzoeker het aantal zijner ata als zeer groot voorstelde, maar tevens waarom hij later, toen herhaaldelijk op deze ata-kwestie teruggekomen werd, opmerkte, dat het wat gek was om zoveel over zijn ata te spreken.

Van de uiterlijke kenmerken, die de slaven in Kooreman's en wellicht ook nog in Friedericy's tijd onderscheidden, zijn thans de meeste weggevallen. Een enkel kenmerk bij slechts weinige individuen herinnert thans nog aan een complex, dat een halve eeuw geleden een veel belangrijker plaats in de cultuur innam.

End vuz trouw.

Als Makassaarse mannen van — ter bepaling der gedachten — tussen de 15 en de 35 jaar bijeen zijn, behoort het tot de goede toon om verhalen te vertellen, die op een waarnemer de indruk van opschepperige en sterke verhalen maken. Successen bij vrouwen (steeds onherkenbaar vaag aangeduid) en successen in een handgemeen behaald, of een overtroeving in een woordgevecht, meet men gaarne breed uit. Een moedige daad of een royaal gebaar wordt niet verzwegen. Bij de beschrijving van een feest stelt men het aantal karbouwen dat daarbij geslacht werd, het aantal gasten dat aanwezig was en de duur van het feest, steeds zo groot en ruim mogelijk voor. Vroegere feesten overtreffen in die verhalen

[1]) De slaven in Borongloë hadden in 1949 actief kiesrecht; zij kozen in feite mede. Voor de oorlog deed ik hier geen navraag naar. Friedericy deelt op pagina 552 van zijn proefschrift (1933) mede, dat de slaven van het kiesrecht t.a.v. de over hen gestelde hoofden waren uitgesloten; hij doelt hier op de slaven der karaëngs.

de tegenwoordige steeds in alle opzichten. De grootheid van de eigen verwantengroep in het verleden wordt op deze wijze de thans levenden en dus ook de steeds meeluisterende jongeren, duidelijk voor ogen gesteld.

In de eed van trouw (aru) die bij de inhuldiging van een nieuwe Vorst of bij andere zeer belangrijke gebeurtenissen als oorlog, door lagere hoofden of vooraanstaande volgelingen tegenover de Vorst wordt afgelegd, komt deze pochende toon eveneens duidelijk tot uiting. Het is een aaneenschakeling van uitingen van de grootste zelfverheerlijking, met direct daarnaast woorden van de meest volstrekte onderwerping aan de hogere. Het is een zelfde soort zelfvernedering, die uiteindelijk niet anders is dan een zelfverheffing, die ook opgemerkt werd, waar mannen van aanzien zich een slaaf des Vorsten noemen.

Deze eed wordt met getrokken kris onder tekenen van de hevigste emotie zin voor zin eigenlijk meer uitgestoten dan uitgesproken. De hiervolgende eed behoort aan het ex-Adatgemeenschapshoofd van Borongloë; hij sprak hem o.a. uit bij de inhuldiging van de Vorst van Goa in 1937. De optekening van de tekst had in 1948 plaats. [1])

Let eens op mij,
de ellendigste dienaar Gods,
de geringste der strijders van de Profeet.
Waar niemand is, daar ben ik;
en waar wel iemand is, daar ben ik
als zijn tweelingbroeder.
Ik ben de man der vrouwen,
de minnaar der meisjes;
de man, die onwankelbaar trouw is aan de adat;
die aan de adat vasthoudt,
die voor de waarheid pal staat.
Ik ben steeds aan de arbeid,
als een pakzadel, dat nooit afgenomen wordt;
als een buiksingel, die nooit losgemaakt wordt.
Ik ben sterk als een staartriem, die nooit scheurt,

[1]) Deze vertaling verscheen reeds in het maandblad Oriëntatie van Februari 1949. Enkele verbeteringen werden aangebracht. De tekst zelf geraakte in ongerede en kon daardoor hier niet worden afgedrukt.

als een naald, die nooit breekt,
als een vel, dat niet huilt, als het geslagen wordt.
Of het zwaar is of licht,
ik draag alles.
Indien ik ver weg gestuurd word,
dan behoeft niemand mij te helpen bij mijn taak;
dan heeft men slechts te luisteren
naar het bericht, dat ik terugbreng.
Want ik ben als een duif, die niet
gelokt hoeft te worden, maar die uit zich zelf komt.
Indien ik dichtbij werk te verrichten krijg,
dan heb ik daarbij geen hulp nodig;
dan heeft men slechts toe te zien bij mijn werk.
Want ik ben als een haan, die niet geroepen hoeft te worden,
maar die uit zichzelf komt.
Al is er maar één stuk rotan uit een rotanmat,
al is er maar één reep lontar,
als de Rijksraad er op zit, ga ik er ook op zitten.
Al striemt mij regen en wind,
al draait de wervelwind mij rond,
ik ben niet bang,
indien ik slechts bescherming vind bij de Rijksraad.
Ik ben een afstammeling van mensen, die volharden;
ik ben een afstammeling van mensen, die de dood niet vrezen;
ik ben de betrouwbaarste aller vertrouwelingen,
ik ben de beste aller volgelingen,
ik ben de dapperste man van Goa,
de held van Borongloë.
Let eens op de Berangrivier,
het nooit brekend ankertouw van Goa;
let eens op de berg, de Bawakaraëng,
het nooit loslatend anker,
zo ben ik ook,
en pas wie zó te vertrouwen is,
is waarlijk te vertrouwen.
Als de Rijksraad zich naar het Westen verplaatst.
dan ga ik ook naar het Westen;
als hij zich naar het Oosten verplaatst,
dan ga ik ook naar het Oosten.

Maar als de Rijksraad vertoeft
bij U mijn Vorst, in de voorouderlijke vergaderzaal, dan
blijf ik beneden. [1])

Oppositie.

Fairchild's omschrijving van het begrip „opposition" geeft de verhoudingen in Zuid-Celebes goed weer. Hij definieert: „Resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent". [2]) Deze term zal hier thans verder gebruikt worden.

Oppositie is inhaerent aan de verhouding van mannen onderling. In het gezin is de verhouding tussen vader en zoon sterk — en die tussen broers iets minder sterk — geformaliseerd. Aan het oppositiestreven binnen het gezin is daarmee zijn grootste kracht ontnomen.

Oppositie is waarneembaar tussen verwanten en speciaal tussen de vooraanstaande leden ener verwantengroep.

Ook de verhouding tussen een hoge en een lage, en evenzo tussen een oude en een jonge man is geformaliseerd. Tegenspreken van de hogere, resp. oudere, is verboden; spreken in diens aanwezigheid, is al gauw een onbeleefdheid. De manier van omgang maakt een stroeve indruk.

Oppositie is verder waarneembaar tussen verwantengroepen onderling. Waar een ornament aanwezig is, staan de vereringsgemeenschappen tot elkaar in oppositie. Er is oppositie tussen kampongs onderling, tussen adatgemeenschappen onderling en tussen rijken onderling.

Binnen al deze groeperingsvormen zijn, eveneens latent, steeds tegenstellingen aanwezig. Zij zijn slechts niet steeds merkbaar.

Vereringsgemeenschappen treden dus niet steeds als een eenheid op. [3]) De tegenstelling is vaak terug te voeren tot in het gezin van de Vorst, bijvoorbeeld indien het individu dat op grond van zijn afstamming als Vorst aangewezen is, niet tevens de persoon-

[1]) D.w.z. ik vergader niet mee, ik volg. De Makasaarse woningen staan op palen. Als de Vorst met zijn Rijksraad vergadert, wachten de lageren onder het huis en luisteren mee.

[2]) H. P. Fairchild: Dictionary of sociology, New York, 1944.

[3]) Een rijk, d.i. een locale, administratief-politieke eenheid, en de vereringsgemeenschap om het ornament van de Vorst van dat rijk vallen voor een groot deel samen.

lijke eigenschappen bezit, die voor de effectieve uitoefening daarvan noodzakelijk zijn.

De Vorst wordt geacht van het zuiverste bloed te zijn en in hoogste potentie de persoonlijke eigenschappen te bezitten, die de Makassaren bij een leider verwachten. Als een Vorst aan deze beide vereisten voldoet, blijkt hij in staat om een politiek te voeren die gericht is op vergroting van zijn gebied en van het getal zijner onderdanen.

Als een Vorst niet aan die eisen voldoet, ontstaat veelal een splitsing binnen het rijk, die in het vorstelijk gezin zijn aanvang neemt. Vaak is reeds bij een troonopvolging het conflict tussen degeen, die formeel de rechthebbende is, omdat hij de oudste zoon is, of omdat hij geacht wordt van het zuiverste bloed te zijn, en degeen die de beste persoonlijke eigenschappen bezit, aanwijsbaar. Zo'n splitsing vormt voor de Vorst een bedreiging. De kracht die zijn rijk dan naar buiten kan ontwikkelen blijft gering. Zijn streven is er dan nog slechts op gericht om zijn positie binnen zijn rijk te handhaven. Een klassiek voorbeeld is hiervan de broederoorlog in Sidenreng in 1831 e.v. jaren.

Eerdmans [1]) geeft de redenen, die tot die strijd voerden, duidelijk aan: „Uit het voorafgaande is gebleken dat La Pawawooi Mohamad Ali, Vorst van Sidenreng, een hoogbejaard man, steeds trouw onze zijde gehouden, en het Gouvernement vele en gewichtige diensten bewezen had. Toen zijn zoon Petta Tjambange met de Wadjosche prinses Mapalakae Aroe Maenge huwde, was bepaald dat een eventueel uit dat huwelijk geboren zoon, troonopvolger van Sidenreng zou worden.

Uit dien echt werd geboren La Patongai, Datoe Lampoele, die dan ook aan het bestuur te Makassar als troonopvolger voorgesteld en bij akte erkend werd. Datoe Lampoele was echter een onrustig, avontuurlijk persoon, wiens handelingen en gedragingen in menig opzicht aanstoot gaven; bovendien was hij Bone zeer toegedaan.

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[1]) De thans volgende aanhaling is afkomstig uit een niet gepubliceerde belangrijke nota over de geschiedenis van het Gouvernement Celebes en Onderhorigheden van de hand van de kort voor de Japanse inval overleden oud-Assistent Resident A. L. A. F. Eerdmans. De beneden nog volgende aanhalingen uit deze zelfde nota zullen worden aangegeven met „Eerdmans". Het is te hopen, dat het mogelijk zal blijken het in de oorlog gespaard gebleven gedeelte van dit werk tot welks uitgave voor de oorlog wel was besloten, doch nog niet was overgegaan, alsnog te publiceren.

Een en ander had ten gevolge, dat zijn grootvader, de oude Vorst van Sidenreng, meer en meer van hem vervreemde en grooter genegenheid koesterde voor een zoon van Petta Tjambange uit een tweede huwelijk met We Nomba Daroe Pamana verwekt, en genaamd La Pangorisang, dien hij tot troonopvolger bestemde. Datoe Lampoele die zijne aanspraken op Sidereng's troon niet wilde loslaten, begon reeds gedurende de laatste jaren van Mohammad Ali's leven, aanhang te werven onder de Vorsten en grooten in en buiten Sidenreng, en kon hij zeker rekenen op den steun van zijn schoonvader Datoe Mario-ri-awa, eenige Wadjosche en Bonésche aanzienlijken. Daarentegen had La Pangorisang, veel partijgenooten onder de grooten van Sidenreng, de Wadjosche familieleden zijner moeder Datoe Pamana, terwijl ook de Vorst van Barroe (Topatarai Soemagaroeka), zijn lateren schoonvader, hem steunde evenals de Vorsten van Sawitto en Rappang.

Toen de oude Vorst van Sidenreng den 7den November 1831 overleed en La Pangorisang als Vorst optrad, barstte spoedig een broederoorlog uit". [1]) En later:

„Door onze tusschenkomst, was La Pangorisang, in 1835 hersteld in de hem gedurende den oorlog ontnomen landstreken, en had hij zich met Datoe Lampoele verzoend, aan wien toegestaan werd zich in Sidenreng te vestigen. Hij hoopte echter in stilte op hulp van Bone om vroeg of laat zijn doel: Sidenreng's troon, te bereiken. Dientengevolge bleef Sidenreng in twee elkaar vijandige partijen verdeeld". [2])

Oppositieverschijnselen treft men in velerlei vormen op ieder niveau aan. Het volgelingenstelsel versterkt de positie der strijdenden. Het streven is er op gericht om met behulp van zoveel mogelijk lageren als volgelingen en zoveel mogelijk gelijken als bondgenoten een hogere te overwinnen. Steeds poogt men daarbij om tevens de hoogste onder zijns gelijken te worden. Een zekere eenheid van territoor wordt hierbij altijd gehandhaafd; tegenstanders en medestanders zoekt men bij voorkeur onder zijn buren. Zo is het gehele Makassaars-Buginese land, zo is ieder rijk, iedere adatgemeenschap, iedere kampong en ook iedere verwantengroep en ook ieder gezin met meer dan één man, potentieel een strijdtoneel.

[1]) Eerdmans, p. 515—516.
[2]) Eerdmans, p. 520.

In elk van deze groeperingen streven meerdere individuen naar meer macht binnen de voor hen bestaande, territoriaal gebonden mogelijkheden. Zij stranden daarbij steeds op het onderling concurrerend streven van hun gelijken. Want als iemand in een bepaalde situatie meent, dat hij voor zich en zijn familie en, eventueel, voor zijn land, zijn streven beter kan dienen door zich aan een bepaalde afspraak niet te houden, dan trekt hij zich terug. Op trouw tussen gelijken m.b.t. de onder hen gemaakte afspraken, kan niet worden gerekend. Trouw tot in de dood is slechts aanwijsbaar tussen hoog en laag. [1])

Indien wij nu enkele oppositieverschijnselen op verschillend niveau nader bezien, dan blijkt in de verwarrende verscheidenheid toch een algemene lijn aanwijsbaar.

Een Kapalakampong streeft er naar zijn Kapalaschap te behouden voor zich en zijn familieleden, want wie te zeggen heeft over een niet-familielid is hoger dan dat niet-familielid en in dat hoger aanzien, delen, althans binnen zijn kampongterritoor, zijn familieleden. De positie van de Kapala verschilt m.b.t. de leden van zijn eigen verwantengroep en m.b.t. die van andere op zijn territoor woonachtige groepen. In zijn eigen groep behoort hij tot de vooraanstaande mannen; als zodanig hoort hij alles wat er daar omgaat; aan zijn Kapalaschap ontleent hij op zijn beurt weer het aanzien nodig om invloed in zijn groep uit te oefenen.

Bij de leden van de andere groepen gaat zijn invloed in vele gevallen, slechts zover als nodig is om die werkzaamheden te verrichten, die hem, via Zelfbestuur en Adatgemeenschapshoofd, door ambtenaren van het Binnenlands Bestuur opgedragen zijn. Dit betreft dus veelal administratieve zaken, maar aangezien administratie en de uitoefening van de feitelijke macht hier niet gescheiden worden gedacht, is zijn invloed zeer groot. Voor de bewoners van het kampongterritoor is de Kapala de man, bij wie zij hun belasting moeten betalen; die de gemeentediensten regelt; bij wie het verzoek voor de ontginning van een nieuw stuk grond in eerste instantie voorgebracht moet worden; aan wie een adspirant kampong-

[1]) Ook hier zijn grenzen. Persoonlijke trouw van een lagere tegenover een hogere wordt gewaardeerd. Maar trouw van een verwantengroep van lageren tegenover een hogere duurt zolang de eersten zich op de laatsten aangewezen weten en zij niet een machtiger hogere hebben tot wie zij zich kunnen richten om hulp en bescherming.

bewoner toestemming tot vestiging moet vragen; aan wie overnachtende gasten gerapporteerd moeten worden, enz. enz.

In al dergelijke dagelijks voorkomende zaken dient hij dus gekend te worden. Hij is de schakel tussen de bewoners van zijn kampong en het Adatgemeenschapshoofd. Het is dus voor alle kampongbewoners van belang om met hem op goede voet te staan. Bij niet-familieleden houdt zijn invloed spoedig op. Hij blijft buiten hetgeen voor hen als familieleden belangrijk is. Als hij een poging doet om zijn invloed verder uit te breiden dan ontstaat tegenstand. De tegenstelling tussen de verschillende verwantengroepen op een en hetzelfde kampongterritoor komt o.a. tot uiting bij de uitoefening van de functie van gurukampong.

De gurukampong is de laagste godsdienstbeambte in de hiërarchie waarin de Kali aan de top staat voor het hele rijk, en waarin de Imang voor zaken binnen de adatgemeenschap aan deze ondergeschikt is. De gurukampong is op zijn beurt weer ondergeschikt aan de Imang voor zaken, die de bewoners van zijn kampong betreffen. Hij heeft als taak de geboorten en sterfgevallen, de huwelijken en de gevallen van mensen die tot echtscheiding willen overgaan ter kennis van de Imang te brengen. Hij verleent zijn hulp bij geboorte, begrafenis en grafbezoek v.z.v. moslims ritueel daarbij moet plaats hebben.

De gurukampong heeft dus direct te maken met het intieme familieleven en daarom heeft men voor zijn functie bij voorkeur een familielid. Een groep familieleden, die op een kampongterritoor te zamen woont naast de Kapalagroep, heeft dus vaak een eigen guru. [1]) Op een kampongterritoor treft men op deze wijze naast de eigenlijke gurukampong vaak één of zelfs twee guru's aan, die ieder voor hun eigen familie werken. Zij streven er naar rechtstreeks met de Imang in contact te treden; dat verschaft hun een zelfstandige positie tegenover de guru van de Kapalagroep. Soms (zoals in Bontoramba) laat de Kapala dit toe; de guru van de Kapalagroep moet zich daar dan bij neerleggen; maar de Kapala en zijn guru zowel als de Imang kunnen dit streven tegengaan.

[1]) In Bontoramba heeft de Mangenregroep (18 huizen) zijn eigen guru. Ook enkele andere daar wonende Buginezen worden door deze man geholpen. De overigen, Makassaren, vragen in voorkomende gevallen hulp aan de guru van de Kapalagroep.

Waar de Kapalagroep niet de enige, maar wel verreweg de grootste groep in de kampong is, is vaak een strijd bemerkbaar, al nam deze nog geen scherpe vormen aan. Waar twee bijna even grote groepen op één territoor naast elkaar wonen, komt die strijd duidelijker tot uiting; een voorbeeld daarvan vindt men bij de verkiezing van een nieuwe Kapala. Verkiezing heeft plaats, volgens het verkiezingsreglement 1927, bij meerderheid van stemmen der werkbare mannen. De strijd wordt gevoerd enerzijds door te trachten de kampongbewoners die tot geen van beide concurrerende verwantengroepen behoren aan zich te binden en anderzijds door de band met het Adatgemeenschapshoofd te versterken, of indien mogelijk door een li[illegible]an de hoge adel voor het geval te interesseren. Hun hulp[illegible] belang omdat zij — maar dit berust niet op het verkiezing[illegible]ent — soms een stemming ongeldig verklaren, dan wel [illegible] meedelen, dat slechts een proefstemming gehouden werd [illegible]et resultaat niet met hun wensen overeen kwam. [1])

De Kapala kan zijn positie versterken door aansluiting te zoeken bij andere Kapala; het sluiten van een huwelijk is daartoe het aangewezen middel. Maar hierdoor zou direct een machtsvorming binnen de adatgemeenschap ontstaan, die door het Adatgemeenschapshoofd ongaarne gezien wordt. Dit is in nog sterker mate het geval indien een Kapala aansluiting zou zoeken bij een naburig Adatgemeenschapshoofd. Dit zou een daad zijn, waaruit een zekere vijandigheid t.a.v. het eigen hoofd zou spreken, want dan dreigt direct afval van het eigen hoofd en overgang naar het buurhoofd. Dit laatste kwam v.z.v. bekend zelden voor, omdat sinds 1905 deze overgangen niet meer overgelaten zijn aan het vrije spel der Makassaarse machten, maar door de ambtenaren van het Binnenlands Bestuur moeten worden goedgekeurd. Dit Bestuur stond in de practijk grenswijzigingen slechts zelden toe. Het hield bij voorkeur vast aan de in de jaren na 1905 gefixeerde grenzen.

De Kapala kan ook aansluiting zoeken bij de familie van het

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[1]) Het Hoofdenverkiezingsreglement van 1927 wordt dus niet toegepast zoals het door het Europese Bestuur, dat het invoerde, bedoeld was. Meerderheid van stemmen is, naar Makassaars gevoelen op zichzelf niet voldoende om het Kapalaschap te veroveren. Daartoe is ook de instemming van het eigen hoofd vereist. Dit reglement sluit dus willekeur van de zijde der hogeren niet uit, maar beperkt deze.

Adatgemeenschapshoofd; een huwelijk tussen leden der beide verwantengroepen blijkt mogelijk. [1])

Het blijkt dus dat de Kapala en de vooraanstaande leden van zijn verwantengroep er naar streven om, wat betreft het eigen kampongterritoor, zich te handhaven, zo mogelijk om hun positie te versterken, en wat betreft het gebied daarbuiten, om eigen aanzien te verhogen door het aangaan van banden met gelijke of even hogere groepen.

Het Adatgemeenschapshoofd voert een politiek, die binnen zijn gebied erop gericht is om, ten eerste, zijn eigen verwantengroep tot een zo sterk mogelijke eenheid te maken en, ten tweede, om zijn invloed in de kampongs waar geen familieleden van hem wonen zo veel mogelijk te versterken. Dit laatste geschiedt door het leggen van een huwelijksband, of door er naar te streven een familielid of een vertrouwd volgeling tot kamponghoofd benoemd te krijgen. Zo werd bij een Kapalaverkiezing naast een lid van de leidende daar woonachtige verwantengroep, de broer van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd candidaat gesteld. Hij kreeg een aantal stemmen van leden der daar wonende Restgroep, maar verloor desondanks. Pas toen, nadat de eerste stemming tot proefstemming was verklaard, de tweede een gelijk resultaat opleverde, legde het Adatgemeenschapshoofd zich daarbij neer.

Het Adatgemeenschapshoofd gaat machtsvorming binnen zijn gebied tegen. Hij ziet dus huwelijksrelaties tussen de naaste familie-

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[1]) Men kan daarbij opmerken dat steeds een man van de groep van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd een meisje van de Kapalagroep huwt. Enig verschil in aanzien tussen Adatgemeenschapshoofd en Kamponghoofd en dus ook tussen hun verwantengroepen wordt geacht steeds te bestaan en door het huwelijk wordt de idee, als zou een man met een vrouw uit een verwantengroep van hoger aanzien dan de zijne huwen, vermeden. Een neef (samposikali) van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd werd zo in het huwelijk verbonden met een dochter van de Kapala van Bontoramba.

Bij de opvolging in het kapalaschap is een duidelijke voorkeur voor de zoon, althans voor een na familielid van de vorige Kapala aanwijsbaar. In 7 van de 14 kampongs van de adatgemeenschap Borongloë hebben tussen 1939 en 1949, de Kapala gewisseld; 3 daarvan werden opgevolgd door een zoon; één door een schoonzoon, één door een jongere neef en 2 door iemand uit een andere verwantengroep. In het eerste dezer gevallen was die oud-Kapala een Sajid, een vreemdeling, die wegens een vrouwenkwestie de kampong en de adatgemeenschap moest verlaten; in het laatste was de nieuwe Kapala een ver familielid van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd; deze man had als KPM matroos vele zeeën bevaren; hij bezat een rustig overwicht over de mensen en werd zonder veel tegenstand verkozen.

leden van zijn verschillende Kapala ongaarne, tenzij hij zelf degeen is die zo'n huwelijk tot stand brengt. Hij weet verder dat een ornament, dat zich in handen van een der Kapalagroepen bevindt, voor hem steeds een potentiële bedreiging betekent.

Het streven van een Adatgemeenschapshoofd is, v.z.v. het buiten de adatgemeenschap werkt er in het algemeen op gericht, om banden aan te knopen, hetzij met zijn mede adatgemeenschapshoofden, hetzij met zijn Vorst en diens familieleden. Het eerste ziet de Vorst ongaarne, want dan dreigt direct machtsvorming binnen zijn rijk. Nog meer afkerig zou hij zijn van een band van een zijner Adatgemeenschapshoofden met een naburige Vorst. Is dit laatste van de hoofden der dicht om het centrum van Goa gelegen adatgemeenschappen niet spoedig te verwachten, in de randgebieden, i.c. de berggebieden, is dit anders; daar gebeurde het reeds dat een locaal hoofd zijn Vorst afviel om een ander te volgen. [1]) Deze, aan de grenzen van het rijk woonachtige hoofden, volgden vaak niet zozeer de machtigste hunner naburen, als wel degeen, die hen in hun gebied de grootste vrijheid van handelen liet. Na 1905 zijn ook hier de grenzen gefixeerd.

Het streven van de Vorst is er naar binnen toe op gericht om in zijn rijk een zo krachtig mogelijke eenheid tot stand te brengen, door in de eerste plaats in zijn eigen verwantengroep eenheid na te streven, en verder om zijn invloed in de onder hem ressorterende adatgemeenschappen, zoveel mogelijk uit te breiden.

De Vorst van Goa voerde, in de jaren die aan het uitbreken van de tweede wereldoorlog voorafgingen, die politiek met succes. Het gelukte hem, om in een kort tijdsbestek in twee daarvan, één zijner familieleden als Adatgemeenschapshoofd aangesteld te krijgen.

De resp. verwantengroepen dezer beide vroegere hoofden daalden hierdoor in aanzien. Zij ontleenden dit aanzien immers in de allereerste plaats aan dat hoofdschap en thans werden zij a.h.w. tot de orde der gewone verwantengroepen teruggedrukt. Zij streefden

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[1]) „Ofschoon de berg-Makassaren zich nog lang tegen eene vereeniging met de strand-Makassaren verzet hadden, maar zich in 1817 onder Aroe Mampoe, aan den nieuwen Vorst van Goa Karaeng Lembangparang onderwierpen, had Aroe Bakara toch onder hen eenigen aanhang gekregen, die van lieverlede aangroeide, en hem in staat stelde, het grootste gedeelte van de Gowasche bergstreken van hun Vorst afvallig te maken." Eerdmans p. 398.

er op dat moment nog slechts naar, om het nieuwe Adatgemeenschapshoofd van karaëngsbloed zo veel mogelijk met hun eigen mensen te omgeven, zodat zij tegenover de andere verwantengroepen van hun adatgemeenschap nog de leidende zouden kunnen blijven, al was het dan dat zij slechts de bevelen van de Karaëng uitvoerden.

De Karaëng van zijn kant zocht deze band, die a.h.w. om hem gelegd werd, steeds te doorbreken door contacten te zoeken juist met de vooraanstaande leden der andere groepen. Deze van hun kant zagen daarbij enerzijds hun kans om, via de Karaëng, een vooraanstaande positie in de adatgemeenschap te gaan innemen, die zij te voren niet bezaten; zij durfden zich anderzijds echter tegenover de leden van de oude hoofdenfamilie toch weer niet al te zeer op de voorgrond te plaatsen, rekening houdend met hetgeen gebeuren zou als de thans verder doordringende invloed van de Vorst weer zou verminderen.

De Adatgemeenschapshoofden die nog in functie gebleven waren, gevoelden zich door deze politieke successen van de Vorst bedreigd. „Wij worden onbelangrijk", zo zeide een hunner.

Bij een bespreking van de verhouding van de Vorst van Goa tot zijn mede-Vorsten moet op drie verschillende punten gewezen worden. Ten eerste: wij treden daarmee territoriaal gesproken buiten Goa; het hele Makassaars-Buginese gebied is dan veld van onderzoek. Ten tweede: doordat een aantal gebeurtenissen die aan de hoven der Vorsten plaats hadden, gedurende de laatste eeuwen min of meer geregeld opgetekend werden, kunnen wij hierbij een aantal historische gegevens gebruiken, die van Adatgemeenschapshoofden en Kamponghoofden niet bekend zijn. Ten derde: de positie, die de V.O.C. en later het Gouvernement van Nederlands Indië m.b.t. dit oppositie streven, dat uiteindelijk is ingesteld op de verkrijging van de hegemonie over Zuid-Celebes, inneemt, moet eerst worden aangegeven.

Kennisname van hetgeen Eerdmans hierover meedeelt wekt de indruk, dat het optreden der V.O.C. wel herhaaldelijk een ommekeer bracht in de op dat moment bestaande machtsverhoudingen, maar dat dit geen wijziging bracht in de manier waarop de Vorsten hun politiek voerden. Deze zagen in de V.O.C. en later in het Gouvernement van Nederlands Indië, niet de overheerser, die met samenbundeling van alle krachten verdreven moest

worden, maar een nieuw machtscentrum, dat zij meebetrokken in hun onderlinge tegenstellingen en dat zij gebruikten ter verwezenlijking van hun politieke doelstellingen.

De V.O.C. werd aangevallen, indien haar positie zwak geacht werd. Zo gauw de troepenmacht te Makassar verminderd was of een eskader weer van de rede van Makassar vertrokken was, veranderde de toon der brieven van de tegenstander van dat moment. [1]) De V.O.C. werd herhaaldelijk verslagen maar nooit vernietigd. Dat past in de Makassaarse gedachtengang; men acht het voldoende wanneer de verslagen tegenstander in de daarop volgende besprekingen de mindere is. Als de V.O.C. werd aangevallen, dan vond zij daarbij steeds steun bij degenen die toename van de macht van de aanvaller ongaarne zagen.

Deze toestand duurde tot 1905. Toen werd heel Zuid-Celebes aan het gezag van het Nederlands Indische Gouvernement onderworpen. Toen pas zijn van rijken, adatgemeenschappen en kampongs de grenzen vastgesteld, waaraan men verder zoveel mogelijk vast heeft gehouden.

Toen pas is het Gouvernement heel langzaam aan, op andere persoonlijke eigenschappen van de Vorst de nadruk gaan leggen. De eigenschappen die tot dusver voor hem door de Makassaren van groot belang geacht waren, werden nu minder belangrijk. Het Gouvernement ontnam enerzijds aan een krachtige persoonlijkheid de kans om een expansieve politiek te voeren en steunde anderzijds een zwakke als deze door buren of familieleden in zijn waardigheid bedreigd werd.

Toen pas verdween de tegenstelling in de vorm zoals Kooreman die beschrijft, tussen de Vorst en een zijner aanzienlijkste verwanten die, te zamen met een groot aantal volgelingen, binnen het rijk een macht vormde, zonder dat de Vorst daartegen optrad. Deze toestand schijnt bij Kooreman een aan de Makassaarse samenleving inhaerent verschijnsel. De volgelingen worden daarbij beschreven als goede vechters, die niet tegen een steekpartij opzien. Ook lagere hoofden — en met hen al hun onderdanen — bevinden zich daaronder. Het zwijgen en dulden van de kampongbewoners die van

[1]) Zo in het conflict tussen de Vorstin van Bone, Bataritodja, en de Gouverneur Smout omstreeks 1730. „De brutale houding van Bataritodja was voornamelijk veroorzaakt door de vermindering onzer troepenmacht te Makassar. Men had op Java dringend behoefte aan militairen"; zie Eerdmans, p. 291.

deze tegenmacht te lijden hadden, wordt verklaard door te wijzen, behalve op de directe dreiging die er van zo'n groep uitgaat, op het hoge bloed van hun leider, waardoor alleen een klacht bij een nog hogere, dus bij de Vorst, succes zou kunnen hebben.

De Vorst zelf tenslotte, trad in zeer vele van dergelijke gevallen als klachten hem bereikten ook niet op. Liever dan een nederlaag te riskeren, waarmee hij zijn gehele waardigheid zou kunnen verliezen, dulde hij deze macht binnen zijn rijk. De leider van zo'n groep vertoonde zich overal; als na familielid van de Vorst verscheen hij ook in het paleis. Waar een actief en krachtig Vorst heerste, die dank zij zijn persoonlijke eigenschappen, zijn naaste familieleden wist te leiden, en hun energie op veroveringen buiten het eigen gebied te richten, daar waren ook zulke machtsgroepen niet aanwezig; een kleine locale terreur van een overigens toegewijd volgeling van de Vorst werd deze niet al te kwalijk genomen.

In de periode na 1905, toen klachten bij de ambtenaren van het Binnenlands Bestuur voorgebracht, wel behandeling vonden, werden de leiders van dergelijke groepen, ook die van hoge adel, meer en meer in hun bewegingen belemmerd. Het bleek, dat zij voor de Bestuursambtenaren niet veilig waren als er over hen geklaagd was. Heel langzaam aan moet, vaak onbewust, het besef doorgedrongen zijn, dat zij dienden te kiezen tussen onderwerping aan de regels der nieuwe orde, die het Gouvernement voorstond, en het verzet tegen datzelfde Gouvernement.

De activiteiten van degenen, die het verzet kozen, werden steeds duidelijker van die der eersten onderscheiden; degenen die zich bleven verzetten werden gedwongen zich met hun volgelingen langzamerhand terug te trekken in moeilijk begaanbare streken tot zij, geheel in de verdediging gedrongen en van het etiket roverhoofdman of bendeleider voorzien, tenslotte gevangen genomen of gedood werden. Zo was het einde van mannen als daëng Pabarang in het Westen van Bone omstreeks 1910 en als Tolo [1]) in Polom-

[1]) „In het tweede kwartaal van genoemd jaar (1915) nam het aantal rooverijen onrustbarend toe, door het optreden van eenige beruchte bendehoofden in het voormalige landschap Gowa. Tot die hoofden behoorden Tolo en diens gevreesde onderbevelhebbers Basareng, Baso Patjiro Daëng Mapata, (deel uitmakende van de Gowasche Vorstenfamilie) Radjamang, Djappa, Bakka (twee laatstgenoemden waren gewezen gewapende politiedienaren en leermeesters in het gebruik van vuurwapenen) en Abbassa Daëng Manromo Karaëng Biladji, stiefbroeder van Gowa's laatsten Vorst). In een betrekkelijk klein gebied, werden

bangkeng in 1915. Zij waren figuren geworden die niet meer pasten in het sociale systeem, dat bepaald werd door de ideeën over rust en orde, rechtszekerheid en persoonlijke veiligheid, die door het Gouvernement werden voorgestaan. [1])

Met het verdwijnen van deze figuren verdween echter niet de tegenstelling binnen de kring van de Vorst en zijn naaste verwanten. Die tegenstelling vindt immers zijn basis binnen het gezin in de verhouding der broers. Hetgeen verdween was slechts de door Kooreman in 1883 beschreven vorm, waarin de tegenstelling tot uiting kwam, nml. die van een macht binnen het rijk onder leiding van een man van hoge adel gebaseerd op geweld, die tegen de Vorst gericht was.

De tegenstelling zelf bleef sluimeren. Zij kwam in de jaren die aan de tweede wereldoorlog vooraf gingen voornamelijk in een aantal kwesties van erfopvolging tot uiting.

In 1949 werd zij opnieuw waarneembaar, thans in parlementaire vorm. Het bleek, dat verwanten der verschillende Vorsten en Zelfbestuursleden, zitting hadden in de vertegenwoordigende raden, die in die tijd zowel voor de daërah (de Zuid-Celebesraad) als voor een aantal rijken (o.a. de Boneraad) ingesteld werden. Tegenover hun regerende familieleden staan deze mannen van adel als progressieven, maar in een aantal gevallen schijnt hun streven er slechts op gericht om de regerende Vorst te elimineren en zelf Vorst te worden. Zij voeren de traditionele Zuid-Celebes politiek slechts onder nieuwe namen en in nieuwe vormen.

In November 1948 werd de Hoge Hadat (Hadat Tinggi) voor het gehele gebied van de daërah Zuid-Celebes ingesteld. Zij was bedoeld als een bestuurslichaam, waarin de verschillende Vorsten zitting zouden hebben. Hiermee werd een eenheid gecreëerd, die

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gedurende enkele maanden, door deze lieden niet minder dan 130 rampokpartijen gepleegd. Niet te beschrijven waren de wreedheden door hen vaak op klaarlichten dag bedreven, overtuigd als zij waren dat, ook al werden zij herkend, niemand het zoude wagen hen te verraden. De Inlandsche hoofden, waaronder vele Regenten bewezen hun vorstelijke eerbewijzen, schonken hun paarden en richtten bij hunne komst feestmaaltijden aan, waarvoor karbouwen en paarden geslacht werden. In vele streken werd zelfs een brandschattingssysteem, eene belasting ingevoerd, welke den betaler vrijwaarde voor overlast." Eerdmans, p. 1078.

[1]) Een bijzondere constellatie maakte in 1927 het optreden van daëng Mangemba tijdelijk mogelijk. Zie hiervoor Z(entgraaff) „Celebesproblemen", p. 5 e.v.

geheel in de lijn der ontwikkeling lag. De strijd om de hegemonie van Zuid-Celebes kwam hiermee in een volgend stadium.

De Vorsten van Bone en Goa werden respectievelijk Voorzitter en Vice Voorzitter van dit college. [1]) Het is te verwachten, dat Goa zijn strijd om de hegemonie zal voortzetten, door te streven naar het Voorzitterschap van de Hadat Tinggi, een streven dat, mocht Goa hierin ooit slagen, vervolgens op dezelfde wijze en met dezelfde middelen gevoerd zal worden door het rijk, dat dan de tweede machtspositie zal innemen.

De mensen van Zuid-Celebes, de Vorsten in de eerste plaats, weten zich deel van een groter geheel; ieder buiten Zuid-Celebes gelegen machtscentrum, dat invloed in dit gebied wil uitoefenen, wordt door de Vorsten mede gezien als een mogelijk hulpmiddel bij de bereiking van hun ideaal: de hegemonie. Zij streven steeds naar één groot, geheel Zuid-Celebes omvattend, rijk waar rust heerst. Zij menen dat dit slechts bereikbaar is voor een Vorst van ideaal zuivere afstamming, die de ideale persoonlijke eigenschappen in de hoogste mate bezit.

Oppositie wordt dus thans ook op het — voor Zuid-Celebes — hoogst denkbare niveau gevoerd. De Vorst, die de leiding der Hoge Hadat heeft, zal blijven streven naar verbrokkeling van de macht der andere rijken, om daardoor zijn eigen positie en die zijner verwantengroep te versterken en een grotere duurzaamheid te geven. De mogelijkheid tot oppositievoering zal echter steeds in een der andere groepen aanwezig blijven, ook al omdat geen Vorst van ideaal zuivere afstamming zal kunnen zijn of de ideale persoonlijke eigenschappen zal kunnen bezitten.

Acculturatieverschijnselen.

Cultuurelementen, uit West-Europa afkomstig, die op het gelijkheidsprincipe gebaseerd zijn, veroorzaken moeilijkheden als zij in Zuid-Celebes ingevoerd worden. Slechts enkele dier elementen worden hier in hun conflict met de standenstructuur kort weergegeven. De openbare verkoop, het voetbalspel en de parlementaire regeringsvorm zijn daarvan de voornaamste. Slechts op een enkel aspect hiervan wordt thans gewezen.

Het beraadslagen van vakgenoten onderling op voet van gelijk-

[1]) Afgesloten per December 1949.

heid, onafhankelijk van stand, is niet te verenigen met de idee, dat het onbeleefd is om een hogere te zeggen, dat men het niet met hem eens is. Een schoolopziener is hoger dan een onderwijzer en dus weet hij het beter, is de gedachtengang. Op een vergadering, omstreeks 1940 vanwege het Departement van Onderwijs belegd, leidde een Makassaars schoolopziener een onderwerp in. Het antwoord op de vraag, of men met hetgeen gezegd was instemde, was slechts een algemeen „jo karaëng" (jawel, mijnheer). Geen der aanwezige onderwijzers durfde, uit vrees als onbeleefd beschouwd te worden te verklaren, dat hij van een andere mening was.

Het te zamen eten van een hogere en een lagere, die door een Nederlander voor de zelfde maaltijd uitgenodigd waren, leverde verschillende moeilijkheden op. De lagere wachtte met iets te zeggen tot hij aangesproken was; hij beaamde dan slechts hetgeen gezegd was; hoogstens herhaalde hij dat op instemmende toon met andere woorden. Hij nam uit zich zelf uit geen enkel schaaltje, maar wachtte tot zijn gastheer of de hogere hem er een toeschoof; en dan at hij nog maar enkele hapjes. Het resultaat was, dat hij bijna niets gegeten hebbend, van tafel opstond.

Ook moderne Makassaren vinden deze omgangsvormen stroef; zij spotten er zelf mee, maar zijn niet in staat om ze te veranderen, en liever dan onbeleefd te zijn, gaan zij met honger van tafel.

Een openbare verkoop in Makassaarse sfeer is slechts een caricatuur van hetgeen de Westerse juristen die hem concipieerden voor ogen stond. Als een hogere biedt durft een lagere niet hoger te bieden; hij vraagt dus een hem welgezind man van hogere stand, een gelijke van de eerste bieder, om een bod voor hem te doen.

Het hoofd van de betrokken gemeenschap biedt persoonlijk ongaarne mede; hij loopt de kans dat een van niets wetend vreemdeling in het Makassaarse land, hem plotseling overbiedt; dit betekent voor hem een uitdaging, en hij moet doorbieden, veel hoger dan het object hem waard is, om in de ogen van zijn onderdanen geen nederlaag te lijden. En als het overbieden gebeurt, zoals in een kleine bestuursvestiging kon plaats hebben, door een Nederlandse dame, dan blijft voor hem slechts een lach over, over zo'n „uitdaging".

Het voetbalspel is gebaseerd op de gelijkheid der spelers onderling. Maar indien een karaëng meespeelt kan van gelijkheid geen

sprake meer zijn. [1]) Toen de karaëng: „loop uit" (bakkai) tegen zijn keeper riep, was dit voor de toelopende voorwaarts der tegenpartij als een tegen hem gericht bevel; hij hield in, en de keeper van de karaëngspartij kon de bal gemakkelijk het eerst bereiken. Als de karaëng de bal had, draalde de tegenpartij met aanvallen. Toen de karaëng bij een botsing viel, zorgde de speler van de tegenpartij ervoor, dat hij zelf enige malen om en om tolde, en pas langzaam weer opstond, om vooral de indruk te wekken dat hij, en niet de karaëng, in deze botsing de verliezer was. Het is begrijpelijk, dat het voetbalspel de Makassaren niet ligt. De regels strijden met hun gevoelens van beleefdheid tegenover een hogere.

Meer dan voetbal trekt hun het eigen ragaspel, omdat dit hun juist de gelegenheid geeft om de hogere een beleefdheid te bewijzen die beide partijen, hoog en laag, prettig stemt. De ragabal is een lichte van bamboe of rotan gevlochten bal; de spelers staan in een kring. De bedoeling is om de bal op sierlijke wijze „levend" te houden; met voet, hand, arm of hoofd wordt hij in boogjes van de ene speler aan de ander overgegeven. Speelt een adellijke jonge man mee dan zorgt men er voor, dat hij een goed speler naast zich krijgt, d.w.z. iemand die de bal zodanig kan overgeven, dat de karaëng er iets moois mee kan doen, opdat hij het succes zal oogsten, waar het hele troepje in deelt.

De Vorst regeert zijn rijk via zijn familieleden en volgelingen. De rechten en verplichtingen van hem en zijn familieleden tegenover het volk zijn niet scherp omschreven. Friedericy laat ons omtrent hun rekbaarheid niet in twijfel.

Toelating in de verwantengroep van de Vorst is slechts mogelijk, op grond van persoonlijke eigenschappen, via inhuwelijking, en daarbij gebonden aan beperkende voorschriften. Dit geeft aan deze groep een stabiel en duurzaam karakter.

De hoogste stand regeert. Het begrip regeren heeft hier dus tevens het element van duurzaamheid.

Kort na de vorming van de deelstaat Oost Indonesië werd de Makassaar Nadjamuddin daëng Malewa Minister President. Hij behoorde tot een verwantengroep van in Makassar woonachtige ambtenaren en was behalve met een bijzonder scherp verstand en

[1]) Het feit dat, volgens een krantenbericht uit Nederland, Prins Bernhard de derde prijs bij een jachtrit behaald had, werd als een grofheid van de zijde der beide winnaars beschouwd.

snel inzicht, begiftigd met die persoonlijke eigenschappen, die de Makassaren voor een leidende figuur onontbeerlijk achten.

Ieder individu met bijzonder goede persoonlijke eigenschappen verwekt in zijn verwantengroep een spanning. De spanning die Nadjamuddin deed ontstaan was slechts bijzonder groot.

De eenheid dezer verwantengroep werd versterkt door druk van buiten. Na de vorming der nieuwe deelstaat ontspon zich op de Ministeries te Makassar een stille strijd tussen de verschillende bevolkingsgroepen — Ambonnezen, Baliërs, Makassaren, Menadonezen — om de ambtelijke posities. Onder de druk der anderen sloten de Makassaren zich aaneen.

De nieuwe Premier vond, begrijpelijk, geen Parlement, dat de hem in West-Europa toegeschreven plaats direct kon begrijpen. De aan het ministerschap aldaar verbonden, scherp afgebakende rechten en verplichtingen konden hier niet dadelijk worden aangegeven. Hij greep dus terug op het oude Makassaarse regeerpatroon.

Nadjamuddin regeerde via zijn familieleden en volgelingen, die als ambtenaren op de Ministeries werkzaam waren. Zij vormden dus naar Makassaars inzicht tevens de hoogste stand.

De idee, dat dit regeren slechts tijdelijk zou zijn, immers afhankelijk van politieke verhoudingen, was hen vreemd.

De val van Nadjamuddin als Minister President werd door de Makassaren opgevat als een aantasting van zijn, en daarmee van hun, sociaal aanzien. De hierdoor ontstane siri' gevoelens [1]) brachten hen er toe, zich van de andere bevolkingsgroepen af te wenden. De afscheidingstendenties van die tijd die een politieke vorm aannamen, vinden hier hun basis.

Heilsverwachting.

De heilsverwachtingen in Zuid-Celebes vertonen enkele kenmerken, die op verschillende punten overeenkomen met boven in dit hoofdstuk beschreven verschijnselen. Dat is de reden, dat zij hier worden behandeld. De algemene trekken zijn de volgende.

Een man of een vrouw voorspelt, dat de dagen van het bestaande gezag geteld zijn. Alle Vorsten, Nederlanders, Vreemde Ooster-

[1]) Zie hoofdstuk III, derde gedeelte.

lingen zullen gedood worden of weggaan; natuurrampen en zonsverduisteringen zijn nabij; belastingen zullen niet meer betaald en herendiensten niet meer verricht behoeven te worden. [1]) Degeen die die voorspellingen doet wekt de mensen op, om zich op de nieuwe tijd in te stellen; hij reikt daartoe tegen betaling dijmats uit, opdat de dragers onkwetsbaar zullen zijn en veilig de komende rampen tegemoet zullen kunnen gaan; hij leert hun bepaalde tekens waaraan zij elkaar in de toekomst zullen kunnen herkennen, en waaraan zij, ook voor degeen, wiens komst is aangekondigd en die de gedane voorspellingen waar zal maken, herkenbaar zullen zijn, zodat hij tussen hen en de rest der mensen onderscheid zal weten te maken. [2]) Hij verklaart soms, dat hij zelf Vorst zal worden; dat hij een afstammeling van een bepaalde met name genoemde bekende historische figuur is, dan wel, dat de geest van een bepaalde reeds overleden persoon in hem wedergeboren is. [3]) Steeds staan de genoemde personen bekend als mensen, die met succes tegen een Vorst of tegen het Gouvernement optraden.

De verwachtingen gaan uit naar een Vorst, die zal regeren in een machtig rijk, waar rust zal heersen. [4]) Degeen die deze voor-

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[1]) Er ontstond „beroering, doordat zekere Baso Oewa Taéna, zich ook noemende Baso Daëng Magassieng een zonsverduistering voorspelde, gedurende welke Battara Gowa (Sangkilang) verschijnen, en zijne dochter aan hem, Baso uithuwelijken zou. Nadat stromen bloed gevloeid en alle Europeanen en Vreemde Oosterlingen verwijderd waren, zoude een machtig-rijk ontstaan, waarover hij als Vorst zou heerschen". Eerdmans, p. 1089.

[2]) „In de wanna's Mario riawo en Pettodjo-Soppeng geeft zekere La Maddidi zich uit als de weder tot levengekomen Petta Barang (Daeng Pabarang), die binnenkort aan het bewind zal komen. Allen, die zich thans reeds aan hem onderwerpen, dwz. zijn volgelingen worden, zal straks geen onheil overkomen. Als volgelingen ontvangen zij een symbool, (djimat), waarvoor zij *f* 2.50 moeten betalen. Dit zal hen beschermen tegen de tijd dat Petta Barang aan de regering zal komen." (1948). Uit: Bestuursrapporten, 1949.

[3]) Zie: Z(entgraaff): „Celebes-Problemen". Overdruk ener serie artikelen uit het „Soerabaiasch Handelsblad" van 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28 Febr., 2 en 4 Maart 1929, p. 51.

[4]) „Omstreeks 6 maanden geleden verspreide zekere La Djumma, afkomstig uit de kampong Barang Barru, het gerucht, dat de wereld pas weer rustig zou worden als Puwang Mallinrunge (Petta Barang) aan de regering komt, hetgeen over niet langen tijd zou geschieden. Allen, die bij de komst van Petta Barang niet op de hoogte waren van een bepaald ritueel, zouden gedood worden. Degenen die dit ritueel, van hem willen leren, moesten hem *f* 10.25 betalen." Uit: Bestuursrapporten, 1949.

spellingen doet, kan behoren tot iedere stand of sexe. [1]) Het hoeft zelfs geen Makassaar te zijn. [2])

Degeen, die deze heilsverwachting verkondigt, is de leider der groep, maar vaak zonder het hoge bloed en even vaak zonder de persoonlijke eigenschappen, die de Makassaren overigens van een leider verwachten. Zijn volgelingen zijn degenen die zich de djimats aanschaffen en het voorgeschreven ritueel leren; zij kennen t.o.v. hem ook niet de in een volgelingenverhouding gebruikelijke gevoelens van trouw. Het schijnt dus beter hier niet van een volgelingenverhouding te spreken. De enige band die er is, berust op het geloof in zijn voorspellingen. Gewapend optreden tegen zo'n groep heeft steeds snel succes; verzet wordt practisch nooit geboden. Feitelijke omverwerping van het bestaand gezag is niet het eerste waarop deze mensen zich instellen. Als de voorspellingen niet spoedig uitkomen wachten zij af. Maar als de leider gevangen genomen is, valt de groep uiteen en de beweging verloopt. Een dergelijke beweging richtte zich niet slechts tegen het Gouvernement, maar ook tegen de eigen Vorsten, in de tijd, dat de V.O.C. nog een volkomen onbelangrijke positie in het Makassaarse leven innam. Deze grepen toen evengoed in als zo'n beweging gesignaleerd werd.

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[1]) „In het begin van 1858, trachtte zekere Rantepatola Daeng Matene Karaeng Bontosoengoe, en de dochter van den ons bekenden Aboe Bakara Karaeng Data (zoon van Sangkilang) en zuster van Karaeng Borong Regent van Tanralili (Noorderdistrikten) te Bontonompo (Gowa), onder vertoning van allerlei geheimzinnigheden, een aanstaanden grooten oorlog, die aan vele menschen het leven zoude kosten, en de aankomst van schepen, op een waarvan Karaeng Data zich bevinden zou, te voorspellen. Toen zij vernam dat de Vorst van Gowa aanstalten maakte haar te doen arresteeren, vluchtte zij naar Kalongkong (Galésong-Zuider-Distrikten) en gaf daar dezelfde vertooningen en profetiën ten beste." Eerdmans, p. 616/7.

[2]) „In September 1919 werd de rust in de afdeeling Soenggoeminasa voor korten tijd verstoord doordien een Chinees, zekere Tjoa Tiong Leng, zich ook noemende Karaeng Baba, voorgaf een afstammeling te zijn van Karaeng Data zoon van Sangkilang en dus als pseudo-Battara Gowa aanhang trachtte te krijgen. Voordat die aanhang van eenige beteekenis was, werden bedrieger en zijn voornaamste handlangers gearresteerd." Eerdmans, p. 1094.

En verder: „In November 1915 werd de Boegineesche bevolking van de kampongs in de onderafdeeling Kendari, door zekeren Hadji Abdurachman bijeengeroepen, terwijl hij voorgaf daartoe van Turkije den last te hebben ontvangen. Hij gaf de bevolking den raad wapens gereed te houden, wijl binnenkort het Turksch Gouvernement, het Nederlandsch gezag zou komen vervangen, en de „Companiya" uit het land moest worden gejaagd." Eerdmans, p. 1087.

De heilsverwachting in Zuid-Celebes gaat uit naar de komst van een dier sterke persoonlijkheden die in de historie van het land een grote rol speelde, doordat hij succesvol tegen de toen regerende Vorst, dan wel tegen het Nederlandse gezag, optrad. Men hoopt, dat hij thans in zijn streven van weleer zal slagen en de huidige machthebbers zal weten te verdrijven, maar alleen, opdat hij, in de plaats der verdrevenen, zelf Vorst zal worden.

Het ideaal, dat in de Makassaars-Buginese cultuur onbewust op de achtergrond der gedachten aanwezig is, liet zich formuleren als een groot, heel Zuid-Celebes omvattend rijk, waar rust heerst, onder een machtig en goed Vorst. Die formulering is gebaseerd op het aan iedere bilaterale verwantengroep inhaerente streven naar uitbreiding en naar een steeds verdergaande omvatting van alle omringende groepen tot een zo groot mogelijke groepering bereikt is, welks grenzen voorlopig, die van Zuid-Celebes zijn.

Boven kon worden gewezen op een sterke horizontale mobiliteit, die terug te voeren was op een conflict in de persoonlijkheidsstructuur en tevens op een grote onzekerheid met betrekking tot het individueel aanzien, die zijn basis heeft in het uiteindelijk ongefixeerd blijven van de verticale geleding. Onrust en onzekerheid zijn dus steeds aanwezig, ook in tijden van rust en orde.

Het gestelde ideaal is onbereikbaar, maar de individuen leggen zich daarbij neer, zolang zij in de gelegenheid zijn om op de „gewone" in de cultuur aanwezige manieren naar dit ideaal te blijven streven. Maar als die mogelijkheid er naar hun idee niet meer is, en als het individu dus — zij het onbewust — meent, dat het niet tegen de omstandigheden opgewassen is, dan wordt de overigens normale spanning tussen ideaal en werkelijkheid te groot. Het individu zoekt dan zijn ideaal op een in bijna iedere cultuur eveneens aanwezige, buiten-gewone manier te bereiken.

Heilsverwachting is een overspanningsverschijnsel. Het is een poging om op korte termijn het verre ideaal te verwezenlijken dat, door welke omstandigheden dan ook, voor een aantal individuen tè onbereikbaar geworden was.

HOOFDSTUK III.

SEXE.

In het hoofdstuk over verwantschap werden de verhoudingen der gezinsleden onderling apart behandeld. De verhouding van broer tot zuster bleek daarbij een bijzondere plaats te midden der andere in te nemen.

Hun scheiding houdt in, dat hun belangen op verschillend gebied komen te liggen; d.w.z. dat zowel hun werkzaamheden, als de plaatsen waar zij plegen te verblijven, verschillen. Deze verschillen vormen ook het patroon voor de verhoudingen tussen mannen en vrouwen in het algemeen.

De in het vorige hoofdstuk beschreven verticale tendentie verlangt van de mannen, dat zij voortdurend in een oppositieverhouding tot andere mannen staan; het heftige ageren en reageren, dat van hen verwacht wordt, gaat samen met ideëen over hoge sexuele potentie, die hun wordt toegeschreven. De hoge eisen, die aan mannen gesteld worden, gaan gepaard met angsten aan die eisen niet te kunnen voldoen; er is herhaaldelijk een onvolledigheidsbesef aanwijsbaar.

In het eerste gedeelte van dit hoofdstuk zullen gedragingen, instellingen en persoonlijkheidsnormen der beide sexen aangegeven worden; daarna vinden enkele insufficientieverschijnselen behandeling. Prostitutie, als uiting van maladjustment van vrouwen, en polygamie, als verwerkelijking van de verticale tendentie door een man met uitzonderlijke persoonlijke eigenschappen, worden aan het slot kort vermeld.

In het vorige hoofdstuk werd eveneens reeds op de centrale plaats, die het huwelijk in de Makassaarse samenleving inneemt, gewezen. De ouderen passen in de keuze van de huwelijkspartners een selectie toe, die gebaseerd is op verwantschap, stand en persoonlijke eigenschappen. Hun streven is er opgericht een normale sexuele gemeenschap tussen man en vrouw tot stand te brengen. De beschrijving van het huwelijksfeest, waarin dit streven tot uiting komt, en de moeilijkheden die zich daarbij voordoen, zijn onderwerp van het tweede gedeelte.

De verticale tendentie kent als begeleidingsverschijnsel het siri'gevoelen, d.i. het gevoelen t.o.v. een ander in sociaal aanzien te dalen. Het boven reeds gesignaleerde feit, dat een vrouw niet in aanzien mag dalen, brengt met zich mede, dat de geringste aantasting van haar sociaal aanzien reeds de felste reacties wekt. Er zijn verschillende manieren om aan zo'n reactie te ontkomen. Het vluchthuwelijk is hier een voorbeeld van. Het wordt in het derde gedeelte van dit hoofdstuk zeer uitvoerig behandeld, o.m. omdat het een spectaculair verschijnsel in de Makassaarse samenleving vormt, dat voortdurend tot moeilijkheden leidt in de praktijk van bestuur en rechtspraak.

Eerste gedeelte.

Al direct bij de geboorte wordt in het ritueel verschil gemaakt tussen een jongetje en een meisje; de parappo, de essentie van het aan te bieden offer, verschilt m.b.t. de aantallen sirihbladen waaruit hij is opgebouwd, naar gelang hij voor een jongetje (6) dan wel voor een meisje (7) bestemd is. Kinderen spelen tot de leeftijd van 8 à 10 jaar te zamen. Informanten zeiden, dat meisjes steeds zachter behandeld werden dan jongens; dat zij bijv. ook niet geslagen werden.

Pas omstreeks de leeftijd van 6 jaren heb ik kunnen waarnemen, dat men aan jongetjes leert, dat zij andere dingen niet mogen dan meisjes. Jongens van die leeftijd gaan met hun vader mee naar de pasar, meisjes blijven thuis. Jongens worden weggezonden als de jonge meisjes (tau lolo) zich aan het kleden en opmaken zijn. Als kleine meisjes stout zijn worden zij gedreigd: „ik laat je bij de jongens zitten"; jongens worden niet gedreigd met zitten bij de meisjes; dat zouden zij wel even vervelend vinden, zo werd gezegd, maar zij zijn vrijer in hun bewegingen en zouden dus gemakkelijker weer weg kunnen lopen. Jongetjes mogen tijdens een feest wel wat stoeien en lawaai maken, maar aan meisjes wordt dit verboden: „ben je een jongen?" voegt een oudere haar dan toe. Kleine meisjes mogen een bepaalde vissoort niet eten, opdat zij later als zij groot zijn, niet manziek zullen worden. Zij krijgen bij verschillende feestelijkheden „pitjuru", geluk aanbrengende

middelen, opdat zij als zij groot zijn, zullen huwen en veel kinderen zullen krijgen. Al bij het gaan naar de godsdienstonderwijzer (guru ngadji) waar zij de Ko'ran leren reciteren, dat is op omstreeks 7 à 8 jarige leeftijd, worden de sexen soms gescheiden; de meisjes krijgen dan achter in huis les van de vrouw van de guru.

Een der eerste frustraties van de kinderen na het spenen, ontstaat door de volwassen mannen, speciaal door de vader. Als een man in huis komt, trekken vrouwen en kinderen zich in het achtergedeelte van het huis terug. Er wordt, als er gasten zijn op gelet, dat zij geen lawaai maken. Als een aanzienlijk man in huis is, geldt dit in veel sterker mate. Kleine kinderen, die dan lawaai maken worden met hem gedreigd: „hij is boos op je". Een oude vrouw herhaalde tegen een 3 jarige, die stil bij haar zat: „hij ziet je; hij kijkt naar je". Het belang van dit feit werd op deze wijze bijgebracht; een zekere angst, zowel als een zekere eerbied voor de hogere, kwam hierin tot uitdrukking.

Het hoogteverschil tussen de kinderen blijkt o.a. uit het feit dat men de een meer verbiedt dan de ander. Als een karaëng in het huis van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd op bezoek komt, mag diens zoontje rondlopen en eventueel achter zijn vader gaan zitten, maar de kinderen van familieleden en bedienden blijven in de achtervertrekken en de vrouwen letten er op, dat zij stil zijn.

Meisjes leren van kleinsaf, dat het niet goed is om zich naakt te vertonen; „waar is je sarong"? vraagt men haar; voor jongetjes geldt dit pas 1 à 2 jaar later. Pas als hij besneden is, dat is op de leeftijd van 7 à 8 jaar, draagt een jongen steeds een broekje onder zijn sarong. Volwassen mannen baden naakt, maar bedekken daarbij het schaamdeel met de hand. Vrouwen houden bij het baden haar sarong aan. Een van de eerste dingen die een Makkassaarse vrouw op Java opviel, was, dat daar de vrouwen naakt in de rivier baadden. Een meisje toont zich ook tegenover haar moeder steeds met sarong. Jonge meisjes bij de put plagen elkaar wel: „bijna," als een sarong bijna afglijdt. Maar zou de sarong werkelijk afgegleden zijn, dan negeert de ander dit en praat daar ook niet verder over; daaraan kent een meisje haar vriendinnen; alleen wie het slecht met haar meent, zou er tegen anderen over praten en haar daardoor beschaamd (siri') maken.

Kinderen spelen wel „huwelijkje". Zij doen lappen en doeken

om; een van hen is de bruidsmoeder en helpt de anderen; zandkoekjes worden gemaakt; de kinderen stoeien wat, en het eindigt meest, dat het meisje een duw of een tik krijgt die pijn doet, zodat zij begint te huilen en boos wegloopt. Uitgesproken sexuele handelingen waren hierbij niet te constateren. Toen tegen een bijna 3 jarig jongetje gezegd werd: „speel eens bruidegommetje" (buntimmako), deed het de oogjes dicht en bleef roerloos staan. Het beeld van de bruigom maar vooral van de bruid, die op haar mooist aangekleed, met neergeslagen ogen uren achtereen roerloos blijft zitten, had op deze 3 jarige dus het meeste indruk gemaakt.

Tot de leeftijd van 8 à 10 jaar spelen jongens en meisjes als dat zo uitkomt met elkaar; tot die leeftijd mogen ook de meisjes vrij op het erf rondlopen. Maar reeds voor het intreden van de puberteit wordt de scheiding verscherpt. De jongens leren, dat zij stil moeten zitten en zwijgen als de oudere mannen spreken. „Je bent toch geen klein kind meer", krijgen zij te horen. Omstreeks dezelfde tijd, dus lang voor de eerste menstruatie, worden de meisjes „gekooid" (nikappara'); de afscheiding van de andere sexe is daarmee voltrokken; de aan vele beperkingen gebonden omgangsvormen tussen mannen en vrouwen in het algemeen en tussen ongehuwden in het bijzonder, gelden dan ook voor haar. „Zij blijft al thuis", (ammantammi ri balla') is een aanduiding voor de leeftijd van een meisje van omstreeks 10 jaar. Zij wordt nu a.h.w. opgenomen in de groep der vrouwen; zij behoort daar tot de jonge meisjes (tau lolo), ook wel genoemd: „de rode baadjes" (badju' edja), naar het opvallende rode jak van soms even doorzichtige stof, dat deze dragen.

Zij leert, dat zij zich terug behoort te trekken bij de komst van mannelijke bezoekers; dat zij niet op mag vallen en haar stem moet dempen. Een afkeurend „zij durft" krijgt degeen te horen die, als er gasten zijn, toch in het voorvertrek (kale balla') komt. „Aan wie wil je je stem laten horen?" werd een meisje dat hard praatte toegevoegd. Een van de slechtste eigenschappen van een meisje is lale (manziek), d.w.z. dat zij haar verlangen naar een man toont door opvallen, hard praten, enz.

Een jong meisje komt alleen nog buiten in gezelschap van oudere vrouwen. Uitgangetjes zijn voor haar evenzovele feestjes. Zij kleedt zich daartoe met veel zorg aan; zij maakt zich op; de wenkbrauwen worden met zwart aangezet, de haarrand op het voorhoofd eveneens,

het gelaat wordt gepoederd. De oudere vrouwen bewaken haar en beschermen haar; in haar aanwezigheid is een jong meisje veilig. Als zij alleen thuis of op 't erf zou zijn en er kwam toevallig een man het erf op, dan ontstaat reeds gevaar, omdat deze ontmoeting, ongeacht de bedoeling der partijen, als inbreuk op de gestelde omgangsvormen opgevat wordt. Als een buurvrouw dit zou zien, en erover zou praten, zodat haar broer dit hoort, zou deze zich siri' gevoelen en dienovereenkomstig handelen.

Jongens schijnen op de leeftijd van omstreeks 11 à 14 jaar een moeilijke periode door te maken. Tevoren werden zij, ondanks kleine verschillen met de meisjes, tot de kinderen gerekend; als zodanig hielden zij zich als vanzelfsprekend in de vrouwenvertrekken op. Maar zo omstreeks de leeftijd van 10—11 jaar laten de oudere vrouwen hen blijken, dat zij daar niet meer thuis horen. De groep der mannen vormt echter in mindere mate een eenheid vergeleken bij die der vrouwen. Het leeftijdsverschil speelt bij hen een veel grotere rol; het verhindert een soepele omgang van ouderen en jongeren, omdat ouderen van jongeren gehoorzaamheid en een zekere eerbied verwachten. De jonge knapen vinden dus in de groep der mannen geen eenheid, waar zij zich thuis gevoelen. Zij bezitten daarbij nog niet de sexuele rijpheid, nodig om deel te kunnen nemen aan de snoevende gesprekken over veroveringen en sexuele prestaties, die in de kring der jonge mannen gebruikelijk zijn. Zij zijn physiek nog onvoldoende krachtig om mee te doen aan — dus ook mee te spreken over — vechtpartijen en grote arbeidsprestaties. Ook in de groep der 15 à 18 jarigen zijn zij dus niet in tel; onderling hebben deze 12 jarige jongens nog weinig gelegenheid gehad in contact te komen. Zij zoeken hun leeftijdgenoten thans eerst op. Zij zwerven wat rond; men merkt weinig van hen; zij voelen zich nergens thuis.

Arbeidsverdeling.

Het domein der vrouwen is haar huis en erf; daar koken, wassen en weven zij en verzorgen zij de kinderen. Zij verlaten het slechts om bezoekjes af te maken, of bij haar buren, die tevens haar naaste familieleden zijn, aan te lopen. Bij de komst van mannelijke bezoekers trekken zij zich in het achtergedeelte van het huis terug; daar ligt de keuken; daar hebben zij een eigen ingang. Men zou de vrouwen kunnen beschouwen als een groep, waarvan de leden

elkaar helpen in kwesties van het dagelijkse huishoudelijke leven en waarvan de ouderen de jongeren bewaken maar tevens beschermen en leiden en die als geheel staat tegenover de groep der mannen; maar deze groeperingsvorm functionneert overigens nergens als eenheid.

De werkzaamheden der vrouwen binden haar aan huis en erf. Tot haar taak behoort het stampen van rijst, het klaarmaken van het dagelijks eten, van de feestmaaltijden en van de offers; het spinnen van draad, het weven van sarongs, het wassen en netjes houden der kleren, en het verzorgen der kleine kinderen. Behalve bij de oogst ziet men de vrouwen niet op de sawahs werken. [1]) Oudere vrouwen die een bijverdienste van node hebben, verkopen op pasars en bij feesten zelfgemaakte koekjes; soms houden zij een kleine koffiewarong.

Een betrekkelijk groot aantal der boven opgesomde werkzaamheden is in de tegenwoordige tijd de vrouwen ontnomen. Spinnen komt practisch niet meer voor; tokogarens namen de plaats van het zelfgesponnen product in; in de Japanse tijd is in enkele streken waar de ingevoerde garens niet in de behoefte konden voorzien, tijdelijk een opleving merkbaar geweest. Het weven nam af door de grote invoer van goedkope sarongs; de betere soorten werden nog zelf geweven. De rijstpellerijen maken, waar zij verrijzen, het zelf stampen vaak tot onnodige moeite. [2])

De vrije tijd, die de vrouwen hierdoor wonnen, werd niet op nieuwe objecten gericht. Die kwam de kleine kinderen ten goede. Die worden dan ook geen moment uit 't oog verloren. In huis of op 't erf, steeds is de eigen moeder of een der buurmeisjes bij hen. De rest van de tijd wordt besteed aan onderlinge bezoeken; deze bevorderen de gezellîgheid en versterken de banden onderling; men bespreekt er de kampong- en familienieuwtjes en drinkt koffie. Die bezoeken worden steeds gebracht in groepjes van enkele oudere vrouwen en wat jongeren, netjes aangekleed, begeleid door een harer naaste mannelijke familieleden.

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[1]) Een arme streek, zoals de omgeving van Takalar, waar veelal meerdere malen uitgeplant moet worden, omdat de eerste uitplantingen mislukken, vormt een uitzondering; daar planten de vrouwen mee.

[2]) In Goa is nog geen rijstpellerij. In de kolonistenkampongs, 200 k.m. ten Noorden naar Makassar, stampen ook de mannen, maar voor de grondbezitters niet voor eigen gebruik; het stamploon is er hoog.

Tot de taak der mannen behoort de sawahbewerking in de meest uitgebreide zin; dus, van het vervaardigen der landbouwwerktuigen af, tot het thuisbrengen van de bossen padi toe; verder het werken in de tuinen, het maken en repareren van het huis en alle werkjes waarbij hout of bambu gekapt of bewerkt moet worden. Zij doen boodschappen op de pasar; [1]) zij brengen de benodigdheden voor het dagelijks menu mee naar huis. Zij trekken alleen of met enkele leeftijdgenoten rond. De mannen en opgeschoten jongens vindt men bijeen op de pasars, in de warongs of in het woonvertrek der huizen.

De werkzaamheden van mannen en vrouwen vullen elkaar dus aan. De een kan niet zonder de ander. De idee bestaat, dat een man ongelukkiger, a.h.w. hulpelozer is, wanneer zijn vrouw hem geen eten voorzet, dan een vrouw wanneer haar man haar de benodigdheden daarvoor niet verschaft; zij heeft immers nog steeds de mogelijkheid om wat groenten en vruchten uit de omliggende tuinen te halen.

Omgangsvormen der mannen onderling verschillen van die der vrouwen onderling. Dit komt o.m. tot uiting bij feestelijke gelegenheden. De mannen zitten bij het eten op rijen volgens rang en stand met de hoogstaanwezige aan het boveneinde; deze praat, de anderen eten en laten op het juiste moment een instemmend gelach horen; een hunner weet de spreker door een aanmoedigende opmerking tot een nieuw verhaal te inspireren. Niet ieder onderwerp kan op dat moment behandeld worden; het moet een algemene belevenis zijn; het vertellen mag snoevend zijn en de verteller mag zich zelf daarbij in het centrum plaatsen; de aanwezigen delen immers in het aanzien, dat hij op die manier behaalde. De hogeren hebben ieder een schaal met bijgerechten voor zich; hun buren eten met hun tweeën of drieën van één schaal en aan het benedeneind eten de lageren of jongeren met z'n vieren of nog meer uit een en dezelfde schaal.

De omgangsvormen maken een stroeve indruk. Direct nadat het eten op is, staan zij dan ook op en gaan in kleine groepjes in naburige huizen onder elkaar wat praten; de formele toon is dan opgeheven. Leeftijdgenoten zoeken elkaars gezelschap; dan zijn zij vrij in hun doen en spreken.

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[1]) Begin Juli 1949 werden de bezoekers van de Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) geregistreerd; er waren 62 vrouwen tegen 904 mannen.

De vrouwen eten en converseren veel minder formeel; zij zitten met een troepje rond een schaal en praten door elkaar heen over onderwerpen, die zij ook bij een gewone ontmoeting zouden bespreken. Hun manieren schijnen ongedwongener.

Omgangsvormen der sexen.

De omgangsvormen tussen mannen en vrouwen zijn aan vele beperkende voorschriften gebonden. Men kan deze het beste samenvatten door te zeggen, dat ieder contact tussen hen verboden is. Contact houdt niet alleen in een aanraking, maar ook een tussen hen gewisseld woord. Het feit, dat beide in dezelfde ruimte te zamen zijn, of een toevallige ontmoeting zonder derden, kan reeds als contact aangemerkt worden. De bedoeling der individuen speelt hierbij geen rol. De omgeving gaat af op de uiterlijke situatie; indien deze op contact wijst, handelt men, alsof werkelijk een verboden contact bestond.

Voor kinderen en oudere mensen [1]) gelden deze straffe voorschriften niet. Zij gelden daarentegen het scherpst voor de ongehuwde meisjes en jonge mannen. Pas vele jaren nadat het huwelijk gesloten is verminderen zij in kracht; pas langzamerhand kunnen de individuen zich een overtreding van de bestaande voorschriften permitteren, zonder zich aan de sanctie, op overtreding gesteld, bloot te stellen.

Die sanctie is de steek met de badik, die veelal de dood tengevolge heeft.

Overtreding van de bestaande voorschriften op dit punt wordt opgevat als een uitdaging; tussen mannen wordt de ene uitdaging veelal met een andere beantwoord. Maar als de uitdaging geschiedt d.m.v. een aantasting van het aanzien der vrouw behoort de reactie steken, althans een poging tot steken te zijn.

Het is duidelijk, dat men door kwaad te spreken, eventueel door een suggestie alleen al, de mening kan doen postvatten, dat een bepaalde vrouw en een bepaalde man zich in een contact-situatie bevonden. Kwaadspreken kan gevaar opleveren. Kinderen leren al jong dat dit wordt afgekeurd. „Het is slecht, als je als woordvormer wordt aangewezen", [2]) zegt men; met „woordvormer"

[1]) Ter bepaling van de gedachten: voor individuen van onder de 10 à 12 en boven de 35 à 40 jaar.
[2]) Makassaars: Kodi punna naparupaiki bitjara.

bedoelt men dan degeen, die iets slechts onder woorden brengt.

Jonge vrouwen en mannen ontwijken elkaar vaak bewust; beiden zijn bang (malla') om de ander in zo'n contact-situatie te brengen, omdat zij weten welke ernstige gevolgen dit kan hebben. Als de heer des huizes even naar buiten geroepen wordt en zijn gast, die al een tijd binnen was, zou bemerken, dat er buiten hem en de vrouw of de dochter van de gastheer, niemand anders in huis was, dan gaat hij een excuus mompelend ook naar buiten; hiermee toont hij dat hij ook deze mogelijkheid, dat er over hen gesproken zou kunnen worden, wenst te vermijden.

In nieuwe verhoudingen werkt de gedachtegang, dat contact met een man voor een jonge vrouw gevaar oplevert, zich in nieuwe vormen uit. Bij bioscoopbezoek zorgen de begeleidende ouderen ervoor, dat zij aan de kant, en de meisjes in hun midden komen te zitten. Bij de bouw van een nieuw zwembad liet het Adatgemeenschapshoofd als vanzelfsprekend de verkleedhokjes van mannen en vrouwen gescheiden bouwen. Bij tokobezoek van Makassaarse vrouwen hebben de Arabische en Chinese tokohouders in Makassar al geleerd, dat zij zich niet rechtstreeks tot de jonge meisjes kunnen wenden om hun waar aan te prijzen, maar dat zij zich daartoe tot de begeleidende man of oudere vrouw, hebben te richten, terwijl de jongeren, onder elkaar pratend, hun wensen kenbaar maken; degeen, die niet met deze gevoeligheden rekening zou houden loopt de kans, dat hij bij een volgende tokogang overgeslagen wordt.

De gescheiden verblijfplaatsen der sexen en hun arbeidsverdeling dragen er toe bij, dat het verbod van contact in het dagelijks leven tot op grote hoogte wordt verwezenlijkt. De strenge sanctie op overtreding van dit verbod gesteld, geeft aan de omgang der jonge mannen en meisjes een geforceerd karakter. Contact kan slechts plaats hebben òf zeer in het geheim, òf als het, bij uitzondering, uitdrukkelijk dan wel stilzwijgend, is toegestaan. Daarbij is het dan nog altijd aan speciale regelen gebonden; van een ongedwongen contact kan nooit sprake zijn. Enkele dier gelegenheden worden hier beschreven.

Na de oogst houdt men geregeld zogenaamde stampfeesten. [1]) Deze hebben plaats 's avonds, op het erf voor het huis, bij het

[1]) Adengka ase lolo, het stampen der jonge padi, genaamd.

schijnsel van een oliepitje; bij voorkeur bij heldere maan. Het stampblok wordt daartoe in rotanstrikken opgehangen en terwijl de meisjes stampen, slaan 2 of 3 van haar naaste mannelijke verwanten met stokken in een snel en krachtig rhythme tegen de lengteas van het blok; dit geluid is op grote afstanden hoorbaar; de bedoeling is de jonge lieden van heinde en ver aan te lokken om te komen kijken. Wat zij zien, is een viertal meisjes, dat, gekleed in rode baadjes, mooi opgemaakt en met sieraden behangen, met neergeslagen blikken en afgepaste bewegingen, staat te stampen. Na enige tijd worden zij afgelost; onder de hoede van een paar oudere vrouwen dalen 4 andere uit huis af, die de stampers overnemen, en de eerste ploeg gaat, steeds onder geleide, met neergeslagen blikken weer naar boven. Van achter de tralievensters van het voorvertrek, — het gehele huis is bij deze gelegenheid domein der vrouwen — gluren zij naar buiten, waar op het halfduistere erf de mannen rondlopen, zitten, praten en roken. [1])

Men vertelt, dat vroeger een groep jonge mannen van een andere kampong, aangelokt door het provocerende geluid, wel eens een aanval deed en trachtte een der jonge meisjes te schaken; dit gaf dan aanleiding tot een algemene vechtpartij. De jonge mannen der huisgroep verdedigden hierbij hun zusjes en nichtjes tegen een aanval van buiten. Tegenwoordig komt dat niet meer voor. Het feest is, sinds vecht- en steekpartijen streng bestraft worden, een betrekkelijk saaie vertoning geworden. De spanning van het werkelijke gevaar ontbreekt. Van contact tussen jonge man en vrouw is bij deze gelegenheid zeker geen sprake; de bewaking is dan juist extra streng.

Een andere mogelijkheid tot contact bestaat bij de oogst. De vrouwen blijven tijdens het snijden bijeen. Het ophalen van de bosjes door haar gesneden aren is het werk der jonge mannen. Het overgeven hiervan van vrouw aan man geeft een kans op contact. De man waarschuwt bij herhaling, dat hij de aren komt halen; van zijn roep kan een zekere spanning uitgaan. Het overreiken gebeurt

[1]) Er wordt weinig gedronken. Indien rijstwijn (ballo'ase) aanwezig is, dan is het aantal flessen toch beperkt. Alleen de hogere gasten krijgen een fles en delen daarvan mee aan de anderen. Ernstige dronkenschap komt niet voor. Makassaren die ballo' drinken gaan steeds sterker verhalen vertellen en worden steeds uitdagender in hun opmerkingen. Zij mijden dan het gezelschap van een hogere.

op bepaalde wijze, nml. door de stelen van de aren naar de man toe te wenden, zodat hij het bosje gemakkelijk kan aannemen zonder haar hand aan te raken. Een jong meisje, dat pas voor 't eerst mee snijdt, leert van haar oudere zusjes of nichtjes hoe zij dit moet doen. Geeft zij op een foute manier aan, dan wordt dit door de jongeman, die de bossen op komt halen, genegeerd; hij toont daarmede, dat hij zijn vormen kent en dat hij van haar onervarenheid geen misbruik wil maken.

Een gelijksoortige mogelijkheid bestaat bij een feesteten; daarbij zitten de mannen in het voorvertrek; de vrouwen reiken de etensschalen vanuit de keuken over aan de jonge mannen, die deze vervolgens aan de gasten voorzetten. Meestal geeft een der vrouwen van middelbare leeftijd op de drempel van voor- en achtervertrek de stroom van schalen en borden over aan de andere sexe, maar tussendoor helpen ook jongeren. Een jonge man heeft daarbij zo al geen kans op contact, dan toch wel een kans om een meisje te zien of door haar gezien te worden, d.w.z. om haar aandacht op zich te vestigen.

Geheim contact heeft in de meeste gevallen plaats met hulp van derden. Dit moeten personen zijn, die zonder dat het opvalt met beide partijen kunnen spreken; als zodanig komen slechts in aanmerking jongetjes van omstreeks 7 tot 9 jaar en vrouwen van boven de middelbare leeftijd. Want ook van oudere mannen is het verdacht, als zij met een jong meisje praten. Evenmin kan een jonge man onopvallend met een gehuwde vrouw van midden 30 of met een meisje van 10 spreken.

De jongetjes brengen wel korte berichten over, maar daarmee bestendigen zij op zijn best bestaande contacten. De oudere vrouwen, die als tussenpersoon (anrong[2], moedertje genaamd) optreden, zijn in de gelegenheid om door hen gewenste huwelijken te bevorderen, door mee te helpen aan het tot stand komen van geheime contacten. Dit gebeurt nooit door de eigen moeder van het meisje; een tante of oudtante is daarvoor de aangewezen persoon.

Iedereen vertrouwt haar, overtuigd dat zij het beste met haar nichtje voor heeft, en dus kan zij steeds met haar praten zonder dat dit achterdocht wekt. Zij weet de aandacht van het meisje op een bepaalde jonge man te vestigen bijv. door hem te roepen en boodschapjes voor haar te laten doen. Zij vertelt het meisje, dat zijn

ouders al een aanzoek voor hem wilden doen (ampasuroi), maar dat hij dit weigerde; en zij voegt er aan toe, dat hij misschien al iemand op het oog heeft (nia' tjini'na). Er schijnt, wellicht juist door het ontbreken van mogelijkheden van ongedwongen samenzijn, maar weinig voor nodig, om een Makassaars meisje te doen menen, dat een jonge man op haar gesteld is.

Contact is verboden, maar komt desondanks voor. De regelmatig terugkerende gevallen, waarin een ongehuwde vrouw zwanger naar een dorpsfunctionaris toevlucht en een aantal — niet alle — silarianggevallen, bewijzen dat. Maar niet ieder geheim contact behoeft zo af te lopen. In eerste instantie ligt de beslissing bij het meisje. Als een oudere vrouw haar de gevoelens van een bepaalde jonge man meedeelt en daarbij op de mogelijkheid van een vlucht zinspeelt, dan luidt, in het geval dat zij wel met hem zou willen trouwen, haar antwoord, dat zij meelijden heeft met haar moeder, omdat zij nog maar de enige thuis is, of juist, omdat zij nog zoveel kleine broertjes en zusjes heeft, en dat zij dus haar moeder en zusjes niet wil verlaten. Zij zegt tegen de oudere vrouw: „Zoekt U voor mij het goede." En met „het goede" (badjika) wordt een normaal huwelijk bedoeld; „het slechte" (kodia) is het vluchthuwelijk. De oudere vrouw polst daarop de moeder. Of dit paar nu vervolgens zal huwen of niet, is dan verder afhankelijk van het feit, of t.a.v. een van beiden reeds een afspraak over hun huwelijk gemaakt is.

Als het huwelijk, dat zij zelf gewenst heeft, tot stand komt, toont het meisje haar afkeer van de man, zoals dit van haar verwacht wordt. Niets onderscheidt dit huwelijk uiterlijk van een, dat tegen haar wens in wordt gesloten.

Als de ouderen tegen de wens der jongeren in handelen, en de jonge man dringt aan op vluchten, kan het meisje daar in toestemmen, maar als zij weigert kan hij zijn zin doorzetten, zonder enig geweld te gebruiken, eenvoudig door haar siri' te maken; in de meeste gevallen schijnt een dreigen daarmee al voldoende.

Iemand, die geen oudere vrouw als tussenpersoon weet in te schakelen, dient een andere weg te zoeken om een door hem gewenst contact met een meisje tot stand te brengen. Dan zoekt hij bijv. het gezelschap van haar broer; hij speelt raga met hem en gaat met hem — dit voorbeeld is afkomstig uit een der randkampongs van Makassar — naar de bioscoop; als tegenprestatie

vraagt zijn vriend hem om te blijven eten of slapen; en als hij dit lang genoeg volhoudt, krijgt hij wel eens een gelegenheid om de aandacht van het meisje op zich te vestigen; d.w.z. om haar moeder een dienst te bewijzen of een boodschap voor haar te doen, al bereikt deze hem via een derde.

Zijn bedoelingen blijven niet geheel verborgen. Als haar moeder op hem gesteld is, als er geen afspraken m.b.t. deze dochter gemaakt zijn, en als eventueel de inlichtingen die werden ingewonnen over zijn familie niet ongunstig zijn, dan laat zij haar dochter ongemerkt wel heel even met hem alleen. Maar zij blijft waakzaam; „maak mij niet siri'", zegt zij tot haar dochter. Bij dit samen alleen zijn ontstaat niet direct een gesprek; nog minder heeft dadelijk een lichamelijk contact plaats; maar het schept een sfeer van intimiteit, juist doordat het verboden en gevaarlijk is; de wens om tot een huwelijk te komen, schijnt daardoor versterkt te worden.

Dit waren enkele manieren waarop de jonge individuen pogen om via verboden contacten een huwelijk met een zelfgekozen huwelijkspartner te verwezenlijken.

Persoonlijkheidsnormen.

De normen, die gesteld worden aan de persoonlijkheid der mannen, verschillen van die der vrouwen.

Een man behoort strijdbaar en moedig te zijn, steeds bereid iemand uit te dagen of tot beantwoording van een uitdaging; hij behoort handig te zijn in het debat, en een goed verteller van sterke verhalen. In die verhalen moet er steeds de nadruk op vallen, dat hij, of zijn groep, of zijn Vorst, iets beter deed dan iemand van een andere groep of dan een naburig Vorst. Hij behoort in die verhalen ook een groot succes bij vrouwen te hebben en tot grote sexuele prestaties in staat te zijn. Men vergelijkt een man gaarne met een haan, fier en steeds bereid tot het gevecht. Een man wordt soms als ruw voorgesteld. Hij is steeds zwervend.

De man is op de vrouw ingesteld; hij vereert haar in vage idealiserende bewoordingen.

Nampa' ri udjung Borinu,	Toen ik aan verste punt van je land was gekomen,
riappa pa'rasangannu	aan de uiterste punt van je land,
namailalang	toen was mijn ziel reeds in jou,
sumangakku, makkaraëng	jou vererend.

De vrouw behoort fijn en teer, schuw en teruggetrokken te zijn. Zij is meer op zichzelf ingesteld. Zij poogt, maar zo passief mogelijk, zijn aandacht op zich te vestigen.

Bunga² takkombongku,	Mijn ingestoken, rechtsopstaande bloemen,
Tjampaga takkakkasakku.	mijn ontloken tjampaga bloemen.
Natjiniku ianu	Als N. N. mij ziet
Nadjandjangku mole².	zal hij zijn blikken niet van mij af kunnen wenden.

Manziek zijn (lale) is een der slechtste eigenschappen die een meisje kan hebben; het wordt van iemand gezegd die door haar houding de aandacht van een man op zich schijnt te willen vestigen.

De bovengenoemde eigenschappen, die in mannen het meest op prijs gesteld worden, zijn tevens de eigenschappen, die zij nodig hebben om met succes aan het streven naar hoger, dat o.m. in het oppositie verschijnsel tot uiting kwam, deel te nemen.

Niet alle mannen en evenmin alle vrouwen, bezitten echter de resp. genoemde eigenschappen in even hoge mate. Dit is van invloed op hun positie in hun samenleving. Degenen, die die eigenschappen slechts in geringe mate bezitten, zijn slecht uitgerust, om in deze samenleving tot aanzien te komen.

Homosexualiteit.

De Makassaren onderscheiden de mensen naar zij zeggen, in mannen, vrouwen en kawe². [1]) Bij de weergave der gegevens zal blijken, dat het niet zonder meer juist is om de term kawe² met homosexuelen te vertalen. Gebrek aan een betere leidde er toe deze vertaling voorlopig toch te gebruiken.

Die onderscheiding brengt met zich, dat men homosexualiteit aanvaardt niet als normaal, maar wel als een bestaand verschijnsel, evengoed als een albino of een doofstomme. In de kampong Bontoramba woonden in 1949 geen mannen, die als kawe² beschouwd werden. In heel Borongloë (omstreeks 14.000 zielen) waren er wellicht 5. Dit aantal zal waarschijnlijk, vergeleken met andere adat-

[1]) In de Indonesische term, door moderne Makassaren wel gebruikt, is Nederlandse invloed waarneembaar: „seorang het".

gemeenschappen, gering blijken te zijn. De reden daarvan is, dat het Adatgemeenschapshoofd, wien als gelovig Moslim deze kawe² toch reeds een doorn in het oog waren, n.a.v. het feit, dat één van hen een jong meisje zwanger gemaakt had, gedreigd had, alle kawe² de haren af te knippen (sommige droegen het haar tot op de schouders), met het gevolg, dat velen Borongloë verlieten. Slechts enkelen bleven. Eén heb ik herhaaldelijk kunnen waarnemen. Een korte beschrijving van zijn uiterlijk en zijn manier van doen volgt hier; Taking was zijn naam.

Taking woonde, 35 jaar oud, bij een gehuwde broer in huis; zij hadden het arm, maar alleen als het heel erg nodig was werkte Taking op de sawah; meestal en bij voorkeur hield hij zich op in het achtergedeelte der huizen bij de vrouwen; in zijn manier van zitten en spreken en in kleding onderscheidde hij zich bijna niet van haar. Bij familiefeesten in het huis van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd werkte hij in de keuken hard mee aan de voorbereidingen; hij verrichtte daarbij veelal het onprettige werk van het onderhouden van het zwaar rokend vuur; werk, dat in het algemeen door lagere vrouwen verricht wordt. Bij het ritueel echter, op het hoogtepunt van het feest, was hij te zamen met enkele oudere vrouwen, familieleden van het hoofd, degeen, die daaraan mede leiding gaf. Het keukenwerk en de leiding van het ritueel waren op dit feest beide in handen van vrouwen; lageren verrichtten het eerste, hogeren het laatste; Taking nam aan beide deel.

Buitenshuis gedroeg hij zich als man; zonder geleide ging hij op weg; maar als hij daarbij iets meedroeg, deed hij dit bij voorkeur op het hoofd (als een vrouw) en niet aan een juk over de schouder (als een man). Als getuige in een rechtszaak opgeroepen verscheen hij echter volledig in mannenkleding met zwarte muts (topi) en werd toen goedmoedig wat voor de gek gehouden. In het gewone leven aanvaardde men zijn aanwezigheid in de vrouwengroep als vanzelfsprekend. Dit dateerde volgens de mededelingen al van zijn kinderjaren. Niet Taking, maar wel een jongetje, genaamd Jusu heb ik op de leeftijd van omstreeks 7 jaar kunnen waarnemen. Dit is de leeftijd, dat er verschil begint te komen in jongens- en meisjes-spelletjes.

Jusu speelde bij voorkeur met de meisjes van zijn leeftijd. Deze lieten dat, zonder hem daarbij voor de gek te houden, toe. Een vrouw van hoge adel nam hem op in haar huis en in haar gevolg,

te zamen met een paar van haar nichtjes van zijn leeftijd ging hij mee bezoeken maken en naar feesten. De aanvaarding van een kawe² in de vrouwengroep van zijn kinderjaren af, verklaart de grote vanzelfsprekendheid, waarmee men daar met hem omgaat.

Details over het sexuele leven van Taking konden niet worden verkregen. Men meende, dat hij geen contact zocht met vrouwen; over zijn verhouding tot andere mannen werd slechts geschertst. Zijn reactie bij het vermelden van cohabitatie per anus was die van een duidelijke afkeer, en bij vermelding van wederkerige masturbatie neutraal.

Naast de overal voorkomende kawe² werd eenmaal, in de adatgemeenschap Takalar, een vrouw waargenomen, die zich bij haar sexegenoten niet thuis voelde. Zij droeg het haar als een vrouw, maar haar sarong als een man; zij verrichtte bij voorkeur werk op de sawah, met de patjol (typisch mannenwerk); zij droeg lasten op de manier van een man, d.w.z. aan een juk over de schouder, en begaf zich alleen op pasars en wegen. Haar familieleden aanvaardden deze overtredingen van de sexeverboden zonder meer; zij dachten daarbij blijkbaar niet aan de verboden contact-situatie waarin zij zich bevond.

Uit de beschrijving van Matthes blijkt, [1]) dat in zijn tijd (omstreeks 1870) aan meerdere hoven der Vorsten een aantal bissus verbleven; het waren mannen, die zich gedeeltelijk als vrouwen kleedden en gedroegen; die de ornamenten verzorgden en het bijbehorend ritueel volvoerden. In het paleis van de Vorst van Goa woonde in 1939 nog een oude bissu, een suffig man, aan wie alleen nog de bewaking van het ornament was opgedragen; vrouwen verrichten toen reeds het ritueel. In 1949 bleek hij overleden. Ook de bewakingsdiensten waren toen in de handen der vrouwen overgegaan.

Het verdwijnen der bissus aan de hoven zou o.m. een gevolg kunnen zijn van het doordringen van het besef, dat naar Moslimse opvatting homosexualiteit verboden is. De reden, dat zij aan het ene hof reeds een generatie geleden verdwenen waren, en aan het andere tot voor kort nog voortleefden, zou wellicht gezocht kunnen worden in de meer of minder strenge opvattingen op religieus gebied van de verschillende Vorsten.

[1]) B. F. Matthes: Over de Bissoe's of Heidense Priesters en Priesteressen der Boegineezen.

Alleen in het plaatsje Segeri, 75 k.m. ten Noorden van Makassar gelegen, treft men tot heden nog een aantal bissus aan. Zij verzorgen er het ornament en verrichten het bijbehorend ritueel. Enkele hunner zijn gehuwd en bewonen met vrouw en kinderen een eigen huis. Deze laatsten kleden en gedragen zich in het gewone leven geheel als normale mannen; bij de uitoefening van het ritueel is echter hun kleding en manier van doen half mannelijk, half vrouwelijk, gelijk de andere bissus. Deze laatsten, de ongehuwden, wonen in het ornamentshuis bijeen.

In 1948 verschafte de toenmalige assistent van de taalambtenaar voor Zuid-Celebes mij een gegeven, dat duidelijk zou kunnen maken, waarom bij voorkeur kawe² zich met het ornamentsritueel bezig hielden. Volgens de beschrijving van het ritueel, verricht bij de inwijding van het nieuwe hoofd der bissus (Puang Matoa) geleidt één hunner het nieuwe hoofd naar het ornament van Segeri, een ploeg, en hij doet daarbij een mededeling waarvan de assistent de betekenis als volgt weergaf: „Van de mens, die hier bij het heilige voorwerp gebracht wordt en het aanraakt, van hem en van dit voorwerp weet men niet, wie de man en wie de vrouw is. Als het heilige voorwerp een man is, dan is deze mens een vrouw, en omgekeerd". [1])

Hieruit zou dus blijken, dat men gelooft, dat het ornament en het hoofd der bissus van verschillende sexe moeten zijn; dat de sexe van het ornament onbekend is, en dat dus alleen een mens, die man zowel als vrouw kan zijn, hoofd der bissus kan zijn. De algemene verbreidheid van dit, zij het slechts vaag bewuste, geloof zou de trek van de kawe² naar de ornamenten kunnen verklaren. Daar vonden zij tevens een sociale erkenning, die zij elders missen.

Dr. Slot, die een aantal dezer bissus op hun lichamelijke kenmerken onderzocht, deelt mede, dat hun geslachtsorganen geheel normaal waren; van hermaphroditisme was geen sprake. Enkele secundaire geslachtskenmerken kunnen vrouwelijk genoemd worden; als zodanig vermeldt hij o.m. hyperextensiemogelijkheid van de ellebogen, weinig spierontwikkeling en brede heupen. [2])

Kawe² treft men in Makassar, en in de grote marktplaatsen van

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[1]) De Buginese weergave van deze mededeling was niet te verkrijgen.

[2]) J. A. Slot: Zie Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië, dl. 75, p. 811 e.v.

Zuid-Celebes aan, als mannelijke prostitués, die zich tegen vergoeding in geld of goederen beschikbaar stellen voor het verrichten van sexuele handelingen. In enkele gevallen bleek, dat dit jonge mannen waren, die in hun eigen kampong in het binnenland een positie hadden gehad, analoog aan die van Taking. Zij verkozen echter het leven in een grote plaats zonder hun familieleden, boven dat in hun kampong, waar hun doen en laten a.h.w. steeds gecontroleerd wordt, en hun sexuele behoeften moeilijker bevrediging vinden.

Men mag aannemen, dat de individuen, die in vroeger tijden homosexuele neigingen vertoonden en toen als bissus aan de Vorstenhoven een plaats vonden, thans als mannelijke prostitués de pasarplaatsen bevolken.

In deze paragraaf over homosexualiteit dient tenslotte de masridans vermeld. De dansers zijn jongetjes van 8 tot 12 jaar; zij dansen op de meest eenvoudige wijze door op de maat van de muziek op een kleine oppervlakte in het rond en heen en weer te trippelen en handen en armen daarbij heen en weer te bewegen. Zij streven daarbij niet naar een bepaald technisch- of schoonheidsideaal. Een trom (rabana) en eventueel een viool begeleidt hen; zij zingen daarbij de vierregelige versjes (kelong), die tussen jonge mannen en vrouwen gebruikelijk zijn. Zij zijn daarbij enigszins verkleed; om hun hoofd hebben zij een witte doek geslagen, die ook het gezicht gedeeltelijk bedekt; een soort sluier dus. De sexuele prikkel, die van de combinatie van vers, rhythme en de half als vrouw verklede jongetjes uitgaat is de hoofdzaak.

De dans schijnt omstreeks 1928 in Zuid-Celebes bekend geworden te zijn en toen opeens een grote verbreiding te hebben verkregen. [1]) De toeschouwers, mannen, volgens de mededelingen zelfs voornamelijk gehuwde mannen, toonden hun enthousiasme door geld, tot grote bedragen toe, in de hals der kleine dansers te stoppen. De dans werd na enige tijd door het Bestuur verboden; pas na de Nederlands-Indische capitulatie in 1942 zijn weer masrivoorstellingen gegeven.

De naam der dans verraadt waarschijnlijk het land van her-

[1]) Zo groot was de belangstelling voor deze dans, dat onderwijzers klaagden over de slaperigheid hunner leerlingen overdag op school. (mededeling van de oud-onderwijzer Noeroeddin aan Dr. A. A. Cense.)

komst. [1]) Lane [2]) geeft eerst een beschrijving van een dans, die door vrouwen, die tevens prostituée zijn, gedanst wordt en deelt vervolgens mede, dat het enige wat men hierin eigenlijk afkeurt het feit is, dat hierbij vrouwen dansen en dat men daarom ook wel in hun plaats mannen als dansers laat optreden. Het zijn meest jonge mannen; de rabab begeleidt hen; zij stellen vrouwen voor, maar om te voorkomen, dat men meent dat het werkelijk vrouwen zijn, zijn zij half als man en half als vrouw gekleed. Hun algemeen uiterlijk is meer vrouwelijk dan mannelijk; zij doen de vrouwen na in het gebruik van hun make-up; zij dragen het haar als vrouwen en zij sluieren zich.

Tot zover de weergave van de mededelingen van Lane. De overeenkomst met de boven beschreven masridans schijnt duidelijk. De reden waarom de verbreiding in Zuid-Celebes juist omstreeks 1928 plaats had, blijft echter duister.

Bovenstaande gegevens geven aanleiding tot enkele opmerkingen. Als uitgangspunt wil ik daarbij nemen de conclusie waartoe Kingsey c.s. aan het eind van hun beschouwingen over homosexualiteit kwamen. Zij noemen „the homosexual" een belangrijk onderdeel der sexuele activiteit „primarily because it is an expression of capacities that are basic in the human animal." [3])

Verder wil ik gebruik maken van de probleemstelling van Margaret Mead. [4]) Zij spreekt van de sociale persoonlijkheden der beide sexen, waartoe in een bepaalde cultuur respectievelijk de mannen en vrouwen met meer of minder succes worden opgevoed. Zij wijst er o.a. op, dat niet alle mannen in dezelfde mate de eigenschappen bezitten, die in een bepaalde cultuur van hen vereist worden, en dat er dus onder hen zijn „who had voluntarily given up the struggle to conform to the masculine rôle and who wore female attire and followed the occupations of a woman".

Het blijkt, dat in de Makassaarse samenleving een aantal mannelijke individuen zich reeds op jonge leeftijdt afwendt van hun sexegenoten en zich aansluit bij de meisjes; zij passen zich bij dezen

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[1]) De suggestie dank ik aan Prof. Dr. G. F. Pijper.

[2]) E. W. Lane: The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians. London New York. 1908. p. 389.

[3]) Kingsey, Pomeroy and Martin: Sexual behavior in the human male. Philadelphia and London, 1948. p. 666.

[4]) M. Mead: Sex and Temperament in three primitive societies. London, 1935. Zie o.m. p. XX e.v.

aan in kleding en houding. De ouderen aanvaarden het feit, dat zij anders zijn dan de andere jongens. Bij het ouder worden blijven zij zich daar ophouden. Dit brengt bepaalde consequenties met zich mede m.b.t. hun sexuele leven.

Sexueel contact met hun vrouwelijke leeftijdgenoten acht men uitgesloten. Een kawe² wordt vanzelfsprekend in de groep der vrouwen aanvaard. Komt er een kawe² van buiten, die men nog niet kent, dan houden de mannen en oude vrouwen de eerste tijd een oogje in 't zeil, zo vertelde men. Bij sexueel contact met een vrouw, dreigt de kawe² o.m. uitstoting uit de groep der vrouwen; hij zou zich dan dus geregeld in de groep der mannen moeten ophouden, waar hij zich emotioneel niet thuis voelt. Het is mogelijk, dat dit feit hem er van weerhoudt sexueel contact met een der vrouwen te zoeken. Ter bevrediging van zijn sexuele behoeften is hij dus eerder op mannen aangewezen.

Geen gevallen zijn mij bekend van mannen die, eenmaal de puberteit gepasseerd, nog kawe² werden. De sociale scheiding der sexen is op dat moment wellicht reeds te groot, dan dat overgang alsnog mogelijk geacht wordt.

Men vindt het verschijnsel, dat mannen zich gedeeltelijk kleden en gedragen als vrouwen, in geïnstitutionaliseerde vorm aan de hoven, bij het ornamentenritueel. De mogelijkheid der kawe² om — in het sociale leven — man zowel als vrouw te zijn, is hierbij een vereiste.

Een kawe² aan dit instituut gebonden noemt men bissu. Ook een „normaal" gehuwd man blijkt bissu te kunnen zijn, mits hij zich slechts tijdens het ritueel half als man en half als vrouw gedraagt.

Het bissuschap gaf aan een aantal kawe² de mogelijkheid tot het verwerven van een sociaal aanzien, dat zij nooit verworven zouden hebben, als zij in hun eigen kampong gebleven waren.

Met het verdwijnen van het bissuschap verdwenen echter niet de kawe². Zij leven thans, voorzover zij niet als Taking in hun kampongs bleven, als prostitués in de pasarplaatsen. In hun kampongs is echter hun mogelijkheid tot sexuele bevrediging ten zeerste beperkt, omdat contact met vrouwen practisch uitgesloten is en contact met mannelijke verwanten of kamponggenoten wordt afgekeurd. Dit zou de trek naar de pasarplaatsen wellicht begrijpelijk maken. Wederkerige masturbatie schijnt de gebruikelijke wijze van bevrediging te zijn.

Het uitgesproken mannelijke persoonlijkheidsideaal brengt een aantal jongens er toe zich sociaal bij de meisjes en vrouwen te voegen. De scherpe sanctie op iedere aantasting der vrouwen brengt met zich, dat deze mannen eenmaal in de groep der vrouwen opgenomen, dus a.h.w. gedwongen zijn voor hun sexuele bevrediging zich tot hun sexegenoten te richten.

Ongehuwden.

Bij een bespreking van de positie der ongehuwde mannen en vrouwen in de kampong Bontoramba moet eerst worden aangegeven, wie hieronder begrepen zijn. Weduwnaars en weduwen en gescheiden mannen en vrouwen zijn daarbij voorlopig buiten beschouwing gelaten. Bij de Volkstelling 1930 werd als regel aangenomen „dat de volle wasdom bij meisjes met de huwbaarheid en bij jongens met de werkbaarheid begint", [1]) en even later leest men, dat „indien de geslachtsrijpheid bij de meisjes als criterium van de huwbaarheid en dus ook van het volwassen-zijn werd beschouwd", dat zij dan ongeveer in het 14e of 15e levensjaar volwassen zouden zijn. [2]) In Zuid Celebes bestaat de neiging om jongens als volwassen te beschouwen als zij een eigen kampongpas (soera' kampong) hebben; dat houdt in, dat zij ook voor de gemeentediensten opgeroepen worden; zij zijn dan naar schatting 18 à 19 jaar oud. Als gevolg van deze criteria, die verschillen naar sexe, worden de mannen dus op latere leeftijd als volwassen beschouwd dan de vrouwen.

In het rapport van de Volkstelling 1930 wordt voor het Landschap Goa een hoog percentage ongehuwde mannen en vrouwen vermeld (resp. 28.2 % en 28.8 %). Als verklaring hiervan wordt opgegeven, dat de gemiddelde leeftijd waarop huwelijken gesloten worden, hoger zou zijn dan elders. [3]) Die leeftijd is echter niet bekend. Zolang de geboorteregisters een contrôle van de leeftijd bij de huwelijkssluiting niet mogelijk maken, is een verklaring als bovenstaande dus voorbarig.

Het genoemde hoge percentage is m.i. eerder te verklaren uit het feit dat een groot aantal mannen en vrouwen nooit huwt.

Om dit aantal vast te stellen heb ik aan twee verschillende infor-

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[1]) Volkstelling 1930, deel V, p. 54.
[2]) Idem p. 55.
[3]) Idem p. 66.

manten op verschillende tijdstippen, t.a.v. alle ongehuwden stuk voor stuk, gevraagd of deze volgens hen nog huwelijkskansen hadden. Het resultaat was, dat t.a.v. 15 mannen en t.a.v. 24 vrouwen door beide informanten zonder meer aangenomen werd, dat zij niet meer zouden huwen en dat t.a.v. 4 mannen hun meningen verdeeld waren. Deze 15 mannen waren allen naar schatting 35 à 40 jaar of ouder; de 24 vrouwen 30 à 35 jaar of ouder. Het totaal aantal mannen in de kampong Bontoramba bedroeg op dat moment 382 tegen 405 vrouwen. Men zou dus ter bepaling der gedachten kunnen stellen dat het totaal aantal „ongehuwden" 5 % van de totale bevolking bedraagt en dat het percentage „ongehuwde" vrouwen iets hoger is dan dat der mannen. Dit feit vraagt thans verklaring. Enkele algemene opmerkingen gaan daaraan vooraf.

Onder de 15 mannen bevonden zich 4 doofstommen, die voor normaal werk ongeschikt waren. Onder de 24 vrouwen bevonden zich behalve een blinde en een albino vrouw, drie doofstommen. [1]) 11 mannen en 19 vrouwen schenen physiek en psychisch normaal.

Lolo bangko, (oude vrijster) [2]) is de gebruikelijke, maar onaardige aanduiding van oudere ongehuwde vrouwen. Zij verrichten in huis de gewone vrouwelijke werkzaamheden. De mannen met wie men over haar spreekt, houden vol, dat deze vrouwen het niet prettig zouden vinden als zij moesten trouwen en dat zij zouden gaan huilen als haar huwelijk haar zou worden aangezegd; deze mannen bleven dus vasthouden aan de reactie, die op het moment van aanzegging van haar huwelijk van haar verwacht wordt, als de werkelijke vertolking van haar gevoelens. In een kelong door vrouwen gezegd, beluistert men echter een andere toon:

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[1]) Het grote aantal doofstommen, 7 in totaal, was te opvallend om zonder meer voorbij te gaan. De Neus-, Keel- en Oorarts te Makassar, J. C. Engelen, die zo vriendelijk was om op mijn verzoek deze individuen te onderzoeken, deelde mede, dat zij allen aan een vorm van waarnemingsdoofheid, een soort van zenuwdoofheid leden; dat de aandoening op jeugdige leeftijd moet zijn begonnen, dan wel aangeboren moet zijn geweest. Hij achtte, indien de aandoening op jeugdige leeftijd begonnen zou zijn, een infectie-ziekte in de jeugd doorgemaakt (bof of mazelen) mogelijk als oorzaak; hij meende, dat een verband met het endogame huwelijksstelsel niet uitgesloten behoeft te worden, maar dat gegevens om hier over een oordeel uit te spreken, ontbreken. Deze doofstommen zijn allen naar schatting tussen de 45 en 55 jaar oud; zij behoren dus a.h.w. tot dezelfde generatie; zij stammen uit 3 verschillende ouderparen (2 broers, een broer en zuster, en een broer met 2 zusters); zij hebben ook broers en zusters, die normaal zijn. Zij behoren allen tot de „Kapalagroep".

[2]) Vgl. B. F. Matthes; Woordenboek p. 147.

Lolobangkomi denangku;	Mijn vriendin is een oude vrijster geworden.
djappomi padja bungkenna	haar eerste sarong is al versleten [1])
mattajang guru;	bij het wachten op een man;
mana palukka tania'.	zelfs een dief was er niet. [2])

T.a.v. oudere ongehuwde mannen meent men, dat zij wel hadden kunnen huwen, maar dat zij dit niet gewild hebben. Daar legt men zich bij neer; er wordt geen aandrang tot huwen op hen uitgeoefend. De enkele oudere ongehuwde mannen, die enige tijd dagelijks konden worden gadegeslagen, schenen rustige verstilde figuren, die allerlei kleine werkjes in huis verrichtten, kleine diensten aan hun huisgenoten bewezen en soms zelfs op de kleine kinderen pasten. Hun aanzien in de verwantengroep is niet groot; mannen, die aanzien genieten in hun verwantengroep, zijn steeds gehuwd.

In het verslag van de Volkstelling 1930 wordt met betrekking tot het „Oosten van den Archipel" de veronderstelling geopperd „dat het ongehuwd blijven van een vrouw in de Inlandsche maatschappij als min of meer ongewenscht of onoirbaar wordt beschouwd". [3]) Ik heb voor de juistheid van deze laatste kwalificatie in Zuid-Celebes geen enkele aanwijzing kunnen vinden. Het wordt voor de betrokken vrouw wel „ongewenst" geacht, dat zij niet trouwt; door te trouwen wordt men pas „volledig mens", meent men. Pogen om iemands huwelijk tot stand te brengen, betekent, dat men het goede met hem voor heeft. Maar men ziet een jonge vrouw liever ongehuwd blijven dan huwen met een man, die men niet geschikt acht. Die geschiktheid wordt practisch geheel beoordeeld op grond van zijn sociaal aanzien.

Evenzo ziet men zijn zoon liever ongehuwd blijven dan dat hij een huwelijk zou sluiten, dat tegen de ouderlijke wensen in zou gaan. Niet-trouwen mag voor een individu ongewenst zijn, het wordt steeds beter geacht dan trouwen met een ongewenste partner.

„Onder de Makassaren" zo zegt het verslag verder [4]) „die een scherp standsverschil kennen, is het aantal ongehuwde vrouwen

[1]) Duidt op de gewoonte, dat de eerste sarong die een jong meisje weeft, als zij dat net geleerd heeft, bewaard wordt voor haar bruigom.
[2]) D.w.z. zij heeft zelfs geen vluchthuwelijk gepleegd.
[3]) Volkstelling 1930, deel V, p. 66.
[4]) Volkstelling 1930, deel V, p. 67.

onder de hoogere standen groot, omdat daar de bruidschat en de „balandja" (kosten van het huwelijksfeest) zoo hoog zijn".

Deze „bruidschat" nu, bedraagt bij de familieleden van de Vorst van Goa 28 realen of *f* 56.— en die van de kleine man 20 realen of *f* 40.—. Het verschil van *f* 16.— schijnt niet noemenswaard; het kan vooral bij die zoveel rijkere groep nooit de reden zijn, dat een huwelijk niet door zou gaan.

Men zou hoogstens ter verklaring van het feit, dat het aantal ongehuwde vrouwen in de hoogste stand groter is dan dat onder het volk, op het bestaande hypergamieverbod kunnen wijzen.

De hoge kosten van het huwelijksfeest zijn een gebruikelijk argument ter verklaring van het ongehuwd blijven van een groot aantal vrouwen; m.i. ten onrechte.[1]) Indien de a.s. huwelijkspartners familie (bijv. 6e graads neef en nicht) van elkaar zijn, kan men niet zeggen, dat zo'n huwelijk op grond van te hoge kosten niet tot stand zou kunnen komen. De voor een feest te spenderen onkosten worden echter in bedragen uitgedrukt, en die bedragen typeren een bepaald sociaal aanzien; men vermindert deze bedragen ongaarne, omdat men dan het gevoel heeft, dat dit feest vergeleken bij een vorig „minder" zou zijn.

Bij een waardevermeerdering van het geld, zoals omstreeks 1930 inzette, kon een bepaalde groep dezelfde bedragen als enkele jaren te voren niet meer opbrengen. Tegenover de buitenwereld gaven de leden van zo'n groep dit echter ongaarne toe. Het is dus in die tijd stellig herhaaldelijk voorgekomen, dat een huwelijk niet tot stand kwam op grond van de bedragen, die naar eigen inzicht voor het feest gespendeerd behoorden te worden.

Deze toestand duurde echter niet lang. Aanvankelijk werd nog tussen familieleden de afspraak gemaakt, dat het oude bedrag naar buiten gehandhaafd zou blijven, maar dat in werkelijkheid met minder volstaan zou worden; het sociaal aanzien der verwantengroep bleef daardoor naar buiten op peil. Langzamerhand echter pasten de bedragen zich aan de nieuwe verhoudingen aan, maar daarmee veranderde nog weinig of niets aan de opzet van het feest of aan het onthaal der gasten.

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[1]) Het argument wordt ook gebruikt ter „verklaring" van het bestaan van het vluchthuwelijk. Men blijft aan de voorzichtige kant als men stelt, dat in tijden als na 1929, het aantal vluchthuwelijken iets opliep, door de langzame aanpassing aan de nieuwe verhouding van geld en goederen.

Evenzo kon maar nauwelijks enig verschil geconstateerd worden tussen een huwelijksfeest in 1940 en één in 1949 in dezelfde verwantengroep gevierd, hoewel in die tijd de waardevermeerdering van sawahs en karbouwen omstreeks het 10-voudige bedroeg. Indien in 1940 een karbouw en een geit voor het feest geslacht werden, slachtte men in 1949 een karbouw en 2 geiten. In 1949 hoorde men dan ook vanzelfsprekend nooit de klacht, dat een huwelijk niet tot stand kon komen door de te hoge onkosten van het huwelijk; die klacht bleef in zijn opvallende frequentie beperkt tot het begin van de dertiger jaren. Die hoge onkosten hoort men thans nog slechts noemen ter camouflage, indien andere redenen, die men ongaarne uitspreekt, een bepaalde huwelijksverbintenis ongewenst maken. [1])

Thans evengoed als 15 à 20 jaar geleden blijft een betrekkelijk groot aantal mannen en vrouwen ongehuwd. De bovengenoemde redenen mogen van invloed zijn op het aantal ongehuwden in een bepaalde tijd in een bepaalde groep, een verklaring van dit verschijnsel in deze tijd, óók in de lagere standen dient daarnaast te worden beproefd.

Het huwelijk bleek een der belangrijkste evenementen in de verwantengroep te zijn. De ouderen die de huwelijken tot stand brengen, passen bij de keus van degenen, die zij laten trouwen, onbewust een selectie toe. De jonge man van wie zij verwachten, dat hij tot het aanzien hunner groep zal bijdragen heeft de voorkeur. Dat moet dus iemand zijn die steeds bereid is anderen te

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[1]) De kampong Bontoramba telde 22 weduwen en 13 weduwnaren, die niet hertrouwd waren; d.i. ruim 4 % van het totaal van 787 zielen. Slechts 2 gehuwde vrouwen en 2 gehuwde mannen bleken hertrouwde weduwen, resp. weduwnaren te zijn. Het is mogelijk, dat deze laatste aantallen in werkelijkheid iets groter zijn. Het onderzoek in deze kwestie werd n.l. bemoeilijkt door het feit, dat men het in het algemeen onaangenaam vindt om aan het bestaan van een vorig huwelijk herinnerd te worden. Dit resultaat bewijst voorlopig niet meer, dan dat er weinig weduwen en weduwnaren hertrouwen. Men houdt rekening met de mogelijkheid, dat het overlijden van de huwelijkspartner een gevolg is van een slechte eigenschap van de overlevende, zonder dat deze zich daarvan bewust hoeft te zijn. Men is bang, dat deze eigenschap hem zal bijblijven en daarom acht men een huwelijk met een weduwe of een weduwnaar een minder gewenst huwelijk; in de weinige gevallen dat een dergelijk huwelijk werd voltrokken, verrichtte men een speciaal ritueel; men hoopt dat die slechte eigenschappen daardoor zullen verdwijnen, maar acht de kans daarop niet groot.

Het verslag van de Volkstelling 1930 (deel V, p. 58) geeft als reden van het weinig hertrouwen van de weduwnaren de hoge bruidsprijs en huwelijksonkosten op. Dit argument geldt hier echter te minder, omdat de weduwnaar eventueel met een „klein feest" (nikka' tja'di) kan volstaan.

overtroeven, en te waken tegen aantasting van eigen aanzien. Het overtroeven van andere mannen en het veroveren van vrouwen zijn twee zaken, die naar Makassaarse opvatting in een man samengaan. De jonge mannen die deze eigenschappen in sterke mate bezitten nemen vaak zelf initiatief tot hun huwelijk, hoe beperkt de mogelijkheden hiertoe ook zijn. Er is verder een groot aantal mannen, dat aan initiatief niet toekomt, dat begint met te weigeren als hun huwelijk hen wordt aangezegd, maar dat zich tenslotte laat overreden. Er zijn er, die zich uiterlijk laten overreden, maar die sexuele gemeenschap blijven weigeren en daarmee het huwelijk doen mislukken. [1])

Er is tenslotte een aantal mannen, dat weigert om te trouwen, en op wie de ouderen verder weinig aandrang uitoefenen. Dat zijn degenen, waarvan men meent, dat zij tot het aanzien der verwantengroep weinig zullen bijdragen. Hun angst om tekort te schieten in de sexuele verhouding tot hun vrouw, zoals zij ook in de sociale verhouding tot andere mannen tekort schieten, zou de oorzaak kunnen zijn van hun weigering om te trouwen. Het feit, dat de ouderen deze individuen niet in staat achten om tot het aanzien der verwantengroep bij te dragen, zou een reden kunnen zijn, om zich bij hun weigering neer te leggen.

Van een vrouw mag nooit enig initiatief tot een huwelijk uitgaan. De dociele, teruggetrokken meisjes worden de anderen ten voorbeeld gesteld. Ik meen, maar zag dit gaarne door nader onderzoek bevestigd, dat onder de ongehuwde vrouwen deze dociele figuren nog het vaakst aanwezig zijn. De agressievere persoonlijkheden, die de karaktertrekken, die in deze samenleving het meeste gewaardeerd worden, juist, in mindere mate bezitten, schijnen eerder te huwen. Een oude vrouw gaf mij als reden, dat men een bepaald meisje had laten trouwen, op, dat men anders misschien later moeilijkheden met haar zou krijgen. De oude vrouw doelde hierbij hoogstwaarschijnlijk op het ontstaan van siri'kwesties. Het feit, dat deze karakters trouwen, terwijl dociele figuren vaak ongehuwd blijven, wijst er op dat de ouderen in hun keus de weg der minste weerstand volgen. De karakters van wie de meeste moeilijkheden te verwachten zijn, hebben een betere kans om te trouwen.

De mannen met de persoonlijke eigenschappen, die het meeste

[1]) Zie beneden, p. 200 e.v.

geapprecieerd worden en de vrouwen met de persoonlijke eigenschappen, die het minst geapprecieerd worden, hebben de beste huwelijkskansen.

Men meent, dat de karaëngs de persoonlijke eigenschappen die in een man geapprecieerd worden, steeds in hoge mate bezitten. Hun mogelijkheden om te trouwen zijn groter, dan die van een gewone man; een huwelijk met een lagere vrouw is een frequent verschijnsel. Cijfers omtrent de ongehuwden in deze groep zijn echter niet aanwezig.

Het koroverschijnsel.

Koro is de Makassaarse naam van het ziektebeeld, waarbij een man meent, dat zijn penis inkrimpt en naar binnen zal schieten, terwijl hij ervan overtuigd is, dat hij zal sterven, indien dit werkelijk zou gebeuren. [1]) Koro betekent letterlijk inkrimpen. Van Wulfften Palthe en Slot beschouwden de verschijnselen als uitingen van een angstneurose. [2])

De beschrijving van één bepaald geval, zoals dit door een informant werd weergegeven, luidde als volgt. Een man van omstreeks 45 jaar, gehuwd, en in het bezit van kinderen, had een tweede vrouw genomen; hij had dit feit voor zijn eerste vrouw geheim gehouden, omdat hij haar uitingen van jaloezie vreesde. Na verloop van tijd werd zijn tweede huwelijk echter toch bekend. Op een avond toen hij moe en slaperig thuis was gekomen, kreeg hij rillingen; het angstzweet brak hem uit; hij kreeg het gevoel dat zijn penis steeds kleiner werd en naar binnen wilde schieten; op zijn hulpgeroep kwamen buren toelopen; alleen mannen hielpen hem: één hunner hield de penis vast om deze te verhinderen naar binnen te schieten; een andere man haalde een sanro (Makassaars geneeskundige). Na verloop van tijd, nadat de sanro reeds enig ritueel verricht had, verdwenen de angstgevoelens; de aanval was voor die dag over.

Vrouwen worden verre gehouden van een koropatient. Men gelooft, dat haar aanwezigheid het gevreesde gevolg, het naar bin-

[1]) De verschijnselen, die m.b.t. vrouwen vermeld worden, zijn: de borsten worden platter, de tepels krimpen in; de labia willen naar binnen schieten. Alleen vrouwen helpen de patiënte. Het verschijnsel is bij vrouwen minder frequent dan bij mannen.

[2]) Zie Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië 1935, dl. 75, resp. p. 836 e.v. en 811 e.v.

nen schieten van de penis, juist zou doen intreden, en men meent, dat de patiënt dan zou sterven; men noemt zonder veel moeite enkele voorbeelden van mensen, die aan koro zouden zijn overleden.

Slot deelt mede, dat koro voorkomt bij volwassen Makassaren en Buginezen van iedere stand en sexe; het verschijnsel kan groepsgewijs optreden; het is geen gevolg van een gewijzigde libido; de Makassaarse bestrijding geschiedt door de aanwending van positief geachte invloeden, b.v. door het gebruik van de bloeiende tros van de mannelijke lontarpalm als medicijn, en door het vermijden van negatieve invloeden, alshoedanig de schildpad genoemd wordt. [1])

Slot verklaart tenslotte, dat de aanleiding tot koro een gevoel van schuld kan zijn, maar dat die aanleiding ethnologisch bepaald is, omdat het toelaatbare en het ontoelaatbare hier anders verweven zijn dan in West Europa. Hij spreekt hier van schuldgevoelens, terwijl van Wulfften Palthe meent, dat het angstgevoelens zijn, die aan het koroverschijnsel ten grondslag liggen.

Nu van psychologische zijde het koroverschijnsel als een uiting van angst beschreven is, kan van ethnologische kant gepoogd worden om aan te wijzen waardoor die angst kan ontstaan. Daartoe wil ik dan noemen de verticale tendentie, die van de Makassaren eist een voortdurend streven om andere mannen te overtreffen en een groot vrouwenveroveraar te zijn. De angst het vermogen hiertoe te verliezen, dan wel om in dit streven te kort te schieten zou de basis voor het koroverschijnsel kunnen vormen.

Prostitutie.

Prostituées kent men in de Makassaarse kampongs niet. Alleenwonende vrouwen onder de 35 à 40 jaren zonder familieleden komen er niet voor en in huis bij anderen is het voor een vrouw, om boven ampel besproken redenen, onmogelijk om min of meer geregeld mannen bij zich te ontvangen, of daarmee buitenshuis contact te hebben. Zolang zij bij anderen in huis woont, zou een enkele contact-situatie reeds ten gevolge hebben, dat de jonge mannelijke huisgenoten of buren siri' werden. De oudere vrouwen die voor deze vreemdelinge echter geen moeilijkheden wensen te riskeren, zullen in zo'n geval pogen om haar tijdig weg te zenden — naar een hoofd bijv., dat haar laat trouwen — voordat door haar

[1]) De gedachte aan het verdwijnen van de kop van dit dier onder het schild, geeft de patiënt een onaangename associatie, aldus een informant.

een steekpartij zou ontstaan. Is zij eenmaal uit huis, dan is er voor de jonge mannen die immers geen familie van haar zijn, geen reden om door haar optreden siri' te zijn.

Haar gedragingen tasten het sociaal aanzien van haar groep aan, daardoor is zij in de plattelandskampongs onaanvaardbaar. Van morele afkeuring blijkt weinig.

Prostitutie is een stadsverschijnsel. Behalve in Makassar wonen prostituées in de grotere pasarplaatsen als Pare-Pare, Watampone e.a.

De pasarplaats Bontomanai, het centrum van de handel van Borongloë, bleek nog niet groot genoeg om blijvend een prostituée te herbergen. Van een van de dochters van een vooraanstaand man in Borongloë, die in Bontomanai bij een ver familielid was gaan wonen, werd gezegd, dat zij mannen bij zich ontving, die haar kleine geschenken gaven. Haar vader verklaarde haar dood; haar broers volgden zijn voorbeeld echter niet; er bleef haar dus gevaar dreigen. Na enkele maanden vluchtte zij samen met een man naar Makassar. Een gewoon vluchthuwelijk was dus het einde van het avontuur van deze vrouw, die de banden met haar ouderlijk huis verbrak, om te pogen in Bontomanai een grotere vrijheid te veroveren, dan te midden van haar eigen verwanten mogelijk geweest zou zijn.

Het is niet te verwachten, dat men onder de prostituées in de grote stad de bescheiden teruggetrokken karakters zal aantreffen, die op het platteland aan de jonge meisjes als ideaal voorgehouden worden. Men kan onder hen eerder degenen verwachten, die zich juist moeilijk aan de vele beperkingen onderwerpen, die hun worden opgelegd. Nader onderzoek zou hier moeten plaats hebben.

Ik zou de suggestie willen wagen, dat terwijl in West-Europa naast de prostituée om economische redenen, het onschuldig verleide burgermeisje staat, in Zuid-Celebes, waar geen economische dwang tot prostitutie voert, vrouwen met agressieve eigenschappen, het avonturierstertype prostitutie zullen uitoefenen.

Het polygame huwelijk.

In de adatgemeenschap Borongloë woonden per April 1940 34 polygame mannen op ruim 13000 inwoners. [1]) In het Verslag van de Volkstelling 1930 [2]) worden de cijfers der polygamen in het

[1]) Het geven van cijfers van polygamen binnen de kampong Bontoramba woonachtig, heeft geen zin: in 1940 woonde er geen één en in 1949 één. Nieuwe cijfers konden na de oorlog door tijdgebrek niet verzameld worden.

[2]) Deel V p. 70—71.

landschap Goa niet apart genoemd; t.a.v. de onderafdeling Makassar buiten de gemeente, leest men, dat het percentage der „volwassen polygaam-gehuwde mannen" laag, i.c. beneden de 2 is. Indien nu schattenderwijs het aantal mannen in Borongloë op 6400 en het aantal gehuwden op een kwart daarvan of 1600 gesteld wordt, dan zou het percentage voor Borongloë ruim 2 zijn. Hierop zou dan nog verder afgedongen kunnen worden. Want onder die 34 polygamen bevinden zich 7 vreemdelingen, t.w. 3 Indo-Chinezen, die elk met twee Makassaarse vrouwen gehuwd waren, 3 Buginezen en 1 Sajjid; de laatste, die uit een kampong aan de zuidkust buiten Goa gelegen, stamde, keerde reeds in 1941 daarheen terug. Van de overige 27 kan men zeggen dat zij in Borongloë thuis hoorden.

Van 4 van deze 27 polygamen kwam het tweede huwelijk op feestelijke wijze tot stand; in de andere 23 gevallen na silariang. Van die 4 betrof één het uitzonderlijke geval, dat een ongeveer 60 jarige betrekkelijk arme man met goedvinden van zijn eerste vrouw een jong meisje huwde, dat vervolgens bij hen in huis kwam wonen. De andere drie waren „normale" gevallen waarbij een gegoed man met een zeker persoonlijk gezag, tegen de zin van zijn eerste vrouw, een tweede huwelijk sloot en voor die tweede vrouw een eigen huis liet zetten.

In drie van de 34 gevallen was een man met drie vrouwen gehuwd. Twee dezer mannen, de Sajjid en een Makassaar, hadden hun tweede zowel als hun derde huwelijk slechts via silariang tot stand kunnen brengen; de derde, het Adatgemeenschapshoofd, had zijn tweede en derde huwelijk zelf geregeld.

Aangezien naar moslims recht het sluiten van een tweede huwelijk een even eenvoudige zaak is als van een eerste, moeten er redenen op een ander terrein gelegen zijn aan te wijzen, waarom zo weinig polygame mannen in dit gebied geregistreerd konden worden. Als zodanig dient in de eerste plaats de tegenstand der eerste vrouw genoemd.

Het feit dat haar man een tweede echtgenote neemt is voor een vrouw een van de ergste dingen die haar kan overkomen. Bij de wensen die een bruidspaar toegevoegd worden behoort ook, dat zij te zamen oud zullen worden. Van een kinderloos oud paar, dat het hele leven door samen gebleven was, werd gezegd dat dit bewees dat zij gelukkig samen waren; men achtte dit een reden tot verheugenis en een voorbeeld voor de jongeren. In de „spelletjes"

die tijdens het huwelijksfeest plaats hebben, moet de vrouw winnen; daarin wordt de wens tot uitdrukking gebracht dat zij later in de verhouding tot haar man ook de overhand zal hebben. En op de vraag waaraan daarbij het allereerst gedacht wordt, was het antwoord dat men daarbij dacht aan het verstrekken van de benodigdheden voor het dagelijks eten en het nemen van een tweede vrouw.

De reactie der eerste vrouw is zeer heftig; zij verklaart liever verstoten te worden dan een tweede vrouw (maru) naast zich te dulden; zij verlaat het huis zonder medeweten van haar man — een daad die haar in gewone omstandigheden zwaar zou worden aangerekend — en gaat, liefst met haar kinderen, terug naar haar ouders. Het is in zo'n geval bepaaldelijk niet de bedoeling om voorgoed weg te gaan. Een uitlating van een hunner laat hierover geen twijfel. Toen deze vrouw hoorde dat haar man een tweede huwelijk had gesloten, vertrok zij pas naar de verweg gelegen kampong van haar ouders, na de gelofte afgelegd te hebben: „Indien ik hier terugkom, zal ik U (voorouders) een kip offeren." Terugkomen is in zo'n geval alleen mogelijk als haar man haar dit zou komen verzoeken. Haar verlangen daartoe overheerste. Soms, met name indien het tweede huwelijk na silariang tot stand komt, heeft haar afwijzende houding succes. In een geval bezocht de man zijn tweede vrouw steeds minder; deze vroeg toen na verloop van tijd echtscheiding op grond van het feit dat zij geen levensonderhoud meer van hem kreeg; in een ander geval vluchtte de tweede vrouw met een andere man weg. [1]) Maar soms ook kiest de man de tweede.

Meestal echter aanvaardt de eerste vrouw de nieuwe toestand. Haar verhouding tot haar rivale blijft echter notoir slecht. Scheldwoorden, hatelijkheden op de domheid, het lage bloed of op bepaalde physieke kenmerken van de ander, zijn gewone uitingen van haar gevoelens, die zij echter meer tegenover haar vrouwelijke huisgenoten dan tegenover haar echtgenoot lucht. Oudere vrouwen leren haar dat dit laatste onverstandig is. In een der oude lontars van de Vorst van Goa komt de volgende regel voor, die de verhou-

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[1]) Officieel heet dit overspel en behoorde de man zich te gedragen alsof hij siri' was; in werkelijkheid stemde hij toe in de echtscheiding, en deed hij ook geen poging om te steken; een initiatief van zijn kant, dat ertoe zou kunnen leiden, dat zij door de rechter wegens overspel veroordeeld zou worden, wordt door zijn verwanten ook niet verwacht.

dingen wel typeert: „Dit is de regel bij moord. Als wij onze medevrouw vermoorden, het doet er niet toe waar, en als wij dit aan de mensen, die komen toelopen, mededelen, zeggend „„ik heb mijn medevrouw gedood"", dan wordt er geen weerwraak op ons genomen." [1])

De beide vrouwen hebben vanzelfsprekend een eigen huis. In 24 van de 27 polygame huwelijken stonden die beide huizen zelfs in verschillende kampongs. Als men van een man zegt, dat hij twee huizen heeft, betekent dit, dat hij twee vrouwen heeft. In haar eigen huis leven zij, met haar kinderen en een enkel familielid, haar eigen leven. Zij zien elkaar nooit; zij worden geacht elkaar te negeren. Bij het maken van bezoeken waken de familieleden ervoor dat de ene niet komt, waar de ander aanwezig is. Bij feesten wijkt de tweede vrouw steeds voor de eerste, maar in werkelijkheid krijgt zij evenwel goed steeds een kans om daar, al is het dan slechts korte tijd, aanwezig te zijn. Practisch weten de beide vrouwen alles van elkaar wat maar van enig belang geacht kan worden. „Vriendinnen" vertellen de nieuwtjes, vooral de slechte, die iedere vrouw over haar medevrouw wil horen. In de loop van vele jaren slijten soms de scherpste kanten van deze verhouding af. De kinderen van de een gaan met hun vader naar het huis van de ander. Het geval waarin de twee vrouwen op oudere leeftijd elkaar van tijd tot tijd bezochten, blijft echter een uitzondering.

Van de echtgenoot wordt verwacht, dat hij met haar gevoelens rekening houdt en niets zal doen dat haar aan haar rivale zou kunnen herinneren. Het oude voorbeeld is, dat een man de inhoud van zijn sirihdoos moet wegdoen, vóór hij bij de andere vrouw komt, omdat het vullen hiervan, tot in de hoogste kringen toe, een speciale taak is, die een vrouw voor haar man verricht, zodat een vrouw bij het zien der verse sirihbladen direct aan de andere herinnerd wordt. [2]) Als hij weggaat noemt hij ook nooit de kampong waar de andere vrouw woont als plaats van bestemming; waarheid spreken zou hier een onvergefelijke grofheid zijn. Maar een man die naar de zin van zijn eerste vrouw al te vaak uithuizig was kreeg te horen: „Als een man veel uitgaat, is een vrouw lui met koken."

[1]) Deze vertaling bleef behouden als deel van het vooroorlogs manuscript. De lontar waaraan deze regel ontleend werd kon, evenmin als de Makassaarse tekst, opgespoord worden.

[2]) Er wordt weinig sirih meer gepruimd door de generatie die thans 35 à 40 jaar of jonger is.

De gedragingen der vrouwen die een andere vrouw naast zich weten, tonen in vergelijking tot de monogaam gehuwden, een sterker dan normaal verlangen om haar man aan zich te binden; zij zorgen er voor, dat er eten klaar is als hij thuiskomt; dat een schone sarong voor hem klaar ligt; dat zij zijn gasten extra goed verzorgen, omdat een man het nu eenmaal prettig vindt als hij als een goed gastheer bekend staat. Anderzijds weten zij door diezelfde middelen hem haar boosheid te laten blijken, door hem te laten wachten op zijn eten, door zijn kleren slecht te verzorgen enz. Op oudere leeftijd is bij mannen de neiging waar te nemen langere tijd achtereen bij dezelfde vrouw te blijven. In de meeste gevallen blijkt dat zijn eerste te zijn.

De tweede vrouw is steeds lager dan de eerste; zij wordt althans als lager beschouwd. Dit feit vergemakkelijkt het voor de eerste om zich bij haar bestaan neer te leggen. De grote angst van een vrouw die geen familie van haar man was, bleek te zijn, dat zij nu tweede vrouw zou worden, omdat hij met een zijner nichtjes huwde. Wat afstamming betreft werd zij echter als zijn gelijke beschouwd en er was een alleszins aanvaardbare reden waarom zijn nichtje zijn gelijke niet was.

Het verzet der eerste vrouw is niet de enige reden waarom een tweede huwelijk moeilijk tot stand komt; een andere is gelegen in de tegenstand van zijn eigen verwanten. Deze voelen zich verantwoordelijk voor de goede gang van zaken van zijn eerste huwelijk en staan dus afwijzend tegenover het tweede, omdat een duurzaam monogaam huwelijk nu eenmaal als een der idealen van een geslaagd huwelijk geldt. Als een tweede huwelijk via silariang tot stand is gekomen, tonen zij hun afkeuring en steunen zij vaak de eerste vrouw. Zij zwichten alleen indien de man voldoende gezag blijkt te hebben, om zijn tweede huwelijk zelfstandig, met zijn „eigen mensen" voor te bereiden en te verwezenlijken; dat wil zeggen, dat hij voor zijn tweede vrouw een eigen huis laat maken of koopt, en dat hij zelf een huwelijksfeest, al is het dan ook een klein feest, kan organiseren. Indien een man zoveel aanzien geniet en indien hij zoveel organisatietalent bezit, dan leggen zijn familieleden zich niet slechts bij dit tweede huwelijk neer, maar dan heeft men ook waardering voor hem, omdat het op feestelijke wijze vieren van een tweede huwelijk een teken is van zijn persoonlijk aanzien, waardoor zijn familieleden mede in aanzien stijgen.

In zo'n geval heeft de eerste echtgenote dus weinig steun van zijn verwanten te verwachten en van haar eigen naaste familieleden hoogstens troost; zij pogen slechts om dit voor haar persoonlijk zo verdrietige feit als onbelangrijk voor te stellen en zo goed mogelijk te doen aanvaarden. Van morele afkeuring van de daad van de man is geen sprake. Aldus is de situatie in de adatgemeenschap Borongloë.

In de verwantengroep der karaëngs worden meer tweede huwelijken, speciaal met vrouwen van lager bloed, gesloten. Deze mannen hebben minder weerstand te overwinnen. In de kampongs van de gewone man voert een ieder zijn strijd om meer aanzien, en dus om een goed huwelijk voor zijn kinderen. Men laat een meisje in het algemeen niet graag trouwen met een reeds gehuwd man, maar indien het verschil in bloed algemeen erkend is, zoals tussen een karaëng en een meisje uit een der vele verwantengroepen van het volk, dan wordt zo'n huwelijk door de laatsten niet als een onderschikking gevoeld, maar dan stijgen zo'n meisje en haar verwanten daardoor juist in aanzien. Dit is hetgeen op de achtergrond der gedachten ligt als leden der karaëngsfamilie verklaren, dat lageren het als een eer beschouwen om hun dochter als vrouw aan een man van adel te geven.

Een grens wanneer men precies zijn dochter of zuster gaarne met een hogere, die reeds gehuwd is, ziet trouwen en wanneer men die hogere toch eigenlijk als bijna gelijke beschouwt, en dus zo'n huwelijk niet wenst, is niet aan te geven. De grenzen der standen zijn daarvoor te vaag.

Van een man, die twee vrouwen heeft, eist men dus uitzonderlijke eigenschappen. Door het sluiten van een tweede huwelijk toont hij, dat hij zich boven zijn andere verwanten verheft. Dit feit wordt niet geapprecieerd, en dus tegengewerkt, indien hij overigens niet bijzonder tot het sociaal aanzien der groep bijdraagt. Maar als dit wel het geval is, en hij kan dit tonen door zelfstandig een tweede huwelijk te organiseren, dan aanvaardt men het, en dan met een zekere trots. Steeds wenst een aantal mannen met minder uitzonderlijke eigenschappen een tweede vrouw te nemen. Het silarianginstituut geeft hen de mogelijkheid daartoe, zonder dat zij hulp aan hun verwanten behoeven te vragen. In deze gevallen aanvaarden zijn verwanten dit huwelijk echter moeilijker.

Tweede gedeelte.

Sexuele gemeenschap in het huwelijk.

In het eerste gedeelte van dit hoofdstuk werd gewezen op de selectie, die de ouderen op grond van persoonlijke eigenschappen der jongeren, uitoefenen bij de keuze van degenen, die zij laten huwen. Zij kunnen daarbij vanzelfsprekend geen scherpe grens trekken tussen degenen, die zij wel, en die zij niet laten huwen; meerdere factoren zijn van invloed op het aantal individuen, dat in een bepaalde groep uiteindelijk ongehuwd blijft. In iedere groep is een aantal individuen, dat verklaart, dat zij niet willen huwen, zonder dat de motieven daarbij steeds duidelijk zijn, en zonder dat de ouderen altijd met die wil rekening houden.

Het is in dit licht bezien begrijpelijk, dat een huwelijksvoltrekking op zichzelf nog niet betekent, dat de jonggehuwden nu ook de weg tot een normaal huwelijksleven zullen kunnen vinden.

Het blijkt, dat in een aantal gevallen een der huwelijkspartners de ander „niet-wil"; men zegt dan van hen, dat zij „niet-goed" samen zijn. Dit houdt in, dat een hunner sexuele gemeenschap weigert.

Het centrale punt van het huwelijksfeest, waar aller streven en belangstelling op gericht is, is het goed worden van man en vrouw. De bedoeling is, dat een huwelijk duurzaam en voorspoedig zal zijn, d.w.z. dat het tot de dood van een der partners zal duren en met veel kinderen en goederen gezegend zal worden.

Bij de behandeling van een aantal „echtscheidingen" zal blijken, dat indien de partners maar eenmaal sexueel verkeer hebben gehad, het huwelijk inderdaad duurzaam genoemd mag worden. Het blijkt echter voor een aantal individuen moeilijk om tot sexueel verkeer met hun partner over te gaan. Ik zou de oorzaak van die moeilijkheid in de persoonlijkheidsstructuur willen zoeken.

Ten aanzien van de mannen zou daartoe gewezen kunnen worden op de angst om tegenover hun partner te kort te schieten. Het overtroeven van zijn sexegenoten, waarop boven reeds werd gewezen, en het verrichten van grote sexuele prestaties zijn beide uitingen van persoonlijke eigenschappen, die in een man hoog gewaardeerd worden en die steeds gecombineerd voorkomen.

De kenmerken van het niet-goed zijn, als het niet-willen van de vrouw uitgaat, zijn dezelfde als wanneer de man degeen is die

sexueel verkeer weigert. De beide vrouwen die ik heb kunnen waarnemen, geven echter eerder aanleiding tot de suggestie, dat het idee dat zij zich te goed achten voor hun man, de reden van hun weigering is.

De Makassaarse zienswijze m.b.t. deze verschijnselen is anders.

Een informant noemde als een der z.i. belangrijkste trekken van het huwelijksfeest, dat het „tete" is. Tete betekent letterlijk brug. Men beschouwt het bijeenbrengen van man en vrouw als een periode van tijdelijke onzekerheid, en men hoopt, dat hieruit een toestand van duurzame zekerheid zal ontstaan. Men verricht ritueel omdat men gelooft, dat men daarmee de verlangde afloop der onzekerheid kan bevorderen. Hierbij is steeds een positief en een negatief aspect aanwezig. Dit komt o.m. tot uitdrukking in de namen van blaren en houtsoorten, die bij het ritueel gebruikt worden; sommige hebben de betekenis van groter worden, toenemen, terwijl andere afweren en tegenhouden beduiden.

Boven bleek reeds, dat de omgeving een kawe[2] aanvaardt zoals hij is. Men heeft niet het idee, dat het zijn schuld is dat hij zo is. Op dezelfde wijze aanvaardt men van een man of vrouw, dat hij (zij) niet „goed" wil zijn met zijn (haar) huwelijkspartner.

Men gelooft dat het mogelijk is, dat degeen die sexueel contact weigert, door een spreuk getroffen is. Men kan echter nooit met zekerheid aangeven wie of die spreuk uitte; men kan iemand daar hoogstens van verdenken; men gaat daarbij af op een belang, dat die persoon, naar men meent, bij het mislukken van dit huwelijk zou hebben en combineert dit met gedragingen, die men bij hem of haar waarneemt en waarvan men verklaart, dat zij afwijken van de gebruikelijke en dus een bijzondere (i.c. slechte) betekenis zouden kunnen hebben.

De reactie is, dat men zo'n persoon buiten de pogingen houdt, die men aanwendt om het huwelijk alsnog te doen gelukken. Aangezien men er echter nooit zeker van kan zijn, dat een bepaald individu een spreuk tegen het goedworden der huwelijkspartners geuit heeft, hoort men ook nooit van verdergaande reacties, zoals het toedienen van straffen.

Al aanvaardt men van een man of vrouw dat hij (zij) geen sexueel verkeer met zijn (haar) echtgeno(o)t(e) wil hebben, men legt zich daar niet zonder meer bij neer. Men zoekt, na afloop dus

van het eigenlijke huwelijksfeest, naar ritueel om alsnog het gewenste resultaat tot stand te brengen.

Het ritueel kent in 't algemeen naast aan velen bekende, en gemakkelijk waarneembare trekken, details, die bij ieder individu dat ritueel verricht, verschillen. Die details hoeven niet waarneembaar te zijn. Ook — wellicht: juist — in het niet waarneembare kan datgene aanwezig zijn, wat het ritueel in een bepaald geval succesvol maakt. Men kan nooit van te voren weten, welk detail het succes zal brengen.

Verschillende mensen beproeven dus in een geval dat de huwelijkspartners niet-goed samen zijn, hun krachten. De ex-Imang van Borongloë had, na het falen van anderen, enige malen succes toen hij enkele jaren nadat het huwelijk gesloten was, de moslimse ritus over deed; men noemt dit „opnieuw trouwen" (nikka' poleang). Dit ritueel was in een aantal streken van Zuid-Celebes onbekend. Persoonlijk initiatief in duidelijk waarneembare rituele zaken is hier aanwijsbaar.

Het huwelijksfeest bestaat uit een veelvormig ritueel waarvan de onderdelen in een tijdsduur van 3 à 14 dagen in een min of meer vaste volgorde verricht worden.

Meerdere handelingen die in het gewone leven verboden zijn, worden hier met ritueel omgeven voor het eerst verricht. Als zodanig dienen genoemd de eerste aanraking van de vrouw door de man, het voor het eerst samen eten, samen gebaad worden en samen één sarong dragen. De ouderen hechten aan de wijze waarop deze handelingen door de jonge individuen worden verricht, een grote betekenis, omdat zij daaruit de gezindheid t.a.v. de huwelijkspartner menen te kunnen opmaken en zij daarop weer hun nader te nemen (rituele) maatregelen baseren, die alle ingesteld zijn op het uiteindelijk „goed" samen zijn van man en vrouw.

Daarnaast hebben tijdens de feestelijkheden spelletjes plaats in de vorm van wedstrijdjes tussen bruid en bruigom; daarbij wordt er voor gezorgd dat de vrouw steeds wint. Men zegt, dat dit een uiting is van de wens, dat later in het dagelijks leven de vrouw ook de baas in huis zal zijn, omdat een paar dan het gelukkigst geacht wordt. [1])

[1]) De verhouding tussen man en vrouw in het huwelijk wordt wel getypeerd door te zeggen, dat de vrouw staat op de wijsvinger van de man (bainea ammentengi ri pandjodjona buranea); dat wil zeggen dat de vrouw moet doen

Geen twee huwelijksfeesten zijn gelijk; de respectievelijke verwantengroepen hebben ieder hun eigenaardigheden, die in de details van het ritueel tot uiting komen; de leidinggevende persoonlijkheden drukken, binnen een en dezelfde verwantengroep, ieder hun eigen stempel, zowel op de organisatie van het hele feest, als op de uitvoering van de verschillende rituelen. Zij tonen daarbij, dat zij niet slechts bestaande rituele gewoonten kunnen volgen, maar dat zij ook nieuw ritueel aan het bestaande kunnen toevoegen.

Aan wie meerdere huwelijksfeesten meemaakte, vallen naast de vele trekken die zij gemeen hebben ook de grote verschillen op. Bij de thans volgende beschrijving van een aantal onderdelen van het huwelijksritueel zijn in hoofdzaak de aantekeningen, bij één feest gemaakt, gevolgd. Er is hierbij niet gestreefd naar volledigheid. Het ritueel had dan veel uitvoeriger moeten worden beschreven. Achter ieder detail doemen weer nieuwe op.

Onderdelen van het huwelijksritueel.

De aanzegging.

De mededeling aan een jong meisje dat het zal gaan trouwen gebeurt met veel zorg. Een oudere vrouw wordt daartoe aangezocht,

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wat de man zegt. In werkelijkheid wordt deze idee slechts t.a.v. bepaalde kwesties gerealiseerd, bijv. in die, waarin siri' gevoelens een rol spelen. Een gehuwd man heeft dus te beslissen of een zusje of schoonzusje, dat bij hem in huis woont, naar een feest mag, of zij nog naar school mag, enz. Hij kan een huwelijksaanzoek tegenhouden. In dit soort zaken zet hij zijn zin door. Daarvoor gevoelt hij zich verantwoordelijk, omdat, indien er iets zou gebeuren, hij degeen is die handelend op zou moeten treden, omdat hij de beschermer der siri' is. In dit soort zaken richt zijn vrouw zich dus naar hem. Maar in andere zaken blijkt, dat de vrouw de baas is in huis, en dat de man zich daarbij neerlegt. Toen besprekingen gevoerd moesten worden over de regeling van een besnijdenisfeest waren de ouders van het te besnijden jongetje nog te jong om dat geheel zelfstandig te doen. De vader van de man gaf de grote lijnen daarvoor aan. Maar hij voerde die besprekingen niet met zijn zoon, maar met zijn schoondochter. Pas toen de regeling van het feest in details was besproken en vastgesteld, werd dit aan haar echtgenoot medegedeeld, die nu officieel instemde. Als man en vrouw het er niet over eens zijn of een groot feest of klein feest ter gelegenheid van de een of andere gebeurtenis gegeven zal worden, dan wel als de man voor zijn zoon een fiets wil kopen, maar zijn vrouw kleren, dan handelt zij naar eigen wens. De man toont zich dan boos, maar hij legt er zich spoedig bij neer, met de verzuchting, dat dit toch maar onbelangrijke zaken zijn; siri'kwesties zijn uiteindelijk naar zijn inzicht de belangrijke kwesties, en hij zorgt er dus voor, dat die tot zijn competentie blijven behoren.

die zelf veel kinderen had en die het goed ging in deze wereld; de vrouw van een Kapala bijvoorbeeld of iemand die hoger bloed aan persoonlijk aanzien paart. De ouders hopen, dat hun kind iets van haar geluk (pitjuru) deelachtig zal worden. Het meisje wordt bij haar gebracht en rustig, vriendelijk met enkele goed gekozen woorden toegesproken. „Wij zijn van plan je tot een volkomen mens te maken" (nipadjari tau); „wij willen je tot één geheel maken" (nipakalepu).

Als haar huwelijk haar is aangezegd, gaat een meisje steeds huilen. Een enigszins onnozel type, dat rustig bleef zitten, werd daartoe zelfs aangespoord: „huil kindje, anders lachen de mensen je uit" (ngarruko 'ndi, nakakaliko sallang taua). Niet huilen wordt opgevat als teken, dat zij naar een man zou verlangen.

Een meisje dat gehoord heeft, dat zij moet huwen, trekt in het algemeen haar sarong over het hoofd en gaat snikkend in een donker hoekje van het huis liggen; zij weigert alle eten en blijft daar, tot zij door haar vrouwelijke familieleden opgenomen wordt, om bepaald ritueel te ondergaan; zij houdt zich daarbij echter zo passief mogelijk, en toont daardoor, dat het idee te moeten trouwen haar zeer ongelukkig maakt.

Ook van een jonge man verwacht men, dat hij bedroefd is, als hij hoort, dat hij moet huwen. Eh, tené'na, „Wat is hij blij", (dat hij gaat trouwen) was de misprijzende reactie van een oude vrouw toen de jongen heel rustig bleef. De familieleden maken herhaaldelijk opmerkingen tegen hem, die erop ingesteld zijn om hem bedroefd te stemmen. „Denk eens aan je moeder". „Je zult nu wel niet meer aan ons denken. Alleen de familieleden van je vrouw noem je nu nog familie."

Het watersprenkelen (appasili).

Appasili [1]) is de naam van het ritueel, waarbij, met een aantal saamgebonden bladertakken, water gesprenkeld wordt over een zaak of persoon, die object van dit ritueel is. Het geschiedt op verschillende momenten van het huwelijksfeest; zo m.b.t. het vaatwerk, dat tijdens de feestmaaltijden gebruikt zal worden; bij het

[1]) Zie B. F. Matthes; Woordenboek p. 597.

oprichten van de hoofdpaal van de pannjambungi; [1]) het behoort tot de voorbereidingen, die aan het kleden van bruid en bruigom, als zij nog in de huizen hunner resp. ouders zijn, voorafgaan, en het heeft plaats als zij voor het eerst samen gebaad worden.

Degeen die dit ritueel verricht, is vaak de „bruidsmoeder" (anrong bunting) [2]); het speciale appasili bij het oprichten van de hoofdpaal van de pannjambungi geschiedt echter door degeen, die met de bouw daarvan belast is, dat is de man die m.b.t. huizenbouw terzake kundig is (panrita balla'); het appasili van het vaatwerk ziet men meestal verrichten door een der vooraanstaande oudere vrouwen.

De bundel bladertakken bestaat bij voorkeur uit zeven verschillende soorten. Het zijn meestal dezelfde soorten maar men brengt soms variaties aan. De namen der blaren van één bepaalde bundel luidden: 1. buagang, 2. palili, 3. parempasa', 4. loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. De eerste vier namen duiden alle op afweer, [3]) de laatste twee hebben respectievelijk de betekenis van opgewekt en zoet.

Het water waarmee gesprenkeld wordt, komt uit een pot; het heeft daar reeds een rituele behandeling ondergaan. In de pot ligt op de bodem wat geld, enige op speciale wijze gevouwen sirihbladeren (kalomping) en een bijbehorend aantal stukjes pinang. Dit water is zuiver (badji'; lett. goed) gemaakt; het brandend

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[1]) De pannjambungi is het verlengstuk, dat ter gelegenheid van een huwelijksfeest tegen de voorkant van het eigenlijke huis wordt aangebouwd; het dient gedurende die tijd als mannenverblijfplaats en tot ontvangst der mannelijke gasten; het eigenlijke huis, het voorvertrek (kale balla') inbegrepen, is dan gereserveerd voor de vrouwen. Ik hoop dit huisdeel later uitvoeriger te kunnen beschrijven. Op het grote belang ervan werd door W. H. Rassers reeds herhaaldelijk gewezen, het laatste in zijn studie: „Inleiding tot de bestudeering van de Javaansche kris". Mededeeling der Kon. Ned. Akad. van Wetenschappen. Afd. Letterkunde N.R. Dl. 1, no. 8, p. 52 e.v.

[2]) De bruidsmoeder kan ook een man zijn; hij helpt dan de bruigom. Kawe² verrichten dit werk eveneens.

[3]) Deze namen worden, snel achter elkaar gezegd, gebruikt als spreuk. Zo vermeldt Matthes hen ook. Vgl. B. F. Matthes; Woordenboek p. 223: „de medicinale gewassen bowagang palili, parempasa', en lowe mogen alle kwaad weren". Palili betekent: uit de weg doen gaan (idem p. 223); parempa' betekent afweren (idem p. 122). Van „lowe" zegt Matthes dat dit een oude naam is voor de „nagasari", welke heester ook gebezigd wordt voor omheiningen (idem p. 373). Het woord buagang heeft eenzelfde betekenis. Toen een kamponghoofd na een diefstal zich tot iemand richtte, met de woorden „als de dief in jouw huis gevonden wordt, word je zelf ook gestraft", was de reactie: „buagang", d.w.z. „laat dat ongeluk mij niet overkomen".

wierookvat (padupaang) is er omheen bewogen, gepofte rijst (bente) is er overheen gestrooid en een spreuk is daarbij opgezegd. Met dit „goede water" wordt nu het object van het ritueel besprenkeld, waarbij opnieuw een spreuk gezegd wordt.

Uitstomen.

Het uitstomen (barumbung) is een ritueel, dat bruid en bruigom voorbereidt op hun toekomstig samenkomen; zij bevinden zich dan nog elk in hun eigen huis. Onder het huis wordt een pot met water op het vuur gezet; daarin doet men een zevental verschillende soorten bladeren. De stoom wordt door een holle bambu naar boven geleid, naar een gat in de vloer in het achterste gedeelte van het huis, waarboven de bruid (resp. de bruigom) gezeten is, geheel gehuld in een sarong. De bruidsmoeder strooit gepofte rijst over haar en beweegt het wierookvat om haar heen, driemaal heen en eenmaal terug; zij prevelt hierbij een spreuk. Als de bruid aldus enige tijd heeft gezeten en veel heeft getranspireerd, wordt zij gebaad. Dit herhaalt men 3 dagen achtereen. Men meent, dat ook het slechte, dat diep in haar is, op deze wijze te zamen met het zweet naar buiten komt, zodat het goede alleen overblijft. Men hoopt, dat zij dus in de best mogelijke conditie de komende periode van onzekerheid tegemoet zal kunnen treden.

Het uittrekken der wenkbrauwharen.

Het uittrekken van wenkbrauwharen (bubu') geschiedt eveneens vóór het paar te zamen gebracht wordt. De bruidsmoeder verwijdert daarbij de haren die de wenkbrauw „niet goed" zouden maken. De idee bestaat, dat uit iemands oogopslag en zo ook uit de trekken om zijn oog, zijn karakter blijkt. Aangezien het wisselen van woorden tussen jonge mannen en vrouwen al verboden is, is het werpen van blikken practisch het enige wat ongestraft kan geschieden. Het even optrekken van een wenkbrauw en het neerslaan der oogleden hebben hun betekenis. Gulzig van oog zijn (balala matana), beschouwt men als een minder goede eigenschap van een jonge man. In dit ritueel komt het belang van oog en ogenspel dus tot uiting. Op het voor het individu zo belangrijke moment, dat hij zijn huwelijkspartner ontmoet, dient „het oog en zijn omgeving" zoals een informant het uitdrukte, zo goed mogelijk te zijn.

Het afwachten der karuntigiblaadjes.

Het afwachten der karuntigiblaadjes (amatamata karuntigi) [1]) wordt in de eerste plaats als een belangrijke sociale gebeurtenis beschouwd. De bruid (en evenzo de bruigom, ieder in eigen huis) zit daarbij op het huwelijksbed; het is de avond voor de dag van de moslimse huwelijkssluiting; vele gasten zijn aanwezig; naast de bruid zitten, behalve een zusje of nichtje, de bruidsmoeder en nog enkele oudere vrouwen; allen zijn in feestkledij. Zij helpen de bruid, waaien haar koelte toe, verleggen een hand, verplaatsen een been of veranderen de stand van haar hoofd; opdat zij in die lichaamsdelen geen kramp zal krijgen; want een bruid behoort volledig onbewegelijk, met neergeslagen blikken passief te blijven zitten. Het wierookvat brandt, de trommen worden geslagen en rojongzangen geneuried. Voor haar staan enige bakjes; één daarvan bevat de fijn gesneden blaadjes van de karuntigi, [2]) een tweede olie, een derde poeder, een vierde water.

De hogere gasten komen nu de een na de ander voor het bed staan; zij nemen wat karuntigi tussen de vingers, vermengen die met wat olie en poeder en smeren dit mengsel onder het mompelen van een spreuk op een der vingers, op de arm, eventueel op het voorhoofd of in de hals der bruid. De plaats waar en manier waarop het mengsel neergestreken wordt hebben hun betekenis. Dit ritueel geschiedt echter niet door alle gasten, maar alleen door de hogeren en enkele ouderen, die zelf veel kinderen en veel sawahs hebben, mensen dus, die veel „pitjuru" (gelukbrengende middelen) blijken te bezitten, en die nu bij deze gelegenheid iets daarvan op de bruid willen overdragen. Als veel gasten komen „akkaruntigi" verhoogt dit het sociaal aanzien van de gastheer.

In de namiddag van de dag volgend op het „akkaruntigi" vertrekt de bruigom — volgens zeer oud doch thans niet meer gevolgd gebruik, vanaf de schoot van zijn moeder — onder veel weeklagen van zijn verwanten naar het huis der bruid, om daar tegen zonsondergang aan te komen. Alleen mannen zijn hierbij aanwezig; onderweg en vooral bij de aankomst bij het huis der bruid hoort men een luid dikir. Men zegt, dat vroeger op dat moment door een

[1]) B. F. Matthes; Woordenboek p. 246.

[2]) De blaadjes zijn naar men steeds zegt roodachtig van kleur; rood is de kleur van vuur en leven. Ik heb persoonlijk nooit anders dan een gewone groene kleur kunnen waarnemen. De blaadjes worden tevoren gekauwd.

der familieleden van de vrouw, die zich daartoe boven aan de trap voor de deuropening opstelde, een welkomstgroet tot de bruigom werd gericht. De enige maal dat ik dit meemaakte, was er een zekere gêne te bespeuren; men vond dit wel zeer ouderwets. Het aantal dergenen in Borongloë, dat die toespraak kent, is klein. De pinati van Bontoramba, gaf mij de hier weergegeven tekst, los van enig feest. De aan het slot medegedeelde vierregelige versjes, waarin bruigom en bruid sprekende worden ingevoerd, werden volgens hem ook in werkelijkheid in de toespraak opgenomen.

De tekst werd op eenheid in de spelling doorgenomen met de assistent van de taalambtenaar voor Zuid-Celebes. Deze volgde daarbij het door Prof. Dr. A. A. Cense aangegeven systeem. Ik heb mij bij de vertaling ten doel gesteld om de vaak beeldende tekst in zo goed mogelijk Nederlands over te zetten; een verantwoording heeft niet in de bedoeling gelegen.

Pakkio' bunting.	Toespraak ter verwelkoming van de bruidegom.
1. Iadende', iadende',	Gelukkig, gelukkig,
2. nia' todjemmindjo maë	daar komt nu eindelijk
3. bunting salloa kutajang,	de bruidegom, die ik al zo lang verwacht heb,
4. salloa kuminasai.	op wiens komst ik al zo lang gehoopt heb.
5. Nampako riudjung borikku, riappa' pa'rasangangku,	Nu je aan de uiterste punt, aan de grens van mijn land gekomen bent,
6. nakurappoiko tjini', kutimbarangngiko pangngai.	schenk ik je mijn beste gedachten en mijn liefde.
7. Nampako kuasseng nia', nakuitungko labattu,	Nu ik weet, dat je er bent, dat je werkelijk aangekomen bent,
8. kunragi memang berasa' rimangko' kebo',	maak ik vierkleurige rijst klaar in een witte kom,

9. kummatta memang rappobau' ripalakku,	dan hak ik een betelnoot in stukjes op mijn handpalm,
10. kunnanro memang kalomping ritalang bulaëng;	en leg ik een gevouwen sirihblad op een gouden schaal;
11. kutongko intang, kubelo-belo djamarro';	ik overdek dat alles met juwelen en versier het met smaragden;
12. intang matjora massingarri dallekannu,	flonkerende diamanten bestralen je gelaat,
13. bulaëng ti'no' assuloi pattjini'nu.	zuiver goud verlicht je gezicht.
14. Lakukapeangko anne sumanga'nu mabellaja,	Ik zal je ziel, die verweg is, wenken om terug te keren,
15. lakukiokangko pole tubunu 'lampa salaja.	ik zal je lichaam, dat doelloos rondzwerft, voor je terugroepen.
16. Badji' kuallekonne bungabunga tamalate;	Ik neem je tot mij als een bloem, die nooit zal verwelken;
17. late bunga, tamalate tjinikannu.	een bloem verwelkt, maar men kan er nooit genoeg van krijgen naar jou te kijken.
18. Kutannangkonne tope talakka' riaja';	Ik maak je tot een sarong, die steeds gedragen wordt;
19. lakka' tope tamalakkakko ikau.	een sarong kan los gaan, maar jij blijft.
20. Sangkontu sanrapammamako bulang sampuloa ngngappa',	Je bent gelijk de volle maan,
21. nasusung pale, natinriang wari-wari;	met de avondster aan zijn zijde, die tevens vergezeld is van de ochtendster;

22. wari-wari kapapasang, pale mannuntunga bangngi.	een ochtendster, die tot de dageraad doorschijnt, en een avondster, die de ganse nacht blijft schitteren. [1])
23. Nisailenu kau, tamalladjunu nitjini' ma'mole-mole.	Men kijkt naar je, men krijgt er nooit genoeg van om naar jou te kijken.
24. Kukio' Daëndjakondjo, kukanro ana' karaëng.	Ik noem je een man van adel en vereer je als een prins.
25. Nutuli manai'mo maë riballa'na matoannu, rituka'na ipara'nu,	Kom binnen in het huis van je schoonouders, langs de trap van je zwagers en schoonzusters,
26. matoang tuna, ipara' kamasemase;	je nederige schoonouders en je deerniswekkende zwagers en schoonzusters;
27. mangngondjottommakonne tuka' tallu anronna, patampulo baringanna;	ga langs de trap met de drie stijlen en de veertig treden; [2])
28. mandjapputtongko pole tjottjorang nita'-buta'bu;	pak de trapleuning vast, die in geledingen is verdeeld, zoals het suikerriet;
29. nutuli manai';	klim steeds verder naar boven;
30. mannjorong pakke'bu nigiring-giring;	duw tegen de deur, die van koperen belletjes is voorzien;
31. mangngondjot tongko dasere' nidjaling kawa', nia'lanro bassi kalling;	stap op de vloerlatten, die met ijzerdraad aan de dwarslatten zijn vastgebonden;
32. matetetongko pallangga nibatang rappo;	loop ook over de vloerbalken, die van pinangstammen zijn gemaakt;

[1]) Dus: iets zeer bijzonders; iets, dat men nog nooit tevoren zag.
[2]) Deze en de volgende aanduidingen wijzen er op, dat men hier is in het huis van een zeer aanzienlijk man.

33.	mannosotongko padongko' nitau-tau;	ga onder de grote zolderbalk door, die van een paar staande balken is voorzien;
34.	nutulimo kalau', rawanganna timbaonu, ammempo ribenteng polonnu.	loop door naar het Westen (d.i. de hoge kant van het huis) en ga onder je bedhemel zitten tegen de afgeknotte hoofdpaal.
35.	A'lapara' tappere' bo'dong;	Ga zitten op het ronde matje;
36.	andjo'djo' kairi kanang;	wijs maar aan, links en rechts, wat je wilt hebben;
37.	mansuro-suro rapannu, mampattudju sangkammannu.	stuur je gelijken maar weg om boodschappen te doen; laat hen maar voor je werken.
38.	Naremba-rembako pole ana' rara patampulo;	40 Jonge meisjes houden je gezelschap;
39.	nisarimanangko pole lonrong beru ma'bakka';	je wordt geholpen en bediend door opgroeiende jongelieden;
40.	benteng polong kanasako, kanako benteng pakkai', kai' topena pasikaiki badjunna.	?
41.	Nai' manaung tunibarangbaranginnu; assulu' antama ata maballa' balla'nu.	Af en aan lopen je pandelingen; uit en in gaan je huisslaven.
42.	Numa'djarang, numattedong, numa'djangang rassi lerang;	Je zult veel paarden en karbouwen bezitten en een stal vol kippen;
43.	nakatumbangngangi pole palampang ase berunu;	je zult zoveel jonge rijst optasten, dat de schuur, waarin ze bewaard wordt, instort;

44. nakatepokangi padongko' ase toanu.	je zult zoveel oude rijst bezitten, dat de grote zolderbalken breken onder haar gewicht.
45. Tamanraikko ri Ambong nukoasa;	Je vaart niet op Ambon en toch ben je machtig; [1])
46. takalaukko ri Djawa, nukalumannjang;	je vaart niet op Java en toch ben je rijk; [1])
47. tama'botoroko numammeta.	je dobbelt niet, en toch win je.
48. Assare-saremako sallang rimatoang kasi-asi,	Je zult ook je arme schoonouders helpen,
49. appiturummako pole riipara' kamase-mase.	je zult ook aan je deerniswekkende zwagers en schoonzusters wat geven.
50. Nai' tuannu, ssalla' dasere' dalle'nu.	Je geluk stijgt tussen de vloerlatten omhoog.
51. Kuminasaidjakondjo sunggu; kutindjakkiko mate'ne;	Ik hoop dat je gelukkig zult zijn; ik leg de gelofte af, dat het je goed zal gaan;
52. nusunggu todjeng, numate'ne todjentodong.	en zie, je bent werkelijk gelukkig en het gaat je werkelijk goed.
53. La'bu bannang ri Djawa, mala'buang umuru'nu;	Lang is de draad van hier naar Java, maar langer zal je levensduur zijn;
54. luara' tamparang, luarangngang nawa-nawannu;	wijd is de zee, maar wijder zijn je gedachten;
55. tinggi Bawakaraëng, matinggiampa tuannu.	hoog is de berg de Bawakaraëng, maar hoger is je geluk.

[1]) De bedoeling is: je handelt niet en toch ben je machtig, resp. rijk.

56. Le'ba' gentung timbaonu, le'ba' tantang pakkalli'nu;	Je bedhemel is reeds opgehangen, en het bedgordijn is al gespannen;
57. timbao nikida-kida, pakkalli' niura' tallu.	de hemel is met gouden lovertjes versierd, en het gordijn is van drie stroken voorzien.
58. Le'ba' basami ba'ra'nu, le'ba' gusu' langiri'nu;	Je gelaatpoeder is al vochtig gemaakt en je hoofdwassing is al klaar voor het gebruik;
59. tattannangi pole tjapparu pa'minnjakkannu.	de pot met haarolie, die voor jou bestemd is, staat al klaar.
60. Nutulimo ntama ribili' kamua liku, kamua kallangngang rapa';	Je gaat een kamertje binnen, dat pikdonker is en dat een draaikolk gelijkt;
61. mannoso' badang; mannimba' bangkeng patjiko.	je dringt een lichaam binnen; je opent de rand van het gat.
62. Nukana-kanami sallang saraka ripamminangngang;	Je zult de formules van het bed opzeggen;
63. tappau'-pau'mi pole bungabunga rikatinroannu.	de bloemen in het bed verspreiden hun geur.
64. Nusipoke-poke genre, nusita'ba' rappo toa;	Je reikt elkaar de gevouwen sirihbladen aan en je gooit elkaar de rijpe pinangnoten toe;
65. nusipattoa-toai, nusipa'loaloai, nusipattjammo-tjammoi;	je zult samen oud worden, en samen blijven leven tot je vergeetachtig zult zijn en tandeloos;
66. sitanro takkang, sibuttju' pa' dengka-dengka.	tot je elkaar een steunstok toereikt en een pinangstamper toegooit.

67. Lino-linopi anging, pakkeke mappasisa'la'.	Pas als alles rustig geworden is (als de wind is gaan liggen), zullen jullie gescheiden worden door de dood.
68. Numammana'-mana' sarre,	Jullie zult kinderen krijgen net als de sarreplant, [1])
69. numa'borong unti-djawa,	jullie zult een bos pisang djawa vormen,
70. numattju'la' ase-bakka'.	jullie zult loten schieten net als de rijstplant, die ase-bakka heet.
71. Pinruang tudju, pintallung tassalapangngi.	2 maal 7 en 3 maal 9.
72. Manai'ngasemmi maë Anrongguru ningainu, Gallarrang nipangngalikinnu, Kapala nipaemponu,	Allen komen in je huis, je geachte Hoofden, je Adatgemeenschapshoofden, voor wie men ontzag heeft, en je Kamponghoofden, die men gaarne verwelkomt,
73. battungasemmi pole bidjannu pammanakannu, bellabella mbani-bani, tja'di-tja'di lompo-lompo, ana'-ana' tau toa.	al je familieleden van heinde en ver, groot en klein, oud en jong, komen.
74. Nipanai'mako ripangkapangka bulaëng,	Men zal je in een gouden paleis brengen,
75. nipaempomako ritappere' paramadani.	en op een fraai tapijt laten zitten.
76. Badji' nangai Na'bi, napudji Alla taäla.	De Profeet mint je en God prijst je.

[1]) Namen van planten die bekend zijn om hun vele uitstoelingen en snelle vermeerdering.

77.	Sipoko' bu'ne tantanna dje'-ne' matannu;	Zoals een bessenboom zijn vruchten laat vallen, zo zullen vele tranen om jou gestort worden;
78.	sipoko' tjamba pammatti'na iloro'nu.	men zal je benijden zoals men een tamarindeboom zijn vruchten benijdt.
79.	Kupattannangngangkonne anggoro' rigantironu;	Ik plant een wijnstok voor je, onder de uiterste benedenrand van je dak;
80.	kupa'lamungangko pole lemotanning ridolangang,	ik zal ook een djeruk tanning voor je planten midden op de open zee,
81.	nakatjinnai Somba, napammattikang iloro' Bate-salapang.	waar de Vorst zelfs begerig naar zal zijn en waar de leden van de Rijksraad naar zullen watertanden.
82.	Bunting nilekkakko paleng tunipalele bellakang;	Nu ga je heus weg, bruid, [1]) je verandert van huis;
83.	niërang ri bori' maraëng, pa' rasangang nampa nuondjo'; bori nampa nula'bakki.	je wordt naar een ander land gebracht, het land, dat je voor het eerst zult betreden; het land waarheen je op reis gaat.
84.	Nukamma todong djonga,	Je gelijkt op een hert dat schuw over de heg gluurt,
85.	mattoa' ri sampa' mangagajangan tunumalo.	dat schuw naar de voorbijgangers spiedt.
86.	Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea: Nampa' 'lampa riballakku,	Het vers van de bruidegom luidt: Nu verlaat ik mijn huis, nu

[1]) Hier richt degeen die de toespraak houdt, zich tot de bruid. Het is gewoonte dat na de moslimse huwelijksluiting het paar, althans voor enige dagen, naar het huis van de ouders van de bruidegom vertrekt.

nakudjoli pakke'bukku, nakugulung tapperekku kupattantuna, kalengku lammantang puli.

doe ik mijn deur op slot en rol ik mijn mat op, omdat ik er van overtuigd ben, dat ik niet zal terugkomen.

87. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea:
Takundjunga' sallo lolo, kurunrung balu baine, tamammonea', tope taero'na mmakku.

En het vers van de bruid luidt:
Niet voor niets ben ik met opzet lang ongehuwd gebleven, ik neem geen tope aan, die mijn moeder niet bemint.

88. Nakana pole kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea:
Ka'de' kutjini' Batara, kudupai allo-allo, nadjo' djokangku, lebanga ripa'maikku.

Het vers van de bruidegom luidt wederom:
Indien ik God zou zien, dan zou ik Hem elke dag bewieroken, daar Hij mij gewezen heeft, degene, die ik bemin.

89. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea:
Kade' nania' erokku, tea' sadju' risa'bea', tea' salasa ri badju montjong buloa.

Het vers van de bruid luidt:
Als ik eens een wens zou hebben, dan zou dat zijn: maak het zijden baadje niet ongelukkig, stel het groene baadje niet teleur. [1])

90. Nakana pole kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea:
Nampako mattju'la' lebong, nakurompong-rompong memang lompoko nai', kutambai pa'rompongku.

En de bruigom zegt weer:
En als je dan opgroeit als een jonge bambu, dan zal ik zorgen dat er niemand bij je kan komen; [2]) als je opgegroeid bent, zal ik mijn bewaking versterken.

91. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea:
Apa kitjini' rinakke, nakke le'leng nakke kodi, nakke tja'di simbolengku.

En de bruid zegt:
Wat zie je in mij?
ik ben donker en lelijk, en mijn haarwrong is klein.

[1]) Het baadje stelt hier de draagster voor: een jong meisje; dus: de spreekster zelve.
[2]) Jonge bambuloten worden beschermd tegen geiten en karbouwen.

92. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunbunting bura'nea: Manna le'leng manna kodi, manna tja'di simbolennu, titti' matangku, kala'busang pangngaingku.	En de bruigom zegt: Al ben je donker en al ben je lelijk en al is je haarwrong klein, jij bent mijn oogappel; na jou zal ik geen ander meer lief hebben.
93. Nakanatosseng kelonna Daëng bunting bainea: Sikatutuiki' tope, narisassa mole-mole, taënamonne, parekanna maloloa.	En het vers van de bruid luidt opnieuw: Wij zullen samen onze gemeenschappelijke sarong goed verzorgen; wij zullen haar herhaaldelijk wassen; mijn werk als jong meisje is nu afgelopen.
94. Nai'ngasemmaki' maë.	Komt allen binnen. [1])

De huwelijkssluiting naar de moslimse rite.

Na deze toespraak, of, waar deze niet gehouden wordt, als het dikir aan de voet van de huistrap opgehouden is, gaat de bruigom de trap op en het huis binnen. Aan de hoge kant van het huis in het voorvertrek is meestal het bruidsbed gemaakt. Daarop zit de bruid met de rug naar de ingang gekeerd. Achter haar neemt de bruigom plaats. Direct daarop heeft nu de moslimse huwelijkssluiting (nikka') plaats.

De Imang van de adatgemeenschap, die het hier beschreven huwelijk sloot, schreef na afloop de z.i. belangrijkste punten van de huwelijkssluiting in details in het Makassaars op. De vertaling van zijn mededelingen volgt hier.

„„Toen ik Rahimi en Sija wilde trouwen, vroeg ik aan de geleider van Rahimi hoe of de naam van de bruidegom was, en Bandong [2]) antwoordde „de naam van de bruidegom is Rahimi."

Ik vroeg daarop: „Hoe is de naam van zijn vader en van zijn moeder?" En toen antwoordde Bandong: „de vader van Rahimi heet Palu en zijn moeder Sati; zij leven beiden nog; zij wonen in Bontobaddo". [3])

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[1]) Letterlijk: Komt allen boven.
[2]) Naam van de geleider.
[3]) Naam van een onderdeel van de kampong Bontoramba.

Toen vroeg ik verder aan Malla [1]): „Hoe is de naam van de bruid?" En Malla antwoordde: „de naam van de bruid is Sija; ik ben haar vader; haar moeder heette Sani; zij is overleden".

Daarna vroeg ik opnieuw aan Malla: „Hoeveel bedraagt de sunrang". En Malla zeide: „24 Reaal".

En ik vroeg verder: „Wat werd als sunrang voldaan?" En daarop antwoordde Malla: „8 Reaal in contanten en één vak sawah, gelegen in Bianreng, [2]) grenzend in het Noorden aan de sawah van Rapi, in het Westen aan de sawah van Bagenda, in het Zuiden aan de sawah van Djumadi, in het Oosten aan de sawah van Genda. Die sawah werd in pand gegeven voor een bedrag van 16 reaal".

Daarna nam ik de duim van de bruigom om het huwelijk te sluiten.

Ik vroeg aan Malla: „Vindt gij het goed dat deze hier getrouwd wordt?" En Malla zeide: „Het is goed". Driemaal vroeg ik dit.

Daarna voltrok ik het huwelijk; als getuigen fungeerden Djuma, de guru van Bontoramba en Massulukang. Ik hield de hand van de bruigom vast en zei hem de geloofsbelijdenis voor: Asjhadu anla Ilaaha Illallah wa asjhadu anna Muhammadan Rasulullah. „Ik getuig naar waarheid, dat er geen andere God is dan Allah taäla; en ik getuig ook, dat de profeet Muhammad de gezant Gods is."

Vervolgens zeide ik: „Ik maak jullie, Rahimi en Sija, de dochter van Malla, tot man en vrouw; je sunrang bedraagt 24 reaal".

En Rahimi zeide: „ik aanvaard, dat ik met Sija in het huwelijk verbonden word. Ik voldoe een sunrang van 24 reaal". Driemaal zei hij dit.

En de getuigen zeiden: „Accoord". Daarop liet ik zijn hand los. Rahimi werd vervolgens door Bandong naar zijn vrouw geleid om haar door zijn aanraking gelukkig te maken. De bovenarm van Sija werd door Rahimi aangeraakt.

De kampu werd voor mij neergezet; hij bevatte: 20 sirihbladen, 2 pinangnoten, kalk en aan huwelijksgeld *f* 8.25 (*f* 8.— papiergeld en 25 centen). Ik gaf aan de getuigen *f* 1.— per man.

Daarop werd mij gevraagd om buiten in de pannjambungi te komen om te eten."

Tot zover de mededelingen van de Imang.

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[1]) Naam van de vader van de bruid.
[2]) Naam van een onderdeel van de kampong Bontoramba.

De eerste aanraking.

Direct na de nikka wordt de bruigom, zoals reeds bleek uit de mededelingen van de Imang, door zijn geleider (tau lalangang) bij de hand genomen en bij zijn bruid gebracht die enkele meters voor hem met de rug naar hem toe op de grond zit. Hier raakt hij haar voor 't eerst, ten overstaan van alle familieleden en gasten, aan. Oudere vrouwen hebben te voren met hem gepraat en hem gezegd dat hij zacht en vriendelijk voor zijn bruid moet zijn, omdat daarvan zijn geluk in zijn verdere leven afhankelijk is; zij vertellen hem daarbij ook, wat er op het moment van deze eerste aanraking van hem verwacht wordt. De plaats waar hij haar aanraakt, (arm, hals, koon of oor enz.) en de manier waarop hij dat doet (rustig, zacht, onverschillig, boos) worden daarbij van belang geacht. Daaruit leiden de ouderen de gevoelens van de jonge man t.o.v. van zijn vrouw af, en naar aanleiding daarvan bepalen zij tevens, hoe zij nu verder tegenover hem zullen moeten optreden, beknorrend, nader onderrichtend enz.

Het schuifspel.

Die zelfde avond heeft soms „amèsu" plaats, een „schuifspel". [1]) De gasten zitten in een kring; de hogere gasten vooraan; binnen die kring bevindt zich het paar, eveneens op de grond gezeten. Een der hoge gasten klopt op de grond; het paar moet zittend naar hem toeschuiven; degeen die het eerst bij hem is krijgt een „pitjuru", een gelukaanbrengend middel, soms in de vorm van een geldstuk of sieraad. Er wordt echter steeds voor gezorgd dat de vrouw wint. Men laat haar echter niet direct winnen, als zij of haar man vlakbij degeen is die klopte, klopt een ander, aan de andere kant van de kring gezeten, en dan moeten zij daar weer heen schuiven. Maar als de hoogste gast op de grond geklopt heeft, klopt niemand meer; hij doet dit alleen als de man niet de kans heeft het eerste bij hem te zijn, zodat de bruid dus van hem de pitjuru ontvangt.

„Amèsu" is dus a.h.w. een spelletje waarbij het jonge paar elkaar bekampt, maar waarvan de uitslag al van te voren vaststaat. Het wordt wel met een hanengevecht vergeleken. Het heeft slechts plaats als er hoge gasten op het feest zijn. Het is prettig voor de feestgever indien „amèsu" plaats heeft, want dat betekent dat hij

[1]) B. F. Matthes: Woordenboek p. 697.

hoge gasten kreeg, en dat betekent dat hij bij deze in de gunst staat. Voor de jonge man is deze schuifwedstrijd vervelend, omdat hij toch steeds verliest van zijn bruid en men zich daarover in het openbaar vrolijk maakt.

Het voor het eerst gemeenschappelijk eten.

De dag volgend op die van de nikka', „eten" man en vrouw voor het eerst samen. Ritueel en spel zijn hier nauw verweven; van gewoon eten is geen sprake. Een der oudere vrouwen neemt een hand vol rijst met klapper en suiker, houdt die even boven het wierookvat, prevelt een spreuk erover, en geeft die hap aan de jonge vrouw te eten. Klapper d.w.z. vet, is een symbool van rijkdom; suiker van liefheid en zoetheid. Men zegt haar die handvol eten even aan de mond te brengen en vervolgens aan de naast haar zittende jonge echtgenoot aan te bieden. De omgeving ziet toe hoe hij reageert. Als hij snel de mond opent, dan betekent dit dat hij haar aardig vindt. „Je haan is overwonnen", wordt dan de manskant lachend toegevoegd. Maar als hij aarzelt of zich afwendt, wordt hij aangespoord het eten aan te nemen. Want de ouderen willen uiteindelijk niets liever dan dat hij verliest, en men meent, dat hij verliest, als hij doet wat zijn vrouw van hem verlangt, nml. wanneer hij eten van haar aanneemt.

Het voor het eerst gemeenschappelijk baden.

Weer enkele dagen later wordt het paar voor het eerst te zamen gebaad. Ook hierbij zijn ritueel en spel van meer belang dan het feit van het baden zelf. Samen zit het paar — de vrouw geheel in een sarong gedoken — op de huistrap, die in het dagelijks leven de verbinding met de zolder vormt, maar die voor deze speciale gelegenheid in de pannjambungi is neergelegd. [1]) Onder de sporten van de trap ligt een kapmes en een der onderdelen van het weefgetouw, voorwerpen die resp. man en vrouw bij het verrichten van hun dagelijkse werkzaamheden steeds nodig hebben. Volgens infor-

[1]) De zolder is een belangrijke plaats in huis; daar wordt de rijst bewaard; daar huizen soms, bij gebrek aan woonruimte, de jonge meisjes; daar dalen de voorouders neer, indien zij op rituele wijze daartoe aangezocht worden. De trap naar de zolder heeft een bijzondere vorm. De beide stijlen komen uit één tak voort, die op de vloer rust, en die zich ongeveer 40 c.m. boven de vloer splitst.

manten is de bedoeling hiervan, te bevorderen, dat man en vrouw nu ook in deze gewone dingen samen vertrouwd zullen raken. De inhoud van twee maal negen jonge klappers wordt nu over hen uitgestort en het passiliritueel wordt aan hen voltrokken. [1])

Daarop moeten zij „doen wie van hen, opstaande van de ladder, het eerste grond onder de voeten kan hebben"; wie wint zal in hun huwelijk de baas in huis zijn. De bruigom rent meestal dwars door de pannjambungi heen, de voortrap af; de bruid wordt snel naar haar kamertje gedragen, waar een bonk aarde reeds van te voren klaargelegd is. Steeds wordt verklaard, dat de bruid gewonnen heeft, hoewel de feitelijke uitslag practisch oncontroleerbaar is; die interesseert dan ook niemand.

Hierna gaat het paar een of enkele dagen doorbrengen in het huis van de bruigom; daar hebben opnieuw feestelijkheden plaats en vervolgens keren zij weer terug naar het huis der vrouw.

Het goed-zijn.

Daar heeft een week of veertien dagen na de nikka' als slot nog een klein familiefeest plaats, het „goed-zijn" van man en vrouw (pabadjikang). Gasten zijn er verder niet bij; alleen de wederzijdse huisgenoten van man en vrouw zijn aanwezig. Te zamen komen de jonge man en vrouw op het bruidsbed te zitten. [2]) De vrouw heeft sirihpinang in de hand. Hij moet haar daarom vragen; zij moet deze overgeven. In het openbaar voldoet zij dus aan een verzoek van hem. Als zij begint met te weigeren, moet zij door hem „omgekocht" worden; hij belooft haar een geschenk. Soms wordt hij aangespoord haar de sirihpinang met kracht te ontnemen. Het wedstrijdelement komt hier duidelijk naar voren; het wordt evenals bij het eetceremonieel door de aanwezigen gecommentarieerd. Hier moet de man tenslotte winnen; hij moet de sirihpinang krijgen, want daaruit blijkt, dat man en vrouw „goed" (badji') met elkaar zijn, en dat is uiteindelijk de bedoeling van het hele huwelijksfeest.

Het pabadjikang werd vroeger niet gevierd, volgens een der informanten, indien niet reeds geslachtelijke gemeenschap plaats

[1]) Dit baadfeest heeft in het algemeen drie dagen na de komst van de bruigom in het huis der bruid plaats en gedurende die bijna driemaal 24 uur is het de bruigom verboden de aarde buitenshuis te betreden. Bij overtreding wordt hij beknord: „Waarom doe je dat? Moeten wij ongelukkig worden?"

[2]) De vrouw werd daarheen gedragen door haar oudste broer; een tweede broer droeg haar na afloop terug. Deze beschouwden dit kennelijk als een eer.

had. Thans wordt het, althans in Goa, ook gevierd als nog geen sexueel contact plaats had, zoals bijv. in geval van een kinderhuwelijk.

Meerdere mannen verklaarden mij, zij waren toen zelf reeds jaren getrouwd, met trots, dat zij direct „goed" waren geweest met hun vrouw; zij duidden hiermee eigenlijk aan, dat kort na, wellicht reeds de avond van de nikka', coitus plaats gehad had. Het gaat hierbij niet om de physieke kracht, als wel om de tact om hun vrouw tot de sexuele daad te brengen. Zij hadden dus voldaan aan hetgeen hun omgeving van hen wenste. Hun mannelijke trots was gestreeld, omdat zij getoond hadden een goed vrouwenveroveraar te zijn. Die eigenschap wordt in Makassaren bijzonder gewaardeerd. Een vrouw toont zich steeds afkerig van een man, ook van haar echtgenoot. Het is diens kunst haar door een prettig uiterlijk, een goedgekozen woord, een tactische aanraking, en heel weinig physieke kracht, voor zich te winnen. Zo doet ook de grote vrouwenveroveraar Sawerigading. [1])

De veroveringskunst die Sawerigading in de hoogste graad bezat, wordt de jonge Makassaren hoogstens als ideaal voorgehouden. Nog voordat de huwelijkssluiting volgens de islamietische ritus plaats heeft, voert een der oudere vrouwen met de bruigom enkele gesprekken. Zij praat en de jonge man luistert. Zij vertelt hem, dat het moeilijk voor hem zal zijn om zijn vrouw gelukkig te maken; maar dat zijn geluk in zijn verdere leven daarvan afhankelijk is; dat hij niet ruw tegen haar moet zijn. Zij vraagt hem, of hij wel weet wat hij straks moet zeggen tegen zijn vrouw, en of hij wel weet wat hij moet antwoorden, als zij hem iets vraagt. Zij zegt hem welke vragen hij kan verwachten en wat daarop zijn antwoord moet zijn. Hierover praat men ongaarne; slechts een enkel voorbeeld kon hiervan verkregen worden. „Waar plaats je mij?" (Keremaë nupatinro), werd als voorbeeld van zo'n vraag gegeven en het antwoord zou moeten luiden: „Ik stel jou boven mij" (Irateangkuko). [2])

Zo'n gesprek tussen oudere vrouw en bruigom draagt een intiem karakter; het wordt van groot belang geacht voor het toekomstig

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[1]) Zie R. A. Kern: I La Galigo, p. 333.

[2]) Het is mogelijk dat de enige informant die mij op deze vragen en antwoorden opmerkzaam maakte, deze aan tarekat invloed dankte, en dat zij dus niet algemeen gebruikelijk zijn; elders ontkende men van hun bestaan te weten. Dan nog schijnt echter hun vermelding hier op zijn plaats.

leven van de bruigom, de oudere moet het vertrouwen van de jongere hebben. De bruid leert de vragen en antwoorden van een van haar daarvoor in aanmerking komende familieleden en als de a.s. man en vrouw geen familie van elkaar zijn, wordt door de ouderen van te voren hierover contact opgenomen om er zeker van te zijn, dat er tussen de vragen en antwoorden voldoende verband bestaat.

Dit fluisterend gevoerde onderhoud tussen oudere en jongere is niet zo intiem of een oudere man onderbreekt het wel met de vraag „word je geëxamineerd?" En men lacht; alle ouderen weten wat die beiden daar bespreken; de instructie, die aan de jonge man gegeven wordt, is niet zo serieus of een obscene opmerking mag deze doorl uisen.

V..ak reeds de avond na de nikka', als de gasten al naar hun huizen zijn teruggekeerd, wordt de bruigom door de oudere tante naar het afgeschoten hokje gebracht, waar zijn bruid zich bevindt. De oude vrouwen zijn dan nog wakker. Sommige moedigen hem aan naar binnen te gaan; zij noemen hem „mijn haan". Andere pogen hem daarvan af te houden; maar dit is slechts schijn; zij houden daarmee vast aan de idee, dat zij het jonge meisje hebben te beschermen, zoals dat in het gewone leven het geval is. In werkelijkheid echter hopen allen, dat bruigom en bruid zo gauw mogelijk „goed" met elkaar zullen zijn, d.w.z. dat coitus plaats zal hebben. De oude vrouwen luisteren mee aan de wanden.

Als de jonge man uitdrukkelijk weigert bij zijn vrouw binnen te gaan, leggen de ouderen zich daar, althans voorlopig bij neer; maar zij tonen hem hun afkeuring en hernieuwen eventueel al de volgende avond hun pogingen. Hetzelfde geldt als de bruid zich verzet als de bruigom bij haar binnen geleid is; als zij hevig op de deur bonst, laat men haar eruit.

Met diegeen der huwelijkspartners die geen sexueel contact met de ander blijkt te willen hebben, gaan de ouderen praten. Zij wijzen erop, dat in voorgaande huwelijken reeds herhaaldelijk bleek, dat jonge echtparen zich onderwierpen aan hetgeen thans van hem (haar) geëist wordt. Tegen de bruid zegt men in zo'n geval, dat alle vrouwen dit reeds doormaakten; dat haar moeder ook zo getrouwd is. Het slot van het gesprek is vaak de voor de jongeren zo moeilijk te beantwoorden vraag „je wil je tante (d.w.z. de spreekster) toch niet beschaamd maken?" (nml. door de wei-

gering vol te houden en daarmede het huwelijk, dat zij tot stand poogt te brengen, te doen mislukken). Het tegenspreken van een oudere soms tevens een hogere is een onbeleefdheid; het individu, dat in zo'n geval niet wenst te capituleren, kan niet anders doen dan zwijgen.

De streng doorgevoerde scheiding der sexen brengt met zich dat de ongehuwde jonge mannen en vrouwen a.h.w. in gescheiden sferen leven. Als zij bij elkaar gebracht worden is te verwachten, dat het voor hen moeilijk zal zijn om samen te praten; hetgeen zij tot dusver geleerd en toegepast hebben, kan dan niet meer dienen. De voorbereide vragen en antwoorden dienen dus, zo zou men kunnen zeggen om het allereerste contact te vergemakkelijken. Zij zijn naar hun vorm een onderdeel van het ritueel, dat er op gericht is om man en vrouw tot elkaar te brengen en hen eraan te wennen dat thans andere omgangsvormen tussen hen beiden gelden dan vroeger. Zij hebben naar hun inhoud de strekking om partijen de houding te leren, die zij tegenover elkaar behoren aan te nemen.

Indien men naast deze conceptie van de huilende, passieve, haar afkeer van haar man duidelijk demonstrerende, Makassaarse bruid, het Nederlandse beeld plaatst, van de gelukkige, stralende bruid, die vol vertrouwen naar haar bruidegom opziet, dan is direct duidelijk dat hier alle mogelijkheden tot misverstanden gereed liggen. Dan wordt begrijpelijk de critiek van een oude Makassaar die een huwelijksreceptie van een Nederlands paar had meegemaakt en gezien, hoe man en vrouw tenslotte samen, onder het gejuich der receptiegangers, lachend in een auto weggereden waren. Hij zag in al de uitingen van deze vrouw slechts uitingen van haar gevoelens van verlangen naar haar man en hij vond dit zeer onbehoorlijk.

Hun samen weggaan betekende voor hem, dat niets deze man meer verhinderde om aan zijn sexuele verlangens toe te geven. Uit de houding van de bruid bleek hem overduidelijk, dat deze bruidegom zich niet zou behoeven in te spannen om zijn bruid voor zich te winnen. De inspanning, en de tact en kiesheid daarbij tentoongespreid, zijn voor de Makassaren de essentie van de verhouding tussen man en vrouw. Afgaande op de uiterlijkheden die hij waarnam, kon deze oude man niet anders concluderen, dan dat hetgeen voor hem het belangrijkst was, bij de Hollanders ontbrak.

Begrijpelijk worden nu ook de moeilijkheden, die ontstonden bij

het huwelijk van een Makassaarse jonge man van hoge adel met een meisje uit een der vooraanstaande Makassaarse Indo-Europese families. Bij haar thuis zou de sfeer, kleding enz. Europees zijn en bij hem Makassaars; zo was te voren door de beide families overeengekomen. Bij haar thuis was de bruidegom dus gekleed in rok en zij in het wit met korte sleep. Hij was de vrolijke energieke bruidegom en zij de stralende bruid, die kennelijk genoot van de bouquet witte anjers, die zij van hem gekregen had. Gearmd stegen zij in de auto, die hen voor een volgende episode van de feestelijkheden naar het huis van zijn familie bracht.

Daar stuitte hun vrolijkheid op de Makassaarse sfeer, die van de vrouw eist, dat zij huilt en zich afkerig toont van haar aanstaande man. De bruid werd verkleed; zij kreeg het Makassaarse bruidskostuum aan met de bijbehorende hoofdtooi en werd op daarbij passende wijze opgemaakt. Toen even later haar bruigom kwam, en een grapje waagde, kreeg hij een kribbige terechtwijzing. Zij wendde zich van hem af, en als goede Makassaarse bruid zat zij verder roerloos, met gesloten ogen te midden der vrouwen en toonde op de daarvoor geëigende momenten op beheerste wijze haar afkeer van haar bruigom, geheel in overeenstemming met de wijze waarop de Makassaarse gevoelens in deze situatie tot uiting gebracht behoren te worden.

Het kinderhuwelijk.

De huwelijkspolitiek der ouderen brengt met zich, dat zij ook niet-geslachtsrijpe kinderen laten huwen. Zij beperken daarmee h.i. de mogelijkheid, dat een door hen wenselijk geoordeeld huwelijk niet door zou gaan. De reden nml. dat een door hen gewenst huwelijk niet door zou gaan, is in de eerste plaats te zoeken in de tegenstand der betrokken individuen — met de tegenstand van nog niet-geslachtsrijpe kinderen hoeft practisch geen rekening te worden gehouden — en in de tweede plaats in een aanzoek van een hogere.

Een aanzoek door de godsdienstbeambte, of door iemand met karaëngsbloed in de aderen bij een gewoon kampongman, kan nml. plaats hebben ten behoeve van een familielid van die hogere — en dan zal er in 't algemeen geen reden tot weigering bestaan — maar ook ten behoeve van een lagere, van een zijner volgelingen, of van een bevriende relatie. Een weigering betekent ook in zo'n geval een belediging van de hogere. Men poogt de moeilijkheden

die door zo'n aanzoek zouden ontstaan te ontgaan door het kind extra jong te laten huwen.

Er zijn aanwijzingen, dat relatief de meeste kinderhuwelijken gesloten worden in de verwantengroep der karaëngs; dat er slechts weinige gesloten worden in die der Adatgemeenschapshoofden, en uiterst weinige bij de gewone kampongmensen. Het jong laten trouwen van kinderen beschouwt men als een uiting van deftigheid.

Betrouwbare cijfers zijn m.i. slechts door mondelinge inlichtingen, per verwantengroep verzameld, te verkrijgen. De huwelijksregisters met name, zijn voor dit doel onbruikbaar, ten eerste, omdat de leeftijd van bruid en bruidegom daarin in het algemeen „naar schatting" worden aangegeven; en ten tweede, omdat alle godsdienstbeambten, die met het invullen der huwelijksregisters belast zijn, weten, dat het Bestuur kinderhuwelijken ongaarne ziet en dus in dit speciale geval hun schatting opvoeren. De leefijd van een nauwelijks tienjarige bruid werd om die reden als 14 geregistreerd. [1])

Zoals men in West-Europa het woord slaaf veelal niet los kan denken van slavenjagers of slaventransporten, zo verbindt men aan de term kinderhuwelijk vaak de voorstelling van een niet geslachtsrijp meisje, dat met een volwassen man gehuwd, door deze tot cohabitatie gedwongen wordt, met vaak blijvende physieke of psychische schade voor haar hele verdere leven. Onder kinderhuwelijk wordt hier dus verstaan een huwelijk waarbij althans één der beide partners niet geslachtsrijp is. Maar dan is wat betreft Zuid-Celebes de bovengegeven voorstelling van zaken in twee opzichten onjuist. In de eerste plaats is in twee van de vier te mijner beschikking staande gevallen behalve de bruid ook de bruidegom nog niet geslachtsrijp. De kinderen woonden na de huwelijkssluiting niet in hetzelfde huis; zij werden door de ouderen geobserveerd en pas als het meisje heeft gemenstrueerd, en de jongen is begonnen te „kraaien" — en dit is soms pas na meerdere jaren het geval — heeft normale samenleving plaats.

In de tweede plaats behoeft men, ook indien de man reeds geslachtsrijp is, en het meisje nog niet, voor de slechte gevolgen van een kinderhuwelijk niet al te bevreesd te zijn. Aan een man wordt

[1]) De vader van dit meisje, een zeer bijzondere figuur, zijn tijd vooruit, had de geboortedata zijner kinderen in een opschrijfboekje opgetekend en dus was in dit speciale geval contrôle mogelijk.

immers geleerd, dat hij zacht en lief voor zijn jonge vrouw moet zijn, en dat hij haar langzaam voor zich moet trachten te winnen. Ruw optreden daarbij zijnerzijds wordt ook in een gewoon huwelijk afgekeurd.

Het is duidelijk, dat bij het kinderhuwelijk op Zuid-Celebes een slechte behandeling van het te jonge meisje niet wordt uitgesloten, maar de mogelijkheden ertoe zijn zeer beperkt. Het kinderhuwelijk werd hier niet geïnstitutionaliseerd. Het wordt gesloten waar de ouderen er belang bij hebben de invloed der jonge individuen op de keus van hun huwelijkspartner tot een minimum te beperken.

Daarmee hebben zij echter nog niet de zekerheid, dat dit huwelijk ook „goed" zal worden. Een meisje, dat bij de sluiting van haar huwelijk met een volwassen man, nog niet geslachtsrijp was, verzette zich, nadat de menstruatie reeds begonnen was, enige jaren lang tegen hem. Dit werd door deze man, zowel als door haar familieleden aanvaard. Hier ontstond dus een geval van een gehuwd paar, waarvan één partner geen sexuele gemeenschap wenst, en daarmee het huwelijk doet mislukken. In een paragraaf over het kinderhuwelijk betekent dit slechts dat een kinderhuwelijk op zich zelf geen bijzondere slechte gevolgen behoeft te hebben.

Het weigeren van sexuele gemeenschap in het huwelijk.

Boven werd pas van een huwelijk gesproken als de voorgeschreven moslimse rite had plaats gehad. Op dezelfde wijze zal thans onder echtscheiding worden verstaan de scheiding der huwelijkspartners volgens de regels van de moslimse plichtenleer. Hiermee is echter slechts een bepaald aspect van de ideeën der Makassaren over deze onderwerpen weergegeven.

Bij het huwelijksfeest concentreren de ouderen hun streven op het tot stand brengen van sexuele gemeenschap tussen man en vrouw. Pas indien dit heeft plaats gehad meent men, dat een huwelijk werkelijk tot stand gebracht is.

Na verloop van tijd blijkt, dat in enkele dezer huwelijken de partners toch weer niet-goed zijn, d.w.z. dat zij geen sexuele gemeenschap hebben; dit treedt in het huidige stadium van waarneming echter pas aan de dag, als zij langere tijd achtereen niet meer bijeenwonen en elkaar mijden. Deze toestand kan duren tot de dood van één hunner toe. In slechts enkele gevallen, in het algemeen als een van beide wil hertrouwen, heeft echtscheiding volgens

de moslimse wet plaats. Dit is dan niet veel meer dan een formaliteit, die een reeds bestaande toestand wettigt. Het goed-zijn van man en vrouw vormt het centrum van het Makassaarse huwelijksleven; daar blijken de moeilijkheden te liggen.

Pas na afloop van de normale feestelijkheden kan blijken of de doelstelling al dan niet bereikt werd. Het pabadjikang ritueel op zich zelf geeft geen garantie dat werkelijk sexuele gemeenschap van man en vrouw plaats had. De mogelijkheid bestaat steeds dat de jonge man of vrouw het gehele huwelijksfeest op de gebruikelijke wijze, dat is min of meer passief, ondergaat, maar de geslachtsdaad blijft weigeren en daarmee de hele opzet van het huwelijk doet mislukken. Men zegt dan, van de man, dat hij sexueel contact met zijn vrouw weigert (tena naero' ri bainenna; lett. hij wil zijn vrouw niet); zo'n weigering kan echter evengoed van de vrouw uitgaan.

Soms is duidelijk, dat iemand geen contact met zijn echtgenote wenst, omdat hij zelf een andere keus gedaan heeft en nu zijn familieleden wil noodzaken hem daar alsnog mee te laten trouwen. [1]) In andere gevallen verklaart een bruid of bruigom, dat het uiterlijk van de huwelijkspartner hem (of haar) niet aanstaat. Maar in weer andere schijnt geen enkele reden aanwijsbaar.

Soms gelooft men dan, dat degeen die weigert, door een spreuk getroffen is, afkomstig van iemand, die niet wil dat hij dit huwelijk sluit; soms ook gelooft men, dat het ritueel niet op de juiste manier verricht is. Men gelooft, ook in de gevallen dat een man zijn eigen keus bepaalt, en dat het uiterlijk van de ander hem niet aanstaat, dat het mogelijk is, om door spreuken en ritueel degeen, die sexuele gemeenschap weigert, er toe te brengen zijn weigerende houding te laten varen. Jaren na het sluiten van het huwelijk gaat men daarmee dus door. De goede resultaten hiervan worden vermeld. Zo bleek, dat kort na zo'n ritueel, bijna 3 jaar na het sluiten van het huwelijk uitgevoerd, plotseling een ommekeer in de houding der jonge vrouw merkbaar was. Tevoren trok zij zich steeds terug bij de komst

[1]) In een te Makassar spelend geval, waarin een jonge man sexuele gemeenschap met zijn vrouw weigerde, omdat hij een ander meisje op het oog had, werd het huwelijk na ruim drie jaar ontbonden; zijn vader stemde er toen in toe, dat hij zijn vrouw verstootte. Kort daarop moest hij een tweede vrouw trouwen, evenmin als de eerste naar eigen keuze. Met die tweede vrouw had hij een normaal huwelijksleven; zij schonk hem twee kinderen en overleed enkele jaren daarna. Toen pas huwde hij de vrouw, die hij acht jaar tevoren zelf reeds koos.

van haar man en negeerde hem; nu had zij hem opeens een badsarong toegeworpen; en na deze eerste vorm van toenadering was de verhouding spoedig geheel normaal geworden.

Om een paar, dat niet-goed samen was, tot elkaar te brengen trouwde de ex-Imang hen opnieuw. Men noemt dit opnieuw-trouwen (nikka' poleang). Men gelooft, dat bij de oorspronkelijke huwelijkssluiting een fout gemaakt is, d.w.z. dat een formule onjuist gezegd of een rituele handeling nagelaten is; dat als gevolg van die fout het huwelijk nooit geheel goed is kunnen worden en dat bij een herhaling van de huwelijkssluiting die fout vermeden zal kunnen worden. Dit opnieuw-trouwen, dat men wel „geneesmiddel" (paballe') noemt, is naar moslims recht van geen betekenis; het wordt in de huwelijksregisters niet ingeschreven. Er hebben geen verdere feestelijkheden bij plaats; ook de sunrang wordt niet opnieuw voldaan; alleen de nikka' wordt herhaald. [1]) Drie gevallen konden hiervan opgetekend worden; alle 3 hadden plaats 1 tot 3 jaar na de eerste huwelijksvoltrekking. In alle drie gevallen was het resultaat, dat het paar kort daarna „goed" samen was.

Men meent, dat het individu zelf geen schuld heeft aan zijn niet-willen. Niemand is dus boos op hem.

Als de jonge man niet wil, zijn de familieleden van zijn vrouw niet boos op hem; zij ontvangen hem vriendelijk als hij bij hen thuis komt. Zijn vrouw blijft tegenover hem schuw en teruggetrokken, zoals iedere jonge vrouw dat tegenover haar echtgenoot is. Ook zij is niet boos; zij voelt zich ook niet gekrenkt door zijn weigering.

De man zelf is evenmin boos. Hij brengt voor zijn vrouw soms iets mee, dat zij in het huishouden kan gebruiken, zoals dat tussen man en vrouw gebruikelijk is, en zoals hij dus ook zou doen, indien zij „goed" samen waren. Hij overnacht veelal in het huis van een getrouwde broer of zuster; bij voorkeur niet in dat van zijn ouders, omdat deze hem duidelijk laten merken, dat hij niet bij hen, maar bij zijn vrouw hoort te gaan slapen. Er wordt dus wel een bepaalde druk op hem uitgeoefend; „mensen, die zo doen, leven maar kort", zegt men.

In het geval dat de vrouw weigert, krijgt men een soortgelijk beeld.

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[1]) Degeen, die deze huwelijken sloot, is de ex-Imang van de adatgemeenschap; hij wordt dus geacht de naar moslims inzicht juiste formules te kennen. Het is mogelijk dat dit een locale ontwikkeling is. Elders in Zuid-Celebes hoorde ik niet van dit opnieuw-trouwen.

Ook tot haar wordt gezegd, dat vrouwen in zulke omstandigheden niet lang leven. „Als een vrouw haar man blijft weigeren, dan zal haar lijkbaar kraken". [1]) Haar man is niet boos op haar; hij voelt zich ook niet beschaamd, dat zij hem weigert. Haar familieleden, voelen zich een weinig verlegen (siri' siri') omdat zij het huwelijk tot stand brachten, en dus ook voor haar weigering verantwoordelijkheid dragen. Zij zijn tegen de jonge man dus uiterst vriendelijk.

Het geloof, dat het verrichten van ritueel ten gevolge kan hebben, dat een man of vrouw zijn (haar) weigering der sexuele gemeenschap opgeeft, brengt met zich, dat men lang wacht voor men het gesloten huwelijk weer officieel ontbindt. Dit gebeurt meestal met onderling goedvinden der ouderen. Pas als deze in het algemeen na verloop van minstens enige jaren, de hoop hebben opgegeven, dat het huwelijk alsnog „goed" zou kunnen worden, laat men een der beide echtgenoten wel met iemand anders trouwen. Dan pas wordt dus de scheiding van het eerste huwelijk geregistreerd.

Bij paren, die reeds lang gescheiden wonen, weet de omgeving vaak niet precies of de moslimse huwelijksontbinding al heeft plaats gehad. Daarvoor toont men weinig interesse.

Het niet willen van een jonge man wordt dus aanvaard, al legt men zich daar verder nog niet bij neer. Maar men aanvaardt niet, dat hij de talak zou geven. Een geval dat een jonge man tegen de wens van zijn oudere familieleden in zijn vrouw verstootte, was in Borongloë niet bekend. Hij zou zijn familie daarmee te schande maken, zo meenden informanten.

Indien na afloop der huwelijksfeesten het paar goed samen is, dan blijkt deze verhouding in een aantal gevallen nog niet duurzaam te zijn. Na korter of langer tijd heeft dan in zo'n geval geen sexuele gemeenschap meer plaats; er zijn dan vaak al kinderen. Ook dit verschijnsel is soms op de vrouw en soms op de man terug te voeren. Als reden wordt aan de omgeving veelal een of ander onbelangrijk voorval opgegeven; zo verklaarde een man niet meer bij zijn vrouw te willen komen, omdat zij boos op hem was geworden, toen de lombok, die hij voor haar had meegebracht, bij het fijnwrijven, in haar oog spatte. Man en vrouw woonden sindsdien niet meer samen; de laatste haalde echter soms wel hetgeen zij voor haar

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[1]) D.w.z. dan zal zij spoedig sterven. Als nml. een lijk op de van bambu gemaakte lijkbaar gelegd wordt, kraakt deze.

dagelijks onderhoud nodig had uit zijn warong; zij spraken elkaar zo nu en dan, en zij vroeg hem dan wel eens of hij niet eens naar hun kind kwam kijken. Zij maakten geen ruzie en er had geen verstoting plaats. Toen hun kind ging huwen, dat bij de vrouw gebleven was, stelde deze haar man hiervan in kennis, maar hij liet weten, dat hij het geven der toestemming en regeling van het feest gaarne aan haar overliet. Geen van beide hertrouwde. Deze toestand heeft geduurd tot de dood van de man toe.

In een ander geval waarin een echtpaar reeds jaren gescheiden woonde, werd als reden daarvan opgegeven, dat de vrouw bij haar eigen familie wilde blijven wonen en niet met haar man naar zijn familie wilde gaan. „Zij wonen gescheiden" (sisala pamantanganna) zegt men in dergelijke gevallen.

Enkele cijfers mogen de hier beschreven verhoudingen verduidelijken.

Het aantal op 1 Juli 1948 in de kampong Bontoramba woonachtige personen, die volgens de moslimse wet gescheiden en sindsdien niet hertrouwd waren, bedroeg 3; 2 mannen en één vrouw. De laatste was met één dezer beide mannen gehuwd geweest. De vrouw van de andere man woonde elders.

Daarnaast bedroeg het aantal gescheiden wonenden, maar (nog) niet volgens de wet gescheiden individuen, 6; 5 vrouwen en 1 man. De laatste was met één der 5 vrouwen gehuwd. De echtgenoten van de 4 andere vrouwen woonden elders. Twee van deze 4 vrouwen waren middels silariang gehuwd, en later weer door haar echtgenoot verlaten.

Van de dus in totaal 7 huwelijken, waarvan de partners, al dan niet volgens de moslimse rite gescheiden, niet samen leefden, waren er 4 kinderloos.

4 van deze 7 echtparen behoorden tot de Kapalagroep (525 zielen) en 3 tot de Mangenregroep (90 zielen).

Het aantal echtscheidingen van mensen in de adatgemeenschap Borongloë (omstreeks 14000 zielen) woonachtig, dat van 1 Juli 1948 tot 1 Juli 1949 in de daartoe bestemde registers ingeschreven werd, bedroeg 7. Het percentage gescheiden volwassen vrouwen was volgens het verslag van de Volkstelling 1930 voor heel Goa 1.7 %. [1]) Mijn cijfers zijn te klein om in percentages verwerkt te

[1]) Verslag van de Volkstelling 1930, dl. V, p. 69.

kunnen worden. Duidelijk blijkt er echter uit, dat ook in vergelijking met andere streken het aantal echtscheidingen in dit gebied gering is.

Selectie der huwelijkspartners op grond van verwantschap.

Boven werd reeds aangegeven dat huwelijken tussen gezinsleden verboden zijn.

Huwelijken tussen huisgenoten acht men ongunstig.[1]) Een huwelijk van een zoon van een weduwe met een dochter van een weduwnaar, die hertrouwd waren en met de kinderen uit hun resp. eerste huwelijken samen één huis bewoonden, werd in de stad Makassar pas voltrokken, nadat de Kali van Makassar verklaard had, dat tegen dit huwelijk geen moslim rechtelijke bezwaren bestonden. In Goa werd na enige aarzeling een zodanig huwelijk niet voltrokken. Men achtte de kans op een ongunstige afloop te groot.

Waar twee jonge mensen die in hetzelfde huis wonen, kans hebben om getrouwd te worden, zoals in de bevolkte hoofdenhuizen nog wel eens voorkomt, zendt men tevoren een hunner naar elders en laat hem vandaar uit huwen.

Een huwelijk tussen verwanten, die niet van dezelfde generatie zijn, acht men ongunstig. Echtgenoten beschouwt men als van dezelfde generatie. Indien zij genealogisch bezien van generatie verschillen ontstaat aanvankelijk bij het huwelijk een onzekerheid in omgangsvormen en aanspraaktermen, die na verloop van tijd weer verdwijnt, als vormen en termen aan de nieuwe verhoudingen aangepast zijn. Waar echtgenoten opgaven, dat zij generatiegenoten waren, terwijl later bleek dat er een generatieverschil tussen hen bestond, vond men het niet prettig om aan deze onregelmatigheid in de verwantschapsverhoudingen herinnerd te worden; het reeds verwerkte conflict werd daarvoor a.h.w. gereactiveerd.

Waar een generatieverschil tussen echtgenoten aanwijsbaar is, blijkt, dat in bijna alle gevallen de man tot de oudere generatie behoort.

Een huwelijk van een man met een nicht in de vierde graad (samposikali) of met een nicht in de tiende graad achten velen een „gewoon" huwelijk, maar enkelen beschouwen het als ongunstig. In

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[1]) Ongunstig is in deze paragraaf een vertaling van het Makassaarse woord bambang, dat warm betekent.

de verwantengroep der karaëngs komen huwelijken tussen verwanten in de vierde graad frequenter voor dan in Borongloë. Men stelt er in die kringen meer prijs op om, zoals men zegt, het bloed zuiver en de goederen bijeen te houden. Daar beschouwt men dit huwelijk dus niet als ongunstig. In de hogere standen is de tendentie aanwijsbaar huwelijken tussen nadere verwanten te sluiten.

Een huwelijk met iemand die al getrouwd geweest is (een weduwnaar of gescheiden man) acht men ongunstig. Het feit dat het eerste huwelijk misging, wordt, indien geen bijzondere reden aanwijsbaar is, wel toegeschreven aan een tekort aan „pitjuru" (gelukbrengende middelen). De idee, dat een individu is, zoals hij is, en dat hij daar zelf weinig aan kan veranderen, brengt met zich, dat men vreest, dat het tweede huwelijk om dezelfde reden zal mislukken. Men poogt dus door het tweede huwelijk van uit een ander huis te laten plaats hebben, door een andere bruidsmoeder te kiezen en andere veranderingen aan te brengen, de gedachte aan het eerste huwelijk verre houden. De best denkbare instelling acht men dus die van een hertrouwende bruigom, die zeide „ik ga een nieuw leven beginnen". De bereidheid was bij deze man aanwezig om bij dit tweede huwelijk op een andere manier te reageren dan bij het eerste, toen hij zich met grote tegenzin aan alle ritueel onderwierp, toen hij bij het voor het eerst aanraken der bruid bijv. haar een ruwe tik tegen de rug gaf en op alle mogelijke manieren van zijn afkeer van dit huwelijk deed blijken.

Een vrouw huwt bij voorkeur niet een man die al getrouwd geweest is, getuigende het volgende vers (kelong) waarbij een jonge vrouw sprekend wordt ingevoerd:

> „Liever ben ik een braakliggend stuk land, een ongeploegd zaaiveld, dan dat ik zou willen, dat een karbouw, die al eens onder het juk is geweest, over mij heen liep".

In werkelijkheid zou het van grote grofheid getuigen als een meisje dit vers zou zeggen; dit geschiedt dan ook slechts door ouderen, als hun dit in hun huwelijkspolitiek op een bepaald moment te pas zou komen.

Het huwelijk van de oudste zoon van het ene gezin met de oudste dochter van het andere, acht men ongunstig, [1]) ook al zijn beide overigens bijv. neef en nicht in de zesde graad.

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[1]) Makassaars. Ullua siagang ulua nabambang.

Indien een paar gehuwd is, acht men het huwelijk van de broer van de man met een zuster van zijn vrouw ongunstig. Men noemt dit „het opstapelen van bambus" (tambung palapa). In de verwantengroep der karaëngs kwam dit huwelijk voor; de huwelijkspartners waren daarbij eigen neef en nicht; een teken wellicht van een beperkte keus der huwelijkspartners. Het is niet duidelijk of dit huwelijk bij de karaëngs ook als ongunstig werd beschouwd.

Indien een paar gehuwd is, acht men verder het huwelijk van een zuster van de man met een broer van de vrouw ongunstig. Men noemt dit „het sluiten der dwarsbalk" (sisuluru palangga). Voorbeelden hiervan zijn mij in Borongloë niet bekend.

Het huwelijk van een man met de zuster van zijn echtgenote is verboden. Dit verbod is gebaseerd op de moslimse wet. [1])

Het huwelijk van een man en vrouw die als kind door dezelfde vrouw gezoogd werden acht men in sommige gevallen verboden. Het verbod vindt zijn grond in de moslimse plichtenleer. [1])

Zoogverwantschap wordt volgens deze leer aangenomen als een kind beneden de 2 jaar, vijf maal tot verzadigens toe door een vrouw gezoogd is. Bij de Makassaren gebeurt het zogen in principe door de moeder op ongeregelde tijden; als het kind maar even kikt wordt het al aan de borst genomen; als de moeder niet genoeg zog heeft wordt zij geholpen; het is juist bij voorkeur een zuster of een nicht (samposikali) van de moeder die in zo'n geval het kind aan de borst neemt. Het bewijs dat een jonge man en een jonge vrouw omstreeks 20 jaar geleden beiden door een en dezelfde vrouw gezoogd zijn, is in deze verhoudingen dus moeilijk te leveren. Het schijnt dat in godsdienstige families in de stad Makassar de vrouwen er op letten dat zij een kind van een zuster of nicht niet zogen, opdat daar later bij het tot stand brengen van huwelijken geen moeilijkheden door zullen ontstaan. In een dier families ging een huwelijk niet door, hoewel men met de voorbereidingen al vergevorderd was, omdat het vermoeden geuit was, dat bruid en bruigom beiden door de moeder van de bruigom gezoogd zouden zijn. De jonge man werd toen met een jongere zuster van de bruid gehuwd.

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[1]) Zie Th. W. Juynboll: Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet volgens de leer der Sjâfi'itische school. 3e druk 1925, p. 185.

In Borongloë werd van de realisering van dit huwelijksverbod, gegrond op zoogverwantschap, niets bemerkt. [1])

Men acht het tenslotte, bijna vanzelfsprekend om een familielid te trouwen. Bij een huwelijk met iemand, die geen familie is, is er wederzijds onzekerheid. Men heeft met de sluiting van zo'n huwelijk dan ook steeds een rationele bedoeling; men wil zijn relaties uitbreiden; dan wel men meent zijn streven naar hoger op deze wijze het beste te kunnen dienen. Maar bij zo'n huwelijk acht men de kans op mislukking groter dan bij dat met een familielid. „Kruip niet naar buiten" (teako alamba' assulukii), zegt men tot iemand, die plannen heeft om zijn kind buiten de familie te laten trouwen.

Aangezien een huwelijk met een niet-familielid, met een niet-generatiegenoot en met een generatiegenoot in de vierde en de tiende graad alle ongunstig geacht worden, blijft slechts over als mogelijkheid het huwelijk tussen generatiegenoten in de zesde en achtste graad; dat is tevens het huwelijk, dat volgens de bovengegeven cijfers (zie p. 23) het frequentste is.

Indien een huwelijk gesloten wordt, dat men eigenlijk als ongunstig beschouwt, heeft extra ritueel plaats om de goede afloop alsnog te bevorderen.

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[1]) Een vrouw met meerdere kinderen, bij wie het zog zich dus is blijven ontwikkelen, zoogt herhaaldelijk haar kleinkinderen van ongeveer dezelfde leeftijd als haar jongste. De tepel van een oude vrouw die geen zog meer produceerde, werd door het pas geboren kind van haar dochter a.h.w. als fopspeen gebruikt. Als een vrouw zwanger is (als de menstruatie enige maanden weggebleven is) begint zij haar jongste te spenen. Als reden van het feit, dat zij haar reeds lopend kind van ongeveer 2½ jaar nog zelf voedde, gaf een vrouw op, dat zij nog niet zwanger was. Als men een kind, dat al loopt en speelt, nog bij de moeder ziet drinken zal dit vaak haar jongste blijken te zijn. Een vrouw was haar eerste kind (een zevenmaands kind) blijven voeden, terwijl zij reeds haar tweede verwachtte; toen de zogvorming minder werd, ging dit kind lichamelijk zeer achteruit, daar het nog weinig bijvoeding tot zich nam; pas na de geboorte van de 2e, toen de moeder dus de beide kinderen voedde, werd de eerste weer krachtiger; dit geval moet echter als een uitzondering beschouwd worden.

Spenen geschiedt door een bittere vloeistof op de tepel te smeren, dit heeft snel resultaat. Een vrouw spoorde haar kind aan tot zuigen hoewel zij haar tepel juist te voren ingesmeerd had; het kind weigerde toen heftig bij een later aanbod.

Een zoogmoeder (anrong pasusu) vindt men slechts in karaëngskringen; over haar wordt gesproken als amma'daëng (moeder daëng). Het zoogmoederschap wordt wel erfelijk genoemd, in dien zin dat men gaarne ziet, dat waar een vrouw een min heeft de dochter dezer min weer min voor de dochter dier vrouw is. Van een jonge moeder van hoge adel wordt gezegd, dat zij modern is, als zij haar kind zelf zoogt. Van een huwelijk van een adellijk persoon met iemand die op deze wijze tot hem in zoogverwantschap staat, kan geen sprake zijn.

Selectie der huwelijkspartners op grond van stand (hypergamie).

Een huwelijk van een man met een hogere vrouw is streng verboden. Men acht het zonder meer onmogelijk. „Het kan niet" (tena nakulle) is de reactie op een eventuele suggestie.

Ook ieder contact van een man met een hogere vrouw is streng verboden. Men duidt dit aan met de zelfde term (salimara') als waarmee men een sexuele verhouding tussen gezinsleden aangeeft, die onder de term bloedschande bekend staat.

Men gelooft, dat indien salimara' plaats heeft, het land ongeluk zal overkomen. Men zegt, dat de padi dan niet meer zal groeien en dat er geen kinderen meer geboren zullen worden. Bij misoogst of bij een epidemie ziet men dus uit naar mensen, die men ervan verdenkt salimara' gepleegd te hebben.

De sanctie behoort te zijn de dood van het schuldige paar. In de oude lontars leest men, dat het bloed van deze mensen de aarde niet mag raken; zij moeten verdronken worden. De Hadat (Inheemse Rechtbank) strafte dit delict de laatste decennia met verbanning van het paar naar verschillende plaatsen buiten het rijk voor de tijd van enkele jaren. Het bleek, dat deze mensen na ommekomst van de door de Rechtbank gestelde termijn niet in hun kampongs terugkeerden; het gevaar neergestoken te worden ondanks het vonnis van de rechter bleek nog steeds te groot. [1])

Het verbod van hypergamie is een in vele culturen bekend verschijnsel. Opvallend is in Zuid-Celebes slechts de scherpe reactie op een overtreding. Een verklaring hiervan zal dus alleen beproefd worden.

Een Makassaar staat tot zijn gelijken of bijna gelijken in een voortdurende oppositieverhouding; een vaste verticale geleding is niet ontstaan. Zijn vrouwelijke verwanten, en in de eerste plaats zijn zuster vormen voor hem het uitgangspunt in zijn streven naar

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[1]) Dit is een direct gevolg van het feit, dat onder invloed van het Bestuur deze delicten door de Inheemse Rechtbanken steeds zeer licht gestraft werden. Bloedschande en à fortiori de contactsituatie van een man en een hogere vrouw is in het Wetboek van Strafrecht niet als delict opgenomen; dit heeft tot gevolg, dat in het gebied der Gouvernementsrechtspraak, bloedschennige personen in het geheel niet gestraft kunnen worden. Het Bestuur verleent hun in die streken zijn bescherming in de vorm van een zeer korte straf door het Magistraatgerecht (elders het Landgerecht oude stijl) uitgesproken, gepaard aan de raad niet in de kampong terug te keren. Dit geldt evenzeer voor overtreding van het verbod van contact van een man met een hogere vrouw.

hoger. Zij zijn daarbij voor hem een vast punt; een vrouw „mag niet dalen". Aantasting van haar sociaal aanzien betekent dus voor haar mannelijke verwanten en in de eerste plaats voor haar broer, een kwetsing hunner gevoelens, in hun streven naar hoger. Zij worden daarbij echter gekwetst in een der zeer weinige vaste punten die zij hebben.

Een Makassaar staat tot een hogere of een lagere in een verhouding van samenwerking. Hoog en laag hebben gemeenschappelijke belangen; te zamen zijn zij het best in staat om hun beider streven naar hoger te verwezenlijken. Het ontbreken van het oppositioneel element verleent aan hun verhouding onderling een gevoelsmatige zekerheid, die elders ontbreekt.

Een uiting van oppositioneel streven van een lagere tegenover een hogere betekent dus een aantasting van de bestaande verhouding van hoog tot laag. De reactie op een dergelijke aantasting is in het algemeen een scherpe afwijzing; de hogere poogt de bestaande verhoudingen te handhaven, omdat deze hem een emotionele zekerheid geven die hij elders mist; omdat zijn streven naar hoger slechts door zijn band met lageren succesvol kan zijn, en tenslotte omdat zijn rechten en plichten tegenover de lageren hem voordelen verschaffen die hij ongaarne mist.

Overtreding van het contactverbod tussen een man en een hogere vrouw betekent dus voor een Makassaar zowel een aantasting van een belangrijk, immers een vast, punt van vergelijking bij zijn streven naar hoger, als een aantasting van de bestaande verhouding van hoog tot laag. Dit betekent dus de aantasting van twee elementen die voor hem in zijn cultuur van essentieel belang zijn. Hij komt daardoor in een situatie, waar hij zich niet tegen op gewassen voelt, en hem blijft naar zijn mening niets anders over dan degeen, die hem dit aandeed, te doden (adjallo').

Het feit dat men een overtreding van het contactverbod tussen een man en een hogere vrouw met dezelfde term aanduidt als die tussen gezinsleden, betekent waarschijnlijk slechts dat men het als even ernstig beschouwt.

Een overtreding van dit verbod van contact met een hogere vrouw wordt dus erger gevonden dan een overtreding van dit verbod tussen gelijken of bijna gelijken. In dit laatste geval kan alsnog een huwelijk plaats hebben; dan ontstaat een verhouding, tussen „de mensen die zich siri' gevoelen" en „de gevluchten", die de

mogelijkheid opent om aan het ook hier voorgeschreven doden te ontkomen; dan kan uiteindelijk, al is het na jaren, een verzoening tot stand komen. Dit gehele complex wordt in het thans volgend gedeelte van dit hoofdstuk besproken.

Derde gedeelte.

Het siri'verschijnsel.

Verticale mobiliteit heeft plaats middels de oppositieverhouding. De mannen tussen 15 en 40 jaar, en vooral de jongeren onder hen, behoren tot elkaar te staan in een voortdurende verhouding van uitdagen en overtroeven. Iedere uitdaging en overtroeving eist een reactie. Wie niet reageert, d.w.z. wie niet meedoet aan hetgeen in deze cultuur van belang geacht wordt, staat laag in aanzien. Het gevoel van iemand, die overtroefd wordt, duidt men aan met siri'. [1]) Iemand is siri' als zijn sociaal aanzien wordt aangetast, en als een ander dat weet.

Een man is geneigd om een toevallige gebeurtenis bij een ontmoeting, of een gelukkig woord zijnerzijds, al direct als een overtroeving te beschouwen, waardoor hij zich, althans in eigen ogen, boven de ander verheft. Ook dan is die ander siri' als hij dit hoort.

De reactie kan bestaan uit een tegenuitdaging, een tegenbelediging, waardoor de aanvankelijke uitdager op zijn beurt siri' wordt. Men kan echter nooit precies aangeven wie er „begon". Men voert de onderlinge tegenstelling soms terug op een gebeurtenis uit het verleden, die van groot belang geacht wordt, een moord bijvoorbeeld. Maar daarmee is de vraag naar de aanvang der onderlinge tegenstelling slechts verschoven.

De kans bestaat, dat de overtroefde als reactie steekt. Het gevolg van een overtroeving is dus nooit te voorzien. Er blijft een reëel gevaar aan verbonden. De vele steekpartijen in Zuid-Celebes bewijzen dat.

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[1]) Matthes (Woordenboek p. 583) vertaalt het woord siri' met „beschaamd, schroomvallig, verlegen, schaamte, eergevoel, schande". Siri' heeft echter voor een Makassaar een geheel andere betekenis dan deze Nederlandse woorden voor een Nederlander hebben. De betekenis dekt evenmin die van het Indonesische woord malu. Een poging tot omschrijving zal beneden gedaan worden. Duidelijkheidshalve laat ik de term echter in een aantal gevallen onvertaald.

Een van de meest spectaculaire uitdagingen is het stelen van vee, paarden of karbouwen. De bedoeling daarvan is in de eerste plaats om zijn moed (kaporeanna) te tonen; economische motieven liggen slechts in enkele gevallen hieraan ten grondslag. Soms waarschuwt men van te voren: „ik kom" (d.w.z., om je karbouwen te stelen). Het stelen van vee is het zoeken van een aanleiding tot een vechtpartij. Een gelukte karbouwendiefstal geldt als een overwinning en als een uitdaging tevens. Een veediefstal ten koste van de Vorst is dus een grote belediging.

De idee, dat wiens sociaal aanzien wordt aangetast moet reageren, omdat wie niet reageert laag in aanzien staat, heeft in de tegenwoordige tijd tot gevolg een geringe populariteit van verschillende moderne sporten. De Engelse sportidee dat men voor alles een „good loser" heeft te zijn, is de Makassaren vreemd; verliezen eist een reactie. In een sport waarbij iedereen aan de uitslag direct kan zien wie er won, speelt men ongaarne mee. In voetbalwedstrijden blijkt dat het aanzien door de eerste tegengoal al geschaad geacht wordt; de wens een tegenpunt te maken is daardoor zo buitensporig groot, dat zowel de individuele prestaties als het samenspel hieronder lijden; een achterstand wordt dus moeilijk ingehaald. In voetbalkringen in Makassar duidt men dit ervaringsfeit aan, door te zeggen dat Makassaren een slecht wedstrijdmoreel hebben.

In het vorige hoofdstuk werd er al op gewezen dat de vrouw niet in aanzien mag dalen. Haar positie is een vast punt voor de elkaar steeds opnieuw overtroevende mannen. Een aantasting van haar aanzien vraagt direct de allerhevigste reactie, nml. de dood van de uitdager. Wie niet reageert is „matesiri'", d.w.z. sociaal-dood. Men drukt dit uit door te zeggen, dat zo iemand van „geen nut" meer is, of dat hij algemeen geminacht wordt. Doden geschiedt, omdat men het gebeurde zo erg vindt, dat men geen andere reactie meer mogelijk acht.

Er zijn echter vele redenen waarom een man in zo'n geval liever niet tot doden overgaat; angst voor de lange gevangenisstraf, die hem wacht of persoonlijke gevoelens van sympathie voor degene, die de overtreding beging, kunnen als zodanig genoemd worden. De tendenties tot doden en tot niet-doden zijn beide aanwezig. En nu is hun verhouding onderling zodanig uitgebalanceerd, dat niet van een man verwacht wordt, dat hij degene, die hem siri' maakte, gaat

zoeken met de bedoeling hem te doden, maar wel dat hij bij een ontmoeting een duidelijk waarneembare poging daartoe zal doen.

De reactie op een aantasting van het aanzien der vrouw is in de Makassaarse cultuur aan een groot aantal vormen gebonden en wegen zijn aangegeven om aan het doden te ontkomen. Men kan de hevigheid dezer reactie wellicht het beste begrijpen, door in te zien, dat het mannelijk streven naar stijgen in sociaal aanzien door de aantasting van een vrouwelijk familielid in zijn kern geraakt wordt.

Het silarianghuwelijk.

De reactie op een aantasting van het aanzien der vrouwen en speciaal der jonge meisjes is geïnstitutionaliseerd in het silariang-complex. Een aantal aspecten daarvan zal thans behandeld worden.

De overtreding van de bestaande omgangsvormen der sexen, boven de contact-situatie genoemd, die siri' doet ontstaan, wordt steeds man en vrouw beiden aangerekend. Of een van hen, dan wel geen van beiden, die overtreding persoonlijk gewild heeft, doet hierbij niet ter zake; vanaf het moment, dat de overtreding bemerkt wordt, lopen beiden in principe hetzelfde gevaar. Voor een vrouw is dan de enige redding om van huis weg te vluchten, en de beste oplossing voor haar is een huwelijk met de man met wie zij die overtreding beging. Dit huwelijk, dat dus na hun beider vlucht tot stand komt, wordt in de literatuur met het „silarianghuwelijk" aangeduid.

De spectaculaire gevolgen hiervan, d.w.z. de omgangsvormen tussen dit paar en de familieleden der vrouw, zijn slechts te begrijpen vanuit de gedachtengang, dat degene, die op deze wijze siri' deed ontstaan gedood behoort te worden, omdat alleen op die manier de uitdaging beantwoord, en het siri'gevoel van de uitgedaagde opgeheven kan worden.

Het doden of pogen te doden van het paar is echter niet de enige manier waarop de moeilijkheden door de uitdaging ontstaan, opgelost kunnen worden. In de praktijk blijkt dat in bijna alle gevallen na verloop van tijd tussen het gevluchte paar en de familieleden der vrouw een verzoening tot stand komt.

Daarbij is steeds een hogere, een functionaris of iemand van hoger bloed aanwezig, omdat alleen dan een lagere zijn siri'-

gevoelens beheerst. Handelen naar eigen inzicht tegen de wens van een hogere in en daarbij nog in diens aanwezigheid, zou een grote onbeleefdheid zijn. In het conflict der tendenties tot doden en niet-doden, maakt de aanwezigheid van de hogere het niet-doden aanvaardbaar.

Een hogere kan echter aan lageren niet zonder meer zijn wil opleggen; duidelijker dan elders blijkt hier de grens van de macht van hoog over laag; dwang van de hogere om tot verzoening te geraken heeft niet alleen tot gevolg, dat geen verzoening tot stand komt, maar vergroot de bestaande moeilijkheden. Wij zullen daar beneden de voorbeelden van zien.

Na de verzoening is van siri' geen sprake meer; de verhoudingen zijn dan weer normaal. Maar de gehele periode van het moment van de vlucht af tot dat der verzoening toe, is de verhouding tussen de gevluchten, de tumannjala, (de mensen, die een fout begingen) en de mannelijke familieleden van de vrouw, de tumasiri' (de mensen, die siri' zijn) aan verschillende regelen gebonden. Er zijn in de praktijk veel algemeen aanvaarde wegen om aan de moeilijkheden, die door deze siri'-gevoelens ontstaan zijn, tegemoet te komen ; zij zullen beneden beschreven worden. Herhaaldelijk stuit men daarbij op situaties of hoort men de betrokkenen meningen verdedigen, die alleen vanuit de zojuist weergegeven ideeën over uitdagen en doden begrepen kunnen worden. Dit houdt niet in, dat ieder silarianghuwelijk nu in de allereerste plaats als uitdaging bedoeld is, maar het wordt wel als zodanig beschouwd; de gedragingen zijn daarmee in overeenstemming.

Van een man, die door een overtreding der sexeverboden siri' gemaakt is, wordt dus verwacht, dat hij degene, die dit deed, doodt; het is echter niet onverschillig, hoe dit doden plaats vindt; dit moet bij voorkeur gebeuren op een wijze een man waardig, d.w.z. door een steek met het mes (badi'), in het openbaar.

Iemand, die zo handelt doet dit niet in blinde woede. Hij weet heel precies, wie hij steken wil. Men spreekt dan van adjallo'. [1]) Een man, wiens zuster jaren geleden wegvluchtte en die haar bij een toevallige ontmoeting neerstak, toonde geen berouw over zijn daad, maar wel verdriet over haar dood. Hij betreurde het feit, dat hij

[1]) Zie boven p. 56. Het is volledig onjuist om in zo'n geval van amok te spreken; deze term dekt een geheel andere psychische toestand; vgl. Prof. Dr. Van Wulfften Palthe: „De psychologie van de amok". Fakkel 1941.

haar had ontmoet; gegeven deze ontmoeting had hij echter volgens zijn inzicht niet anders kunnen handelen, wilde hij niet als eerloos beschouwd worden. Hij is dus in een situatie waarin hij geen andere uitweg ziet dan het doden van de ander.

Voor de rechter geleid, bekent een beklaagde in een dergelijke zaak in het algemeen zonder aarzeling; op de vraag hoe hij tot zijn daad kwam, deelt hij mede, dat de gedode — in het gunstigste geval: de mishandelde — hem siri' maakte en hij acht dit voldoende motivering, omdat ieder Makassaar daaruit direct kan begrijpen, dat de kwestie iets met zijn vrouwelijke familieleden te maken heeft, en op grond daarvan reeds sympathiserend tegenover zijn daad staat.

Door de rechter veroordeeld, tekenen de beklaagden in deze gevallen zelden revisie aan; zij aanvaarden de beslissing zonder meer. Zij beschouwen hun daad als een goede mannelijke daad, en niet als een misdaad. Tegenover de rechter, die hen moet veroordelen willen zij deze dus ruiterlijk bekennen, en evenmin afdingen op de „straf". Zij tonen daarmee de consequenties van hun daad volledig te willen dragen. Zij zijn er in zekere zin trots op. De achterblijvenden houden hun optreden als voorbeeld de jongeren voor ogen. Het doden, de reactie op de uitdaging, vormt dus op zich zelf weer een reden tot zelfverheffing.

Al is de gevangenisstraf waartoe een man in zo'n geval veroordeeld wordt ook nog zo lang, voor zijn vrouw is dit nooit een reden tot echtscheiding. [1]) Zij vindt, indien zij hiertoe zou willen overgaan, al haar familieleden tegen zich. Haar man heeft immers door zijn optreden getoond een goed man te zijn. Als zij nu van hem zou willen scheiden, zou dit alleen maar betekenen, dat zij een slechte vrouw was, want geen andere reden is daarvoor denkbaar, dan dat zij een andere man wil hebben, d.w.z. dat zij manziek (lale) is.

Een man en een vrouw, die samen wegvluchten, huwen in het algemeen op moslimse wijze. Maar daarmee is dit huwelijk nog niet „a socially recognized union between persons of opposite sex" [2]), want ieder direct contact tussen het paar, de tumannjala, en de

[1]) De Makassaarse kolonisten in Paria deelden mede, dat hun vrouwen veel trouwer waren dan de Buginese, die vaak reeds spoedig hertrouwden, als hun echtgenoten om welke reden dan ook, voor langere tijd afwezig waren.

[2]) R. Linton: „Study of man" p. 173.

tumasiri' is uitgesloten; de eersten weten, dat zij bij een ontmoeting hun leven niet zeker zijn; van een recht van de gevluchte vrouw om te erven van haar ouders kan geen sprake zijn. [1])

De eerste die in aanmerking komt om op te treden als een vrouw in een contact-situatie verkeerd heeft, is haar broer. Een gedichtje illustreert dit:

Sari'battangadji todjeng,	De broer slechts is de ware,
iadji kalli' madjarre';	hij alleen is de sterke omheining,
pindu' tjikali	waar neven
naempoi ranggasela.	van de zesde en vierde graad weifelen.

Over de vader van het meisje wordt hier niet gesproken; hij is degeen, die officieel toestemming moet geven tot het huwelijk en later tot de verzoening; maar als zijn zoon daar niet mee instemt komt hij in moeilijkheden. Officieel zijn alle mannelijke familieleden van de vrouw siri' als zij weggevlucht is, maar degenen, die in zo'n geval handelend optreden zijn in de eerste plaats haar broer, en verder eventueel een neef in de vierde graad of een volgeling [2]) van haar vader. De grenzen zijn niet scherp te trekken; verdere familieleden tonen „hun siri'" door mee te doen aan de achtervolging nadat de vlucht heeft plaats gehad. Maar bij een latere ontmoeting voelen zij zich niet zo gauw gedrongen te steken.

Als het paar op zijn vlucht het huis van een kampong- of hoger hoofd, dan wel van een godsdienstbeambte bereikt, behoort het daar veilig te zijn. Steken in het huis van een hoofd of een hogere is tegenover deze een grote onbeleefdheid; in aanwezigheid van een hogere en à fortiori in diens huis moet een tumasiri' zijn siri'-gevoelens beheersen. In het geval dat een tumasiri' zijn zuster tot binnen het hoofdenhuis achterna zette en haar daar doodde, was dit terecht voor de rechter een reden tot verzwaring van de straf. [3]) In vele gevallen betekent het feit, dat de tumannjala het huis van een hogere bereikten voor hun tumasiri' hoogstwaarschijnlijk een ver-

[1]) De godsdienstige rechter (Sjarat) kent haar het haar toekomende erfdeel toe, maar bij een „gewone" verdeling, d.w.z. een verdeling die buiten de godsdienstige rechter omgaat, wordt haar bestaan officieel genegeerd; hoogstens vindt men, zonder dit uitdrukkelijk te zeggen, in deze verhouding een reden om de boedel geheel of gedeeltelijk onverdeeld te laten.

[2]) „Zijn siri' is die van zijn heer", zegt men.

[3]) Zie T. 149, p. 328.

lichting, omdat het deze laatsten bevrijdt van de noodzaak te steken; maar geen Makassaar zal dit zonder meer toegeven. Hetzelfde geldt bij een ontmoeting op de openbare weg; vele tumasiri' negeren hun tumannjala dan zo goed als dat in de gegeven omstandigheden mogelijk is.

Wie thans speurt naar de redenen, die tot silariang leiden, ziet gemakkelijk in, dat men als zodanig niet zonder meer de hoge bruidsprijs kan noemen, noch ook de hoge kosten voor het feest, of bepaalde standsverschillen; noch ook het feit dat ouders de huwelijken hunner kinderen regelen, zonder met de wensen dier kinderen rekening te houden. [1]) Aan silariang gaat onvermijdelijk een overtreding van een der omgangsvormen tussen de sexen vooraf, onafhankelijk van het feit of die overtreding gewild is of niet. Pas als men verder naar de redenen zoekt, die tot de overtreding dier omgangsvormen leidden vindt men daarbij o.m. het verlangen van de individuen, die door sociale of economische factoren verhinderd worden samen te huwen en die daarom tot silariang hun toevlucht nemen.

Ook als niemand anders van die overtreding weet dan man en vrouw, dan nog is de laatste er niet zeker van, dat de eerste zich daar niet op zal beroemen, om als „man der vrouwen" bij zijn kameraden te kunnen doorgaan. Het pochen op succes bij vrouwen is typerend voor de jonge mannen (tau rungka); zij suggereren daarbij gaarne vérgaande successen, al geschiedde in feite weinig meer, dan dat enkele veelzeggende blikken geworpen, en enkele algemeen gestelde maar h.i. geslaagde opmerkingen in haar aanwezigheid gemaakt werden. Een jonge man heeft echter een geldige reden om bij dergelijke pocherijen vaag te blijven; want als hij te duidelijk zou zijn, zodat een ander begrijpt op wie hij doelt, dan levert zijn gesnoef direct gevaar op voor het meisje; dan bestaat de kans, dat haar broer ervan hoort. Het feit dat er „over haar gesproken" wordt, is één der ergste dingen, die een jonge vrouw kan overkomen. Dan moet zij wel vluchten, omdat haar broer of neef in zo'n geval niet anders kan doen dan steken, wil hij niet matesiri' zijn. Iedere man kent deze gevolgen van ondoordachte snoeverij; hij is er bang voor, omdat hij in zo'n geval mee zou moeten vluchten en dat is in het algemeen zijn bedoeling niet.

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[1]) De suggestie, door mij in 1938 gedaan, n.l. dat diepergaande kennis van de Makassaarse huwelijksordening de redenen die tot een silarianghuwelijk voerden, duidelijk zou maken, is dus niet juist gebleken. Zie T. 149, p. 334.

Een vrouw, die in een contact-situatie verkeerde, weet, dat zij gevaar loopt neergestoken te worden als haar broer hiervan hoort; hij hoort of ziet dit echter zelden rechtstreeks; hij kan dus ook zelden direct reageren. Pas als haar blijkt, dat er over haar contact gesproken wordt, wordt het gevaar voor de vrouw reëel. Zij heeft dus a.h.w. steeds enige speling in tijd, tevens te danken aan het feit, dat een ieder weet welke grote gevaren praten over deze zaken met zich kan brengen. Niemand wordt gaarne als „woordvormer" in een bepaalde kwestie genoemd.

Als er over haar gesproken wordt waarschuwt eventueel een der oudere vrouwen, soms ook haar moeder haar voor het gevaar; doet de suggestie om te vluchten en helpt haar bij de voorbereiding. Of zij dan alleen vlucht, dan wel te zamen met degeen die haar siri' maakte, is een volgende kwestie. Deze hulp wordt tegenover de mannen steeds ontkend. Want wie deze vrouw, die gedood behoorde te worden, helpt, is zelf des doods schuldig.

Zij vlucht vaak tegen donker als een terloopse opmerking, dat zij even naar de put gaat, niet opvalt, en de duisternis haar vlucht dekt. Een jonge man, die op dit moment zijn zuster neerstak, kon geen andere reden opgeven, dan dat hij haar ervan verdacht te willen vluchten. Er was echter verder geen enkel „bewijs". Zijn daad werd dus zeer afgekeurd.

Als de vlucht ontdekt wordt komen direct de jonge mannen in actie. Zij zoeken, ondervragen de vrouwen, wapenen zich en trekken er op uit. Zij keren aan bij de familieleden en vragen dezen „siri'"; d.w.z. zij vragen hen mee te doen aan de achtervolging; dezen kunnen niet weigeren op straffe van eerverlies. „Als gij geen schaamtegevoel hebt, gaat dat dan ergens lenen" werd iemand, die aarzelde toegevoegd, en toen kon van aarzeling geen sprake meer zijn. Pas als zij na een tijdlang zoeken geen spoor blijken te kunnen vinden, keren zij successievelijk naar huis terug.

De vrouwen, aan huis gebonden, moeten daar afwachten hoe de achtervolging afloopt. Er heerst bij hen duidelijk een sfeer van angst, die blijft duren tot bericht ontvangen wordt, dat het paar het huis van een naburig kampongfunctionaris bereikte. De oudere vrouwen vertellen onderwijl over vroegere vluchten; over het ellendige lot van een meisje, dat ingehaald en gedood werd. Zij beschrijven hoe eenzaam de vluchtelinge zich nu moet voelen, ver van haar moeder, haar zusjes en nichtjes, bij geheel vreemde mensen,

zonder de gezelligheid om zich heen, die zij gewend was. Haar fouten worden breed uitgemeten: door te vluchten heeft zij haar moeder groot verdriet gedaan; zij had moeten wachten tot de ouderen, die het beste met haar voor hebben, haar huwelijk regelden; zij verlangde teveel naar een man; zij was niet het stille bescheiden meisje, dat zij had behoren te zijn. Het zijn allen evenzovele lessen voor de luisterende kinderen en jonge meisjes.

Enige dagen na de vlucht, als de eerste opwinding bedaard is, voert het hoofd naar wie zij toevluchtten, hen naar de godsdienstbeambte, die met de registratie der huwelijken belast is. Die formaliteiten, die door de moslimse wet zijn voorgeschreven, leveren thans enkele moeilijkheden op. De wali der vrouw moet zijn toestemming voor het huwelijk geven. Officieel wil hij dat nooit, omdat de vrouw, vaak zijn dochter, hem siri' maakte en hij dus geen enkele band met haar erkennen kan, zonder zich aan de minachting der jongere mannen in de eerste plaats, bloot te stellen. In de praktijk neemt men aan, dat hij zijn toestemming gegeven heeft, als hij tot de helper van de Imang, die over deze kwestie komt spreken, zegt: „doe maar met haar wat U wilt". Men beschouwt dit als een machtiging aan de huwelijkssluiter, de Imang om voor hem als wali op te treden.

Tegelijk met het verzoek om toestemming wordt veelal aan de wali gevraagd of hij de sunrang wil ontvangen. En in dezelfde gedachtengang als zijn mededeling m.b.t. de gevraagde toestemming dient zijn antwoord, dat hij de sunrang niet wenst te ontvangen, opgevat te worden: hij wenst iedere band met de vrouw, die hem siri' maakte, te loochenen; zij behoorde dood te zijn, zij bestaat niet voor hem. Bij de nikka' ontvangt de vrouw de sunrang dus zelf. Later bij de verzoening wordt deze dan, vers toebereid, aan haar familieleden aangeboden. Daarbij handhaaft men dus de fictie, dat dan pas het gewone huwelijk plaats vindt.

Los van alle rang en stand is de hoogte van de sunrang bij een huwelijk van een gevluchte vrouw steeds 20 reaal. [1])

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[1]) Van het totaal aantal huwelijken (107) dat gedurende de tijd van één jaar (van 1-7-1948 tot 1-7-1949) in Borongloë werd gesloten, waren er 19 silarianghuwelijken of omstreeks 18 %. Voor Goa schijnt dit percentage normaal. In 1947 werden in het hele Landschap van omstreeks 200.000 inwoners, 1492 huwelijken geregistreerd, waarvan 283 silarianghuwelijken. Naar men zegt is in andere streken, Djeneponto b.v., het percentage silarianghuwelijken veel hoger.

Bij een silarianghuwelijk moet de man een boete (kasalaang) voldoen. De huwelijkssluiter tekent deze betaling in het huwelijksregister aan; het geld wordt bewaard en bij de verzoening aan de vader der vrouw aangeboden. Hij wil de boete niet direct bij de huwelijkssluiting aanvaarden, omdat hij daardoor, alweer, een band met zijn dochter zou erkennen, die hij niet wenst; hij verzoekt dus vaak aan de Imang, de huwelijkssluiter om dit geld als „goede gave" (sidakka') te willen aannemen. Zo is de praktijk in Borongloë. Elders overhandigt de huwelijkssluiter die boete echter direct na de huwelijkssluiting aan de vader der vrouw.

Over het ontstaan van dit locale verschil kunnen enkele opmerkingen gemaakt worden. Deze boete noemde men vroeger „het afsnijden van wat puntig is" of „het bot maken van wat scherp is"; dat betekende dat er na de ontvangst der boete geen reden tot steken meer geacht werd te bestaan. [1]) De boete werd beschouwd als een onderdeel der verzoening en dus pas daarbij voldaan; de ontvangst der boete was naar Makassaars gevoelen gebonden aan het einde der tumasiri'-tumannjala verhouding.

Kort na de Zuid-Celebes expeditie van 1905 schijnt het aantal steekzaken, waaraan een silariangkwestie ten grondslag lag, zeer groot geweest te zijn; het Bestuur zocht toen naar middelen om dit aantal te beperken. In 1906 gaf de gouverneur Kroese een circulaire uit, waarin hij de suggestie deed, om ingeval van een silarianghuwelijk, het daarheen te leiden, dat de boete direct bij de nikka' voldaan en door de wali der vrouw aanvaard zou worden; hij hoopte dat hiermede de tumasiri'-tumannjala verhouding dan tevens direct opgeheven zou zijn.

Het blijkt dat, hoe voorzichtig de suggestie wellicht ook gehanteerd werd, de uitgeoefende pressie toch te sterk is geweest. De boete werd sindsdien in vele streken inderdaad bij de nikka' voldaan, maar de tumasiri'-tumannjala verhouding bleef desondanks bestaan. Het is alleen met deze historische gegevens voor ogen, dat begrijpelijk wordt, waarom in een bepaald gebied waar de vader der vrouw de boete reeds bij de nikka' en de sunrang pas bij de verzoening aanvaardt, deze sunrang nu met „het bot maken van wat scherp is", wordt aangeduid.

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[1]) Vgl. C. T. Bertling: Huwelijk en huwelijksrecht in Zuid-Celebes. T. 147, p. 203.

De wali der vrouw kan volgens de moslimse wet zijn toestemming tot een huwelijk weigeren op grond van het feit, dat de vrouw van hoger stand is dan de man. In een gewoon geval is zo'n verschil reden tot afslaan van een huwelijksaanzoek, ook al wordt een andere reden opgegeven: „Het is niet gepast, dat zij trouwen" (taena nasiratang), is de gebruikelijke uitdrukking. Als de wali in een geval van silariang zijn toestemming op deze grond weigert, scheidt de Imang hen, tenzij het paar hun huwelijk wenst door te zetten; in dat geval komt de zaak voor de rechter. Luidt de beslissing, dat de vrouw hoger is dan de man, dan worden zij gescheiden. Liever dan haar gehuwd te weten met een man van lager bloed, nemen de familieleden haar, die hen siri' maakte weer tot zich.

Na een dergelijke scheiding ten overstaan van Imang of rechter is er dus geen tumasiri'-tumannjala verhouding meer. De betrokken functionaris deelt de tumasiri' mede, dat de kwestie hiermee afgelopen is, en dat aan man noch vrouw thans meer moeilijkheden bereid mogen worden. De praktijk is echter, dat de man, althans de eerste tijd, zich niet vertoont in een kampong waar veel familieleden van de vrouw wonen. Dat doet hij voorzichtigheidshalve pas, als zij bijv. met een ander getrouwd is, en de gevoelens t.o.v. hem meer tot rust zijn gekomen.

Ook t.a.v. de vrouw, die door haar eigen familie weer mee naar huis wordt gevoerd, zijn de gevoelens daarmee nog niet volledig tot rust gekomen. Zij beging een fout, die meer in de salimara' dan in de silariang sfeer ligt; zij kent het gevaar daaraan verbonden en zorgt er dus voor, zich zo onopvallend mogelijk te gedragen, zodat haar mannelijke familieleden zo min mogelijk aan haar bestaan herinnerd worden. In de weinige gevallen, dat een dergelijke scheiding plaats had, werd practisch steeds de vrouw kort daarop uitgehuwelijkt. In één geval, dat dit niet geschiedde, vluchtte zij drie jaar later met een andere, eveneens lagere, man weg. Ditmaal moest de wali desondanks zijn toestemming voor het huwelijk geven, onder de aandrang van de Imang, die hem erop wees, dat hij slecht voor de siri' van deze vrouw gezorgd had, door geen man voor haar te zoeken.

Een meisje geeft als reden, dat zij met een man wegvluchtte soms op, dat deze haar daartoe dwong en dat hij dreigde haar te doden indien zij niet met hem meeging. De jurist, die in al deze

gevallen „schaking met geweld" zou aannemen, zou zich vergissen. Van een meisje kan niet verwacht worden dat zij, zelfs als beëdigd getuige voor de rechter, toegeeft, dat zij uit eigen wil met haar „schaker" meeging; dit zou een teken zijn, dat zij naar hem verlangde, en dit is van geen vrouw te verwachten, die opgevoed is in de idee, dat het tonen van dit verlangen (lale) zeer afkeurenswaardig is. [1])

Een man heeft het ook niet nodig om geweld te gebruiken als hij een vrouw wil dwingen om met hem te vluchten. Door haar siri' te maken laat hij haar geen keus; thuis blijven zou dan te gevaarlijk voor haar zijn; haar broer zou weinig anders kunnen doen dan haar neersteken. De reden, dat een man een vrouw opzettelijk siri' maakt en haar daarmee dwingt met hem weg te vluchten, is, wellicht een enkel maal, dat hij met haar wil trouwen, terwijl zij hem niet als echtgenoot wenst; maar vaker is de reden, dat familieleden van hem die verbintenis wensten, maar hun desbetreffend aanzoek afgeslagen werd. Een uitlating als: „waarom weigert men ons?" staat dan voor een jonge man a.h.w. gelijk met het bevel om de belediging, die in deze afwijzing gevoeld wordt, te beantwoorden; en hij kan dat niet beter doen, dan door een vlucht te forceren.

In de moderne omstandigheden in Makassar zijn de verhoudingen vaak een weinig anders. Als de meisjes de school blijven bezoeken, nadat zij reeds huwbaar zijn, wordt haar omgang met de jonge mannen daardoor alleen al geheel anders, dan in de boven beschreven verhoudingen. Dan is haar angst voor contact met een jonge man minder groot, omdat er nu onderwerpen zijn, waarover zij zonder gevaar met hem kan praten. Dan verandert ook de instelling der jonge mannen; zij achten zich niet meer siri' als hun zuster met één der schoolvrienden spreekt.

De kans bestaat dat het aantal silarianghuwelijken in deze jongere generatie groter is dan op het platteland, omdat enerzijds de mogelijkheid zoveel groter is dat de jonge individuen hun eigen keuze tegen die van hun ouders in doorzetten, en omdat anderzijds het gevaar gestoken te worden in deze kringen eerder vermindert

[1]) In overweging zou genomen kunnen worden om in een dergelijke zaak de geschaakte vrouw van wie niet verwacht kan worden, dat zij op dit punt de waarheid zal spreken, niet te beëdigen.

dan vermeerdert. Cijfers zijn niet beschikbaar. Er zijn echter ook uitlatingen die begrijpelijk maken waarom het aantal niet reeds veel hoger is. Dit hangt samen met het feit dat men silariang als slecht (kodi) en een feestelijk huwelijk als goed (badji') beschouwt. Een jonge man, die een meisje aardig vindt, vraagt haar wel of zij met hem wil vluchten, maar hij legt zich zonder meer bij haar weigering neer, als zij zegt, dat zij haar moeder niet ongelukkig wil maken, of dat zij niet „het slechte", d.w.z. silariang, wil doen.

Een moderne jonge vrouw, die zeer vrij met jonge mannen omging — d.w.z. dat zij alleen in de toko's boodschappen ging doen, en met haar mannelijke collega's van de kweekschool sprak, als zij hen op straat ontmoette — had hierover thuis van haar tantes en oudere zusters veel te verduren. Dezen noemden haar een straatbezem en verzekerden haar herhaaldelijk, dat het haar slecht zou vergaan. Zij kreeg vele aanzoeken om te vluchten, en de meeste daarvan waren niet zozeer ingegeven door een lust tot avontuur, als wel een gevolg van het feit, dat vele Makassaarse jonge mannen van goeden huize het prettig vinden om te trouwen met een moderne jonge vrouw, die zich in gezelschap kan bewegen. Silariang was hier voor hen dus een middel om hun wensen tegen die hunner ouders door te zetten. Maar deze jonge vrouw weigerde steeds; „ik wil laten zien, dat ik goed-modern kan zijn" (eroki kupappatjinikang kamoderengangku), zo drukte zij zich uit, en de jonge mannen legden zich hierbij neer. Zij toonde, dat verboden contact niet persé slechte gevolgen met zich behoeft te brengen in de vorm van een vluchthuwelijk.

Erangkale.

Men spreekt van „silariang" als man en vrouw tezamen wegvluchten, en van „erangkale", (lett.: zichzelf brengen) als de vrouw alleen van huis wegloopt naar de man, die haar siri' maakte. De redenen, die tot deze beide vormen van silariang leiden, verschillen in principe niet en evenmin de gevolgen. Het hangt vaak van een toevalligheid af of een vrouw alleen dan wel te zamen met de man wegvlucht. Als een toevalligheid noem ik b.v. of het haar lukt om via een tussenpersoon een afspraak voor de vlucht te maken. De vrees dat op (al dan niet vermeend) verboden contact met een

messteek gereageerd zal worden is steeds een der drijfveren tot haar vlucht.

Als een vrouw naar een man toe vlucht kan de laatste niet anders doen dan met haar meegaan; hij zou geen „man" zijn, ook niet naar het gevoelen van zijn eigen familie, als hij dit niet deed. Liever dan dat van hem gezegd zou worden, dat hij „voor een vrouw op de vlucht" gaat, gaat hij met haar mee naar de dorps- of godsdienstfunctionaris, huwt en laadt daarmee al de moeilijkheden op zich, die een silarianghuwelijk nu eenmaal met zich brengt. Dan gedraagt hij zich zoals een man betaamt.

Als vanzelfsprekend neemt men aan, dat een vrouw die naar een man toevlucht daar reden voor heeft. De man die in zo'n geval zou weigeren een huwelijk aan te gaan, kan er zeker van zijn bij velen geen geziene gast meer te zijn; een meisje siri' maken en haar dan niet trouwen, acht men zeer laakbaar. Hiervan registreerde ik slechts 2 voorbeelden.

Toen een meisje van omstreeks 13 jaar naar een man van ongeveer 26 toegevlucht was, ontkende de laatste daar aanleiding toe gegeven te hebben. Hij kende haar reeds lang, zo zeide hij, en zijn gevoelens t.o.v. haar waren slechts die van een broeder geweest. Hij betreurde wat zij gedaan had, omdat zij beiden nu z.i. siri' waren: zij, omdat zij wegvluchtte, en hij, omdat velen zijn afwijzing niet zouden willen aanvaarden en hem dus slechts ongaarne thuis zouden willen ontvangen. Het merkwaardige van deze uitlating is, dat deze man de siri'gevoelens der vrouw naast die van zich zelf stelde; hij schrijft haar dus a.h.w. siri'gevoelens toe, die normaliter slechts mannen geacht worden te bezitten; de gevoelens nml. die ontstaan als een poging om iets te bereiken in het openbaar gedaan, mislukt.

In het andere voorbeeld erkende de man wel wat gekheid met de vrouw, die naar hem toevluchtte, gemaakt te hebben (bandjulu', hier gebruikt in de betekenis van: grapjes maken met woorden), maar hij weigerde met haar mee te gaan. Op verzoek van haar vader werd zij toen ten overstaan van de rechter aan haar familie teruggegeven; „wij hebben familieleden genoeg om met haar te trouwen", was de motivering voor dat verzoek en aldus geschiedde. In deze beide voorbeelden werd de resolute stellingname van de man dus aanvaard, zonder dat hij als tumannjala beschouwd werd. De reden daarvan schijnt gezocht te moeten worden in het karakter

van het meisje dat in beide gevallen bekend stond als een, dat niet de bescheidenheid en teruggetrokkenheid bezat, die meisjes eigenlijk behoren te hebben.

Enkele malen vluchtte een vrouw naar een vreemdeling toe, in de mening dat hij haar siri' maakte, terwijl hij naar zijn eigen idee iets heel gewoons deed. Zo richtte een christen-Sangirees, die als mandur over een aantal Makassaren aangesteld was, zich in het openbaar tot de zuster van één hunner met de vraag waar haar broer was. Enkele dagen later vluchtte zij naar hem toe. Hij reageerde, door vrienden onderricht, zoals Makassaren dat verwachten. Hij voldeed de sunrang en de boete en gedroeg zich zoals een goed tumannjala betaamt, totdat de verzoening naar Makassaarse trant had plaats gehad; alleen de moslimse huwelijkssluiting had dus niet plaats.

Toen een Indo-Chinees in zo'n geval weigerde te trouwen, bracht de Imang vervolgens het meisje naar haar familie terug. Deze beschouwde haar noch hem verder als tumannjala; „hij kent onze adat niet" zeiden zij en dit was voor hen voldoende ter verklaring.

De redenen, die een vrouw siri' maken en haar er toe brengen om naar een bepaalde man toe te vluchten zijn legio. Steeds is verboden contact met die man aanwijsbaar; vaak is dit contact toevallig. Het meisje dat door de zo even genoemde Sangirees werd aangesproken, was op dat moment juist bezig water te putten. Zij gaf, van Makassaars standpunt bekeken vanzelfsprekend, geen antwoord; maar haar vader had de situatie gezien en zeide: „ik zond je naar de put om water te halen, maar niet om te praten". In een ander geval was een meisje aan het wassen bij de put, toen een bal van een troepje raga spelende jonge mannen tot vlak bij haar rolde. Zij gaf de bal een trapje en de jonge man die hem kwam halen lachte tegen haar. Enige dagen later vluchtte zij toen naar hem toe. Weer een ander geval betrof een meisje, dat tijdens één der ceremoniën, die aan haar huwelijk voorafgingen, een veest liet. Eén van haar neven nam direct de schuld op zich: „Lach niet lui, het ontglipte mij", zeide hij. Enige dagen later, de nikka' had reeds plaats gehad, vluchtte zij naar hem toe; naar later bleek op aansporing van haar eigen tante; „ga weg, doe wat je siri' eist" (lampako, dongkoki siri'nu) zou deze gezegd hebben. Zij is daarop met deze man getrouwd.

In geen van deze gevallen liep de vrouw dus direct gevaar. In alle drie werd haar daad volledig begrepen, en was haar familie „niet erg siri'", dat wil zeggen, dat reeds binnen het halve jaar de verzoening tot stand kwam. Liever dan siri' te blijven en de kans te lopen gestoken te worden, vluchten deze vrouwen dus weg; liever dan te weigeren met haar mee te gaan, maar niet geloofd te worden en dus te worden beschouwd als iemand, die voor een vrouw op de vlucht gaat, trouwen deze mannen. De familieleden der vrouw zijn siri', omdat zij wegvluchtte en daarmee openlijk toegaf dat verboden contact bestond. Maar begrip voor haar daad en de gevoelens, die haar daartoe leidden is er zeker. In het laatste van de drie zo juist beschreven gevallen was de verlaten bruigom tegenover de tweede echtgenoot dan ook sans rancune. Hij beschouwde de gang van zaken als deel van zijn lot; toen met de verzoening aan de uiterlijke vorm voldaan was, was er van persoonlijke gevoelens van wrok bij hem niets meer te merken.

Buitenechtelijke zwangerschap.

Zwangerschap is voor een ongehuwde vrouw vanzelfsprekend een reden tot vluchten. De eerste maanden behoeven de mannelijke verwanten daar nog niets van te merken, dan kan zij dus veilig thuis blijven. Haar moeder of zuster wordt soms in vertrouwen genomen, maar zal dit steeds ontkennen. Als het een vrouw in deze omstandigheden niet gelukt om de verwekker van haar kind over te halen om met haar te vluchten en te trouwen, vlucht zij tenslotte alleen weg en noemt tegenover de betrokken godsdienstbeambte zijn naam. Geroepen door de Imang, bekennen de meeste mannen; het huwelijk wordt daarop gesloten en het paar verder gewoon als tumannjala beschouwd en behandeld.

Een man, die blijft ontkennen de verwekker van het kind te zijn, wordt naar de Kali van Goa gevoerd; houdt hij daar zijn ontkenning vol, dan krijgt hij de gelegenheid om in de grote missigit van Goa plechtig te zweren, dat hij deze vrouw niet zwanger maakte. Als hij deze eed aflegt, is hij verder vrij. In werkelijkheid loopt hij echter nog gevaar; hij doet voorzichtig als hij niet in de kampong komt waar de vrouw woonde. De algemene mening is n.l. dat een vrouw in die omstandigheden niet liegt. Een man, die ontkent de verwekker van haar kind te zijn, moet, ook al heeft hij zijn ontkenning met een eed gestaafd, steeds oppassen, dat één harer

familieleden hem desondanks niet poogt te doden. Pas als zij vervolgens met een andere man gehuwd is, is hij veilig.

Nadat de man zijn eed heeft afgelegd, blijft de vrouw in het huis van de Imang tot er iemand komt, die met haar wil trouwen. Dit gebeurt meestal reeds na enige dagen. Eerst heeft een afgezant van die man een onderhoud met de Imang, die het huwelijksaanzoek vervolgens aan de vrouw overbrengt; als zij haar a.s. huwelijkspartner nog niet kent krijgt zij gelegenheid om hem te zien; zij kan dan zelf beslissen. Blijft zij zwijgend met gebogen hoofd zitten, dan staat dit gelijk met haar toestemming. Haar uitdrukkelijk „tea'" (ik wil niet) wordt echter aanvaard. Hoogstens wijst men een vrouw die meerdere candidaten achter elkaar weigert, erop, dat zij het haar omgeving moeilijk maakt. Het blijkt, dat er steeds een voldoende aantal ongehuwde mannen is, dat gaarne wil trouwen.

Het gebeurt zelden, dat een kind geboren wordt zonder dat de moeder gehuwd is. Dit kan bij uitzondering plaats hebben; bijv. als een vrouw zwanger is van haar zusters man. Zij mag dan volgens het moslims recht, dat op dit punt in Goa stipt gevolgd wordt, niet met deze man trouwen, voordat haar zuster van hem gescheiden en de 'iddahperiode voorbij is. Buitenechtelijke kinderen zijn dus zeldzaam; zij sterven daarbij meestal spoedig. Slechts eenmaal werd mij in Borongloë een meisje van omstreeks 8 jaar aangewezen, waarvan gezegd werd, dat het nooit een vader had gehad. Cijfers hierover zijn niet te geven, omdat deze geboorten, evenmin als het overlijden daarna, in de desbetreffende registers worden opgetekend. Makassaren kunnen niet inzien, welk belang daarmede gediend zou zijn. Zij vergeten dergelijke gevallen het liefst zo snel mogelijk.

Men noemt een man, die een vrouw huwt, die reeds door een ander zwanger gemaakt is, pattongko' siri' (bedekker der schande). Zo'n huwelijk beschouwt men geheel als een silarianghuwelijk. Er hebben geen verdere feestelijkheden bij plaats; de boete wordt voldaan en de man is tot de verzoening tumannjala t.o.v. de familieleden zijner vrouw, hoewel hij die status pas kreeg door het feit, dat hij haar trouwde. Het is meestal een weduwnaar of een ongehuwd man van boven de dertig, die een dergelijk huwelijk wil sluiten. Soms is hij een familielid van de vrouw, maar dan steeds een neef in de zesde graad (sampopinruang) of verder, want haar naaste familieleden zijn in de eerste plaats tumasiri'.

Zijn daad wordt geapprecieerd; hij maakt de vrouw hiermede

gelukkig, zegt men, omdat hij haar, en daarmede ook haar familieleden, bewaart voor nog grotere schande, n.l. voor het baren van een kind zonder dat zij gehuwd is. Deze appreciatie komt in de eerste plaats hierin tot uiting dat zeer spoedig, vaak reeds een maand nadat het huwelijk gesloten werd, de verzoening tot stand wordt gebracht; en verder hierin, dat gedurende de tijd tussen nikka' en verzoening de „pattongko' siri'" officieel wel als tumannjala beschouwd wordt, maar in werkelijkheid de beide partijen meer dan anders hun best doen elkaar te ontwijken.

Ter tekening van de sfeer, die bij een huwelijksvoltrekking als hier bedoeld, zo geheel anders is dan bij een gewoon feesthuwelijk, maar vooral ook om te laten zien, wat beide gemeenschappelijk hebben, volgt hier thans de beschrijving van zo'n huwelijk. Het is het huwelijk van vrouw Djawi, dat in 1940 in Borongloë plaats had. Van een feest was hierbij geen sprake; de toon der gesprekken was anders dan bij een feesthuwelijk en het ritueel was tot enkele simpele handelingen teruggebracht.

Vrouw Djawi was in zwangere toestand het ouderlijk huis ontvlucht; de man, die zij als de verwekker van haar kind had genoemd, had ontkend, en zij was vervolgens naar het huis van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd gebracht, om daar te wachten tot er iemand zou komen om met haar te trouwen, of, zoals men dit uitdrukte: „om haar schande van haar te nemen" (angalleangi siri'na) dan wel „om haar te laten leven" (antallassi). Na enige dagen reeds kwam een eigen oom van vrouw Djawi meedelen, dat haar oom in de zevende graad (purina sampopinruang), Rappung geheten, een gescheiden man zonder kinderen, haar wilde huwen; het Adatgemeenschapshoofd bracht haar dit verzoek over. Zij kende Rappung reeds; zij hoefde hem dus niet eerst te zien en zij kreeg rustig de tijd om het geval te overdenken. Zij bleef echter zwijgen en daaruit werd opgemaakt, dat zij met dit huwelijk instemde. Het hoofd deelde dit aan de Imang van Borongloë mede; deze zond een brief aan de vader van vrouw Djawi, waarin hij hem om de toestemming voor de voltrekking van het huwelijk van zijn dochter verzocht; daarin was tevens een machtiging aan de Imang opgenomen om in zijn plaats als wali op te treden, een machtiging die door hem nog slechts van een vingerafdruk voorzien behoefde te worden.

Hierbij bleek, dat de als sunrang aangewezen sawah slechts 50 bossen opbracht, terwijl een sawah van 100 bossen in een geval als dit gebruikelijk geacht werd. De Imang hield dus rekening met de mogelijkheid dat de wali om deze reden zijn toestemming zou weigeren. De toestemming werd echter desondanks verleend. Het feit, dat Rappung een geapprecieerde werkkracht in de familie was, zal hierbij wel een factor van invloed zijn geweest. De Imang stelde vervolgens in overeenstemming met Rappung dag en uur voor het huwelijk vast.

Even voor de afgesproken tijd, om een uur of 8 's avonds, werd de vrouw naar het huis van de Imang gebracht; zij ging direct de achtertrap op en bleef in de vrouwenvertrekken wachten. Even later arriveerde Rappung in gezelschap van zijn gurukampong en twee van zijn familieleden en kort daarop kwam ook de schoonzoon van de Imang; hij zou te zamen met de gurukampong als getuige optreden. Beiden ontvingen daarvoor na afloop der plechtigheid *f* 0.25.

De Imang haalde de zorgvuldig weggesloten registers voor den dag en vulde deze met een speciaal voor het schrijven van Makassaarse karakters geslepen pen in. Hij stelde daarbij de gebruikelijke vragen: „Hoe oud ben je?" Rappung weet dat niet. „Hoe oud was je bij de val van Goa?" [1]) zo wordt hij op weg geholpen. „Eén jaar!" „Hoe oud is Djawi?" Bij de val van Goa blijkt deze nog niet geboren te zijn. Hoe oud was zij bij de Spaanse griepepidemie?" [2]) „Toen was zij er ook nog niet". De Imang neemt aan, dat zij kort daarna geboren zal zijn en daarop afgaande vult hij haar leeftijd in. Als datum van het huwelijk wordt 27 Februari 1940 opgetekend, hoewel het huwelijk de avond van de 26ste (9 uur n.m.) voltrokken werd.

De aanwezigen zijn tijdens deze plechtigheid gezeten in een soort dichte serre, die tegen het eigenlijke huis van de Imang aangebouwd is; in de oorspronkelijke voorwand zijn de getraliede vensters nog aanwezig en de in de serre aanwezige mannen kunnen daardoorheen een glimp van de vrouwen opvangen. Daaronder bevindt zich een vrouw, Kamida geheten, die in precies dezelfde positie verkeert als vrouw Djawi en die dus ook afwacht of er iemand om haar zal

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[1]) 1905.
[2]) 1919.

komen. „Die Kamida wil ook wel", zegt de guru en het gelach is algemeen. Rappung, die zich nu op zijn gemak voelt, vertelt, dat hij zijn huwelijk eigenlijk heeft doorgezet tegen de wens van zijn ouders in; zij hadden hem afgeraden thans reeds te trouwen, daar deze maand daarvoor „ongunstig" geacht wordt (bulang bambang, lett.: warme maand), en onmiddellijk reageert de Imang: „Rappung bambang tongi" (lett. Rappung is ook warm).

De Imang roept nu luide om vrouw Djawi; zij verschijnt echter niet; een vrouw wordt gestuurd om haar te halen, maar zij komt niet; „zij slaapt", zegt iemand; een jongere broer van de Imang krijgt opdracht haar te gaan roepen en ondertussen krijgt de Imang van zijn vrouw een brandend wierookvat toegeschoven; nog blijft vrouw Djawi achter, maar tenslotte, aangespoord door de Imang zelf, verschijnt zij in de serre en gaat, de rug half naar haar a.s. echtgenoot gekeerd, met afgewend gezicht tegen de huiswand aan zitten. Indien het enigszins mogelijk is wordt deze situatie de vrouw bespaard; zelfs in het geval, dat bedienden trouwen, zorgt de heer, die het huwelijk organiseert, er voor, dat het zetten van de vingerafdruk der vrouw tevoren is geregeld. Een vrouw tekent volgens moslimsrechtelijk voorschrift alleen dan niet zelf, indien zij een vader of vadersvader heeft én indien zij nog nooit gehuwd is geweest. Silarianggevallen, en dus ook dit geval, worden gelijk gesteld met de huwelijksvoltrekking van een tevoren reeds gehuwde vrouw.

Nadat vrouw Djawi haar vingerafdruk heeft gezet, ondertekenen de getuigen en de Imang. Daarna heeft de nikka' plaats. Rappung zit op een matje met het gezicht naar het westen; schuin links voor hem, met haar rug naar hem toegekeerd, zit vrouw Djawi; tegenover hem de Imang; schuin rechts achter hem zitten de getuigen en dicht naast hen een van zijn met hem meegekomen mannelijke familieleden. De Imang geeft thans het wierookvat door, zodat het een kleine kring om Rappung heen beschrijft (nipaliliki): driemaal tegen de wijzers van het uurwerk in en eenmaal daarmee mee. Na iedere kring, als de Imang het wierookvat weer in handen heeft, waait hij Rappung de wierookwalm toe (nikapeki) met de woorden: „Weest gelukkig" (lett.: open je ziel).

De Imang vat nu met zijn rechterhand de rechterduim van Rappung en spreidt een witte zakdoek over hun beide handen heen. Vervolgens vraagt hij aan vrouw Djawi of zij Rappung wil

trouwen; zij geeft geen antwoord; met aandrang wordt de vraag herhaald; haar „ja" is nauwelijks hoorbaar. De Imang richt zich daarop tot de getuigen: „Gehoord?" Een instemmend gemompel van alle aanwezigen volgt. Dan vraagt hij Rappung, hoeveel de sunrang bedraagt; deze antwoordt „20 realen". Vervolgens zegt de Imang de bewoordingen van het aanbod (idjab) op. „Kunikkako, Rappung, kupasikalabiniko iDjawi, ana'na iSaibu; nusunrang 20 reala'" (ik trouw je Rappung, ik verbind je in de echt met Djawi, de dochter van Saibu; je geeft een sunrang van 20 realen). Rappung antwoordt, nadat hem dat eerst is voorgezegd, dat hij dit aanbod aanneemt (kabul). „Kutarimai pakkalabinianna iDjawi; kusunrang 20 reala'" (ik aanvaard met Djawi in de echt verbonden te worden; ik geef een sunrang van 20 realen). Daarop laat de Imang Rappung's hand los.

„Het is al de tweede keer, dat hij huwt, daarom is hij zo knap" (d.w.z. daarom kan hij de formule direct zonder fouten nazeggen) wordt opgemerkt. De Imang prevelt vervolgens de geloofsformule (doangang nikka') waarbij hij de beide handen met de handpalmen naar boven gekeerd voor zich houdt; de aanwezige mannen doen als hij. Dit duurt slechts een ogenblik en daarmee is het formele gedeelte afgelopen.

Rappung geeft de aanwezigen handen (a'djama taëng) in volgorde van rang en stand; eerst de Imang, die hem aanspoort naar zijn vrouw te gaan, die geheel onbewegelijk blijft zitten; hij raakt even haar hand aan; vervolgens de beide getuigen, de oudste het eerst, dan de jongere broer van de Imang, en tenslotte zijn beide meegekomen familieleden.

De Imang opent de ronde koperen doos (kampu), waarin de sunrang zich bevindt; daarin treft men aan: 2 kalomping (op bepaalde wijze gevouwen sirihbladen), 2 stukjes van de pinangnoot, wat korrels rijst, en *f* 4.25; hiervan is *f* 0.25 bestemd voor de Kali van Goa en *f* 0.25 voor ieder der getuigen; de rest is voor de Imang; tenslotte een kluitje aarde, representant van de als sunrang overgedragen sawah. Het geld wordt er uit genomen en verdeeld. Daarop vertrekt het paar en met hen hun begeleiders.

Twee driewielige bakfietsen (tallu roda) staan klaar; Rappung en zijn vrouw gaan op de voorste zitten. „Zij vinden het prettig dicht bij elkaar te zitten" (nangai siampika) wordt er vanaf de tweede tallu roda geroepen, maar Djawi keert hem haar rug toe

en toont door deze demonstratieve afkeer, te weten, hoe het een pas gehuwde vrouw betaamt.

De verzoening.

De verzoening kan omschreven worden als de plechtige komst van de beide tumannjala met familieleden en bekenden van de man, in het huis van de vader of één der broers van de vrouw; daar zijn voor die gelegenheid vele van haar familieleden bijeen; vrouw en man vragen vergeving aan al de aanwezigen en bieden de sunrang, de boete en koekjes aan.

Steeds is het kamponghoofd of een hogere functionaris hierbij aanwezig. Hij is degeen onder wiens autoriteit de verzoening tot stand komt; de siri' gevoelens, dienen in zijn aanwezigheid bedwongen te worden. Het is ook steeds een hogere, die de eerste pogingen doet om tot een verzoening te komen. Tegen zijn duidelijk uitgesproken verlangen in, kunnen de tumasiri', als zij daar geen speciale redenen voor hebben, zich niet verzetten. Van de tumasiri' kan echter niet anders worden verwacht dan dat zij beginnen met tegen te streven, omdat het mannelijk is, en dus geappreciëerd wordt om een onverzoenlijke houding aan te nemen en te doen alsof deze siri' alleen door de dood gezoend kan worden.

Er zijn echter grenzen gesteld aan de aandrang, die een hogere hierbij uit kan oefenen. Als de pressie te sterk is, wordt zijn wens door een aantal tumasiri' niet aanvaard; hoogstens voelt degeen, die tijdens de voorbereidende besprekingen met de hogere persoonlijk contact had, zich tegenover deze aan zijn woord gebonden; tussen de tumasiri' onderling ontstaan dan tegenstellingen en door „verkeerd begrijpen" mislukt de verzoeningsceremonie; de tumasiri'-tumannjala verhouding blijft dan bestaan. Dit was het geval toen een broer der gevluchte vrouw was gezwicht voor de aandrang van de gurukampong om in de verzoening toe te stemmen; op het vastgestelde uur bleek niemand van de andere familieleden in het huis, waar de tumannjala zouden komen, aanwezig te zijn. Tevoren ging reeds het gerucht dat moeilijkheden te verwachten waren; het Adatgemeenschapshoofd had daarom een vertegenwoordiger gezonden; nu het persoonlijk gezag van de gurukampong tekort schoot, moest een hogere dan deze aanwezig zijn om bloedvergieten te voorkomen.

De beide tumannjala werden door de vertegenwoordiger van het

hoofd, de gurukampong (de bemiddelaar) en genoemde broer der vrouw ontvangen. Voor de laatste was de situatie uiterst moeilijk; hij was aanwezig om niet onbeleefd te zijn tegenover de gurukampong, maar bij zijn familieleden gold hij als degeen, die onvoldoende besef getoond had van de schande, die hen was aangedaan. Hem werd bespaard, dat het paar hem vergeving vroeg en zijn hand vatte, want dan zou t.a.v. hem de tumasiri'-tumannjala verhouding zijn opgeheven, terwijl die t.a.v. zijn andere familieleden was blijven bestaan. Het resultaat was nu, dat na een kort samenzijn het paar, met de familieleden van de man die mee waren gekomen, met meename van sunrang, boete en koekjes, weer naar huis terugkeerde. Algemeen was men van mening dat de fout bij de gurukampong lag, die te sterke aandrang had uitgeoefend.

De argumenten, die men hoort aanvoeren om de vrouwsfamilie ertoe te brengen om in een verzoening toe te stemmen zijn, dat de vrouw zo naar haar moeder verlangt; dat mensen die familie van elkaar zijn te zamen horen; dat de fout van de man gering is. In het geval dat de vrouw naar een man toevlucht en in nog sterker mate indien zij in zwangere toestand met een buitenstaander huwt, blijkt de verzoening reeds spoedig, d.w.z. al binnen enkele maanden tot stand te kunnen komen.

Daartegenover hebben de tumasiri' vaak redenen om een verzoening te weigeren, die door de hogere van zijn kant ook begrepen en aanvaard worden. Toen een man tijdens zijn vlucht neergestoken was, en de vrouw kort daarna met een buitenstaander huwde, stuitte een poging tot verzoening af op het argument, dat gewacht moest worden tot haar broer, die nu door haar fout, wegens doodslag in de gevangenis zat, terug was gekomen.

In het geval dat een man met een nichtje (kamanakang) van zijn vrouw, dat als jong meisje bij hem in huis woonde, wegvluchtte, kon geen verzoening tot stand gebracht worden. Het feit, dat hij met een huisgenote gevlucht was, was voor de familieleden een reden om zich extra siri' te gevoelen. Zijn fout werd in dit geval zeer groot geacht.

Na de vlucht van een man met de zuster van zijn vrouw, welke laatste dus eerst de talak moet krijgen, omdat een man volgens de moslimse wet niet met twee zusters tegelijk gehuwd mag zijn, werd de verzoening geweigerd, omdat de eerste vrouw nog „onge-

lukkig" was; pas als zij hertrouwd zou zijn, zou, zo meende men, de verzoening tot stand kunnen komen.

Na een vlucht van een man met een hogere vrouw is het practisch onmogelijk een verzoening tot stand te brengen.[1]) In al deze gevallen meende men dus, dat er reden was voor de vrouwsfamilie om zich meer dan gewoon siri' te gevoelen, en dit heeft tot gevolg dat de verzoening ook langer dan anders op zich laat wachten.

De tumasiri', die in deze verzoeningskwesties een beslissing nemen, die door alle familieleden gevolgd wordt, zijn de naaste mannelijke familieleden, meer speciaal de vader en de (oudste) broer van de vrouw. Bij een conflict tussen deze beiden verklaarde in een bepaald geval de vader dat hij de kwestie verder ter regeling aan zijn zoon overliet; hiermee hield hij uiterlijk dus vast aan zijn positie van leider in het gezin, aan wie de zonen moeten gehoorzamen, maar in werkelijkheid was het zijn zoon die zijn wensen doorzette. De invloed van de moeder der vrouw en haar zusjes is in deze siri'kwesties gering; van hen wordt verwacht dat zij zich hiermee niet bemoeien. Siri'kwesties raken leven en dood; het zijn mannenkwesties. Een oudere vrouw kan wel eens vertrouwelijk tegen een der oudere mannen de opmerking maken dat er nu wel tijd genoeg verstreken is sinds de vlucht, maar er is geen reden om aan te nemen dat daar rekening mee gehouden wordt. In deze zaken verlenen vrouwen slechts medewerking op ondergeschikte punten als daar zijn, het vullen van de kampu, het bakken der koekjes en het voorbereiden van het feestmaal.

Men vertelt, dat er na verzoening heel precies opgelet wordt, dat alle familieleden der vrouw, alle tumasiri' dus, enkele der door het paar meegebrachte koekjes krijgen, want wie van die koekjes heeft meegegeten, kan later nooit zeggen, dat hij het met de verzoening niet eens was, en dat houdt in, dat hij bij een latere ontmoeting met de tumannjala geen poging tot steken meer zal doen. Het aannemen der koekjes is dus het uiterlijk teken dat men met de verzoening accoord gaat.

De grenzen der familiegroep — het werd in het eerste hoofdstuk uitvoerig aangetoond — zijn echter vaag; het is dus niet mogelijk precies aan te geven wie er allemaal wel koekjes moeten krij-

[1]) Een uitzonderlijk geval werd op p. 95 vermeld.

gen. Hoogstens, let men er dus op, dat deze aan de huizen der vooraanstaande familieleden en speciaal aan die van leidende mannen aangeboden worden. Maar degeen die zich niet bij de verzoening neer wenst te leggen, kan de koekjes gemakkelijk ontwijken. De koekjes-distributie is een uiterlijke vorm, die voor de werkelijke verhoudingen weinig betekenis heeft. Het blijkt ook niet, dat hij vroeger meer betekenis had, en dat men hier dus te doen zou hebben met een z.g. „afslijtende adat".

Het zelfde geldt voor de mededeling, dat een achtervolgde tumannjala die zijn muts binnen de omheining van het erf van een kamponghoofd of andere functionaris werpt, veilig is voor een steek van de hem achtervolgende tumasiri'. Men vertelt dit gebruik gaarne en voegt er aan toe, dat dit vroeger zo was en dat het zo eigenlijk ook behoort te zijn; recente voorbeelden kent men echter niet. Het blijft hierbij steeds de vraag of, en zo ja in hoeverre, de achtervolger zich ook vroeger hieraan gehouden heeft.

Muts- en koekjesadats zijn voorbeelden van vormen die ontstaan, waar sterke gevoelens om vormgeving vragen; zij zijn voor de feitelijke gang van zaken van weinig belang.

Voor een weggevluchte vrouw die alleen achterblijft, doordat bijv. haar man overlijdt, is het niet mogelijk om op de bovenbeschreven wijze een verzoening met haar familieleden tot stand te brengen. Eén andere weg staat haar dan nog open. Zij kan zich a.h.w. op genade of ongenade aan haar familie overleveren. Zo kwam een vrouw onverwachts huilend het huis van haar ouders binnen, dat zij omstreeks 6 jaar geleden ontvlucht was. „Doodt mij als U wilt, hier ben ik", waren haar woorden. Als reden van haar terugkomst gaf zij op, dat zij zo zeer naar haar moeder verlangde. Haar komst wekte grote beroering; men aanvaardde echter de aldus ontstane toestand en beschouwde haar dus verder niet als tumannjala. Deze gevallen blijven echter een zeldzaamheid.

Ook gehuwde vrouwen nemen, zij het bij hoge uitzondering, tot deze methode hun toevlucht als op de gebruikelijke manier geen verzoening mogelijk blijkt. Zo bijv. een vrouw wier man een tweede echtgenote had genomen en die nu van hem onvoldoende levensonderhoud kreeg; zo bijv. ook een kinderloze vrouw. De handeling wordt als een wanhoopsdaad beschouwd; de vrouw loopt hierbij de kans gedood te worden, want zij levert zich hiermede aan haar broers over, die haar zouden neersteken, althans een

poging hiertoe zouden moeten doen, bij een toevallige ontmoeting in het openbaar. Haar wanhoopsdaad heeft echter tot gevolg, dat deze zich niet meer tot steken voelen gedrongen; degene die hen siri' maakte, toont zich thans hun mindere.

De doodverklaring.

Er is ook voor de tumasiri' een manier om te ontkomen aan de dwang om zich als tumasiri' te gedragen. Dat is de „doodverklaring". „Ik heb geen kind meer, noch op deze wereld, noch in het hiernamaals" [1]) zijn de gebruikelijke woorden. Men zegt ook wel dat dit kind door degeen die deze woorden sprak is „doodverklaard"; [2]) dat hij het verstoten heeft; [3]) dat het niet meer door hem als kind erkend wordt. [4]) Deze doodverklaring heeft soms plaats in de missigit, in aanwezigheid van de Imang en andere vooraanstaande mannen der adatgemeenschap; dit zet die woorden slechts meer kracht bij. De verklaring kan ook thuis zonder opzettelijke getuigen worden afgelegd.

Het uitspreken der woorden kan in het eerste geval gepaard gaan met enig ritueel in de vorm van het aanbieden van pisang; de godsdienstbeambte reciteert daarbij de beginwoorden van de Kor'an; men zegt dat hierdoor de Profeet mede als getuige van het uitspreken der doodverklaring beschouwd wordt. [5]) Moderne Islamieten wijzen dit ritueel af; zij spreken spottend van „het belezen van pisang" (amattja unti).

Het gevolg van deze doodverklaring, die meer in de Islamitische dan in de voorouderlijke sfeer ligt, is niet dat een kind hierdoor geacht wordt onterfd te zijn; de godsdienstige rechter (sjarat) hield bij de regeling van een boedelkwestie van een man, die zijn dochter doodverklaard had, daarmee geen rekening.

In de praktijk schijnt thans voornamelijk de vader der gevluchte vrouw van de doodverklaring gebruik te maken; haar broers niet; deze achten zich ook niet aan de verklaring van hun vader gebonden; zij beschouwen zich vrij, zowel bij hun pogingen haar te doden, als bij het geven van hun instemming tot de verzoening.

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1) Tenamo anakku rilino nariahereka.
2) Nimateangi.
3) Natallaki ana'na.
4) Nisassali rimanggena.
5) Nipappisa'biangi rina'bia.

Herhaaldelijk vindt stilzwijgend herroeping plaats, doordat de vader later eveneens zijn toestemming tot de verzoening geeft. Maar het kwam ook voor, dat een verzoening tot stand kwam met alle tumasiri', behalve met de ouders der vrouw. In weer een ander geval gingen de broers en neven der vrouw stilzwijgend met de door haar vader uitgesproken verklaring accoord. Zij was n.l. naar een lagere man toegevlucht en daarom konden de tumasiri', naar hun zeggen, niet optreden zoals anders na silariang gebruikelijk is.

Veelal weet men een speciale reden voor de aflegging der doodverklaring aan te geven. Het feit dat een man vóór de verzoening geregeld brutaal het huis van de vader zijner vrouw voorbij liep, terwijl hij zich als zodanig juist zoveel mogelijk buiten de gezichtskring van zijn tumasari' had moeten houden, was voor dezen reden zich extra siri' te gevoelen. Een andere man wiens dochter bij een ver familielid op de pasar van Borongloë was gaan wonen en daar verschillende mannen bij zich ontving, zag hierin reden om haar te verloochenen.

De doodverklaring schijnt een nieuw instituut. Het ontheft de tumasiri' van hun plicht tot steken. Het bemoeilijkt daarentegen de tot standkoming van de verzoening. Het feit, dat men de bestaande banden volledig verbroken acht, verkleint zowel de kans op steken, als op verzoening.

Indien de siri'gevoelens, die in vrouwenkwesties slechts met de dood gezoend kunnen worden, in de toekomst meer dan tot nu toe met een doodverklaring bevredigd zouden kunnen worden, dan ligt hier voor de vele mannen, die thans reeds inzien dat de eer hunner verwantengroep met een gevangenisstraf van gemiddeld acht jaren te duur betaald is, een mogelijkheid om hun conflict op een minder schadelijke manier tot oplossing te brengen.

SAMENVATTING.

In de Makassaarse cultuur zijn vier verschillende groeperingsvormen te onderkennen, ieder met een eigen functie.

M.b.t. het gezin kan als zodanig de sexuele en paedagogische functie worden genoemd. Het huishouden heeft een economische functie; het voorziet in de dagelijkse levensbehoeften van zijn leden, die liggen op het terrein van voedselvoorziening en onderdak. De verwantengroep heeft een politieke functie; zij is draagster van de idee van machtsvorming. De vereringsgemeenschap tenslotte heeft een religieuse functie; de gemeenschappen met een ornament blijken daarbij sterker geïntegreerd dan die zonder.

Het gezin vertoont de tendentie tot samenwoning in één huis; deze wordt steeds doorbroken door een tendentie tot afsplitsing. De laatste brengt een grote mobiliteit binnen de verwantengroep met zich mede. De afsplitsingstendentie schijnt, evenals het adjallo' verschijnsel, een vorm van maladjustment te zijn.

De territoriale eenheid, de kampong, diende als uitgangspunt van het onderzoek.

Op één territoor werden een sterk geïntegreerde, een zwak geïntegreerde en een niet geïntegreerde verwantengroep aangetroffen. De leden der eerste groep bleken het hoogst in aanzien te staan, het talrijkst en het rijkst te zijn. Uit hun midden kwamen de dorpsfunctionarissen voort.

De leden der tweede groep bleken lager in aanzien te staan, minder talrijk en minder rijk te zijn dan de eerste; onder hen bevond zich slechts een enkele functionaris, een gurukampong, die daarbij om naar buiten op te kunnen treden, de hulp van een functionaris der eerste groep nodig had.

De leden der derde groep stonden als geheel lager in aanzien dan die der tweede. Hun aantal was echter groter dan — en hun rijkdom ongeveer gelijk aan — die der tweede groep. Onder hen bevond zich slechts een enkele dorpsfunctionaris, die daartoe op grond van zijn persoonlijke eigenschappen was gekozen. Het geringe aanzien van de leden dezer groep is het gevolg van de afwezigheid van integratie, waardoor deze groep als groep niet in staat is deel te nemen aan het streven naar machtsvorming.

Het streven naar machtsvorming ener verwantengroep richt zich op het vullen van één territoor onder een eigen hoofd. Het grootst denkbare territoor is idealiter de wereld, in de practijk van heden maximum Zuid-Celebes.

Iedere verwantengroep, ook de kleinst denkbare: een apart wonend gezin, heeft de mogelijkheid om via aantrekking van verwanten en helpers en via het sluiten van huwelijken, zijn ledental uit te breiden en een sterke machtspositie in te nemen.

Ieder individu heeft, mits hij de daartoe vereiste eigenschappen bezit, de mogelijkheid om als hoofd van een machtige verwantengroep het hoogst denkbare aanzien te verwerven. In de practijk wordt deze mogelijkheid echter zelden en dan nog slechts gedeeltelijk gerealiseerd.

Het streven naar hoger der individuen wordt belemmerd door de idee, dat afstamming iemands eigenschappen bepaalt, zodat een lid van een hoge groep geacht wordt, althans in potentie, de verlangde eigenschappen in hoge graad te bezitten, en een lid van een lagere groep in mindere mate.

De verticale tendentie komt in de verhouding der verwantengroepen tot uiting in de oppositievoering; iedere groep poogt enerzijds om een hogere te overheersen en anderzijds om de als lager beschouwden aan zich ondergeschikt te houden. Ieder individu, dat de daartoe vereiste eigenschappen toont te hebben, kan daarbij de leiding nemen.

In de hoogste groepen is de verticale tendentie het zwakst en de integratie het sterkst aanwijsbaar. In de groepen die het laagst in aanzien staan, in de Restgroepen dus, is de verticale tendentie sterk en de integratie niet of allerzwakst aanwezig. In de verwantengroepen als die van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd, van de Kapala en van Mangenre, wordt het streven naar integratie steeds opnieuw doorbroken door het oppositiestreven. Onder de vooraanstaande leden is de verticale tendentie en daarmee de desintegratie der groep het best waarneembaar.

In een verwantengroep waar een ornament aanwezig is, is de integratie steeds duidelijker aanwijsbaar, dan waar dit ontbreekt. Verwantengroepen zonder ornament blijken niet in staat om een machtsfactor van betekenis te vormen. Stabiliteit vindt men echter slechts daar, waar de verticale geleding gefixeerd is. De aan de

verwantengroepen inhaerente verticale tendentie heeft steeds opnieuw desintegratie dezer groepen ten gevolge.

Zuid-Celebes is een land met een, in verhouding tot zijn bevolkingsaantal, groot areaal geschikt voor natte rijstbouw. Indien de rijstoogst mislukt is mais aanwezig ter vervanging. Angst voor een dreigend voedseltekort schijnt bij de Makassaren en Buginezen niet aanwijsbaar.

Voor de kleine kinderen wordt door hun moeders en vrouwelijke huisgenoten goed en langdurig gezorgd. De angst hierbij tekort te komen schijnt evenmin aanwezig te zijn.

Een der eerste dingen die een jong individu leert, is dat het in zijn bewegingen beperkt wordt en dat het stil moet zijn, als een man, ook als zijn vader, in huis aanwezig is. Bij de komst van een mannelijke gast trekken de vrouwen en kinderen zich uit het voorvertrek terug en worden de kinderen verboden, als zij lawaai maken. Dit gebeurt in sterke mate als een hogere in huis komt. Hier liggen de eerste frustaties der kinderen. [1])

Er is bij de mannen van tussen de 15 en de 35 jaar constant een streven aanwijsbaar om een ander te overtroeven.

Iedere generatiegenoot van gelijke of bijna gelijke afstamming is voor hen een potentiële tegenstander in hun streven naar hoger. Er is echter een dubbele rem gesteld op de verwerkelijking van dit streven.

In de eerste plaats zijn de omgangsvormen tegenover medegezinsleden, tegenover een hogere en tegenover een oudere, zeer geformaliseerd. Als de hierbij aangelegde remmen wegvallen, komt een sterke agressie tot uiting. Mannen die op een feest drinken, mijden de daar tevens aanwezige hogeren; toen het jonge Adatgemeenschapshoofd op een avond dronken bij mij thuis kwam, sprak hij op boze toon over niets anders dan over de tekortkomingen van zijn vader en over de belemmeringen die deze hem steeds in de weg legde.

De stroeve verhouding tot de oudere mannelijke huisgenoten brengt met zich mede, dat de jonge mannen bij voorkeur buitenshuis rondzwerven.

In de tweede plaats zijn beperkingen aanwijsbaar m.b.t. de

[1]) Voor de hier gevolgde gedachtengang, zie A. Kardiner: The individual and his society. 4e druk, New York 1947, p. 21 e.v.

instituten waarbij het streven naar overtroeving tot uiting komt. Pochen op de luister van een feest in iemands verwantengroep is vanzelfsprekend, maar een man mag zich niet beroemen op zijn bezittingen, zijn sawahs, vee en sieraden; daarover dient hij bescheiden te zwijgen. Diefstal van vee is een frequent verschijnsel; het is een vorm van overtroeving; maar diefstal van andere goederen komt practisch niet voor; het wordt indien al, als een verachtelijke daad beschouwd.

Iedere overtroeving, groot of klein, verbeeld of werkelijk, heeft tengevolge dat de ander zich in zijn sociaal aanzien aangetast voelt. Men zegt dan van hem, dat hij zich siri' gevoelt en verwacht van hem, dat hij reageert door zijn overtroever op zijn beurt te overtroeven. Een lichte overtroeving wordt licht en een zware zwaar gerevancheerd.

Boven bleek reeds, dat de verwantengroep een vaag begrensde groep was en dat het aanzien der verwanten onderling onzeker was; een vaste verticale geleding was — op één uitzondering na: de karaëngs en het volk — niet aanwijsbaar. Het enige vaste punt bleek de positie van de vrouw te zijn, die gefixeerd is aan de sunrang. Een aantasting van een na vrouwelijk familielid treft een Makassaar in een der zeer weinige instituten, die hem een gevoel van stabiliteit verschaffen. Een normale beantwoording blijkt in zo'n geval niet mogelijk. Zelfmoord komt niet voor. Men meent, dat er geen andere oplossing voor dit conflict is, dan dat een man degeen, die hem in dit sociaal voor hem belangrijke punt trof, doodt. Men spreekt in zo'n geval eveneens van adjallo'. Dit doden is verder aan velerlei vormen gebonden; er zijn eveneens vele mogelijkheden om er aan te ontkomen. Het vluchthuwelijkcomplex levert hiervan de voorbeelden.

Man en vrouw beschouwt men, wat betreft de eigenschappen die zij behoren te bezitten, als elkaars complement; zij vormen a.h.w. te zamen pas een geheel.

Men meent dat, als een (ongehuwde) man en vrouw zonder derden samen zijn, het niet anders kan of er bestaat tussen hen verboden contact. Men meent dat het boze initiatief van de man uitgaat, en men verwijt een vrouw die in een contact-situatie geraakte slechts, dat zij niet voorzichtig genoeg was.

In werkelijkheid blijken echter mannen zowel als vrouwen vaak andere eigenschappen te bezitten dan degene, die hun op grond van hun sexe toegeschreven worden.

Onder de mannen, die de hun als norm gestelde eigenschappen in geringe mate bezitten, vindt men de „kawe[2]", de ongehuwden, de gehuwden die geen sexuele gemeenschap met hun vrouw hebben en eventueel de koropatienten. Het is mij niet mogelijk de grens aan te geven tussen een tekort aan door de cultuur verlangde eigenschappen en een vermeend tekort.

Onder de vrouwen, die de haar toegeschreven eigenschappen in geringe mate bezitten vindt men de prostituées, maar ook de vroedvrouwen en bruidsmoeders en degenen die voorouderritueel verrichten, die allen hun aanzien danken aan hun werk, dat dient tot verhoging van het aanzien der gemeenschap. Daaronder bevinden zich ook de Vorstinnen, die in deze landen vaak een dominerende rol speelden. Van het dociele dat in vrouwen verwacht wordt is bij haar in deze positie niets meer te bemerken.

KESIMPULAN.

Adapun pada kebudajaan Makasar itu terdapat empat matjam bentuk golongan, masing² dengan tugasnja sendiri².

Jang berhubung dengan kekeluargaan, dapatlah disebut tugas jang mengenai kelamin dan pendidikan. Penjelenggaraan rumah-tangga mempunjai tugas perekonomian; urusan itu mengenai persediaan sehari-hari bagi keperluan hidup anggota-anggotanja, jaitu hal² tentang persediaan makanan dan tentang penjelenggaraan perumahan mereka. Golongan-kerabat mempunjai tugas jang bersifat politik; golongan itulah jang mengandung paham pembentukan kekuasaan. Golongan-pemudjaan achirnja pula mempunjai tugas agama; dalam pada itu golongan² jang mempunjai ornament (upatjara) ternjata lebih keras kekokohannja daripada golongan² jang tidak mempunjai ornament (upatjara) itu.

Keluarga mereka memperlihatkan suatu ketjenderungan hati kearah keinginan untuk diam bersama-sama dalam satu rumah; ketjenderungan itu senantiasa dipatahkan oleh keinginan untuk berpisah-pisah. Keinginan jang achir ini menimbulkan gaja gerak jang keras dalam golongan-kerabat itu. Keinginan untuk berpisah-pisah itu rupanja adalah suatu bentuk dari pada maladjustment, seperti djuga adat adjallo' itu, jaitu melakukan serangan didalam keadaan amat murka terhadap lawan.

Daerah-kesatuan, jaitu kampung itulah jang didjadikan pangkal penjelidikan.

Dalam satu daerah didapatkan satu golongan-kerabat jang keras kekokohannja, satu jang lemah kekokohannja dan satu jang tidak mempunjai kekokohan. Anggota² golongan jang pertama itulah rupanja jang amat terpandang, mereka jang terlebih banjak djumlahnja dan jang terlebih kaja keadaannja. Dari golongan mereka itulah diambil pendjabat² pangkat dalam desa itu.

Anggota² golongan kedua rupanja tidak begitu terpandang; djumlah mereka tidak begitu banjak dan keadaan mereka tidak begitu kaja seperti keadaan golongan jang pertama itu; diantara mereka terdapat hanja seorang sadja pendjabat pangkat, jaitu seorang guru-kampung, jang lagi pula harus dibantu oleh seorang

pendjabat pangkat dari golongan jang pertama itu untuk dapat bertindak keluar kalangannja.

Anggota² golongan jang ketiga itu dipandang djauh lebih rendah tingkatnja daripada golongan jang kedua. Tetapi djumlah mereka lebih besar — dan harta mereka kira² sama banjaknja dengan harta golongan jang kedua itu. Diantara mereka itu terdapat hanja seorang sadja pendjabat pangkat, dan orang itu terpilih hanja karena sifat² pribadinja sendiri. Sebabnja anggota² golongan ini kurang dipandang ialah karena tidak mempunjai kekokohan, sehingga golongan ini sebagai golongan tidak sanggup turut berusaha membentuk kekuasaan.

Usaha membentuk kekuasaan oleh sesuatu golongan-kerabat itu ditudjukan kearah usaha mengisi sesuatu daerah dibawah pimpinan seorang kepala sendiri. Daerah terbesar dalam angan² mereka itu ialah dunia ini seluruhnja, dalam kenjataan sekarang ini ialah Sulawesi Selatan dalam ukurannja jang seluas-luasnja.

Tiap² golongan-kerabat itu, djuga golongan jang seketjil-ketjilnja jang dapat kita pikirkan, mempunjai kemungkinan untuk menambah djumlah anggota-anggotanja dengan djalan menarik ahli² kerabat dan pembantu² kedalam golongan itu serta dengan djalan perkawinan² dan untuk mengambil kedudukan jang penting kekuasaannja.

Tiap² orang, asal sadja ia mempunjai sifat² jang diperlukan untuk itu, ada mempunjai kemungkinan untuk mendapat pandangan jang setinggi-tingginja sebagai kepala sesuatu golongan-kerabat jang berkuasa. Tetapi dalam prakteknja kemungkinan ini djarang sekali dan hanja buat sebahagian sadja terlaksanakan.

Usaha masing² orang untuk meningkat kearah jang lebih tinggi itu dialangi oleh paham, bahwa sifat² seseorang itu telah ditentukan oleh asal turunannja, sehingga terdapat anggapan, bahwa seorang dari golongan jang tinggi itu, sedikit-dikitnja dalam potensinja, amat banjak mempunjai sifat² jang diinginkan itu, dan seorang anggota dari golongan jang lebih rendah kurang pula mempunjai sifat² demikian.

Tudjuan meningkat naik itu terlihat dalam perhubungan golongan² kerabat itu sebagai perbuatan opposisi; tiap² golongan itu pada satu pihak mentjoba menguasai golongan jang lebih tinggi dan pada lain pihak menahan golongan jang dianggapnja lebih rendah daripadanja supaja tetap tinggal dibawahnja.

Tiap² orang jang membuktikan bahwa ia ada mempunjai sifat² jang dikehendaki itu, dapat mengambil pimpinan dalam usaha itu.

Dalam golongan² jang tertinggi, tudjuan meningkat naik ini amat kurang dan integrasi amat keras. Dalam golongan² jang dipandang amat rendah sekali, djadi dalam Golongan Lebihan itu (Restgroep), tudjuan hendak meningkat naik itu keras adanja dan integrasi tidak ada atau amat kurang. Dalam golongan² kerabat, sebagai dalam golongan kepala Adatgemeenschap, jaitu golongan Kapala dan golongan Mangenre, usaha integrasi senantiasa dipatahkan oleh gerakan oposisi. Antara anggota-anggotanja jang terkemuka usaha meningkat naik itu, dan, bersamaan dengan hal itu, desintegrasi golongan itu terlihat amat djelas sekali.

Dalam golongan-kerabat jang mempunjai ornament (upatjara) itu, integrasi senantiasa tampak dengan lebih djelas daripada dalam golongan jang tidak mempunjai ornament. Golongan²-kerabat jang tidak mempunjai upatjara ternjata tidak sanggup mendjadi faktor kekuasaan jang berarti. Tetapi kemantapan hanja terdapat dimana-mana pembagian bertingkat-tingkat itu telah tetap adanja. Gedjala oposisi jang mendjadi sifat mutlak pada golongan² kerabat itu senantiasa membawa lagi sifat desintegrasi bagi golongan² itu.

Menurut perbandingan dengan djumlah penduduknja maka adalah Sulawesi-Selatan itu suatu negeri jang mempunjai daerah luas jang baik untuk didjadikan sawah. Bilamana panen padi gagal, ada djagung akan penggantinja. Kechawatiran tentang akan kekurangan makanan rupanja tak ada pada orang Makasar dan orang Bugis itu.

Kanak² mereka dipelihara oleh ibu² dan keluarga perempuan setjara baik dan dalam waktu jang lama. Djuga dalam hal ini tak ada kechawatiran tentang akan kekurangan.

Salah suatu dari hal² jang harus dipeladjari oleh seorang jang masih muda ialah bahwa gerak-geriknja terbatas dan bahwa ia harus diam djika ada seorang laki² didalam rumah, djuga bilamana laki² itu bapanja sendiri. Djika datang seorang tamu laki², semua kaum perempuan serta kanak² meninggalkan ruang muka dan kanak² itu dilarang membuat riuh. Hal demikian itu lebih² lagi diingat bilamana tamu itu seorang jang berpangkat. Disinilah kanak² itu mulai beladjar menahan diri.

Antara kaum laki² dari umur 15 sampai 35 tahun terdapat suatu usaha tetap untuk berlaku melebihi jang lain.

Tiap² seorang laki² jang sama atau jang hampir sama bangsanja dengan salah seorang jang sebaja dengan dia ialah seorang jang mungkin mendjadi lawannja dalam usahanja untuk meningkat naik. Tetapi ada buah penahan jang menghambatnja dalam melaksanakan usaha itu.

Pertama sekali, adat pergaulan mereka terhadap sesama anggota keluarga, terhadap jang lebih tinggi dan terhadap jang lebih tua, amat teratur. Bilamana penahan² itu terlepas, timbullah agressi jang hebat. Orang laki² jang meminum minuman keras pada sesuatu peralatan, mendjauhi orang² besar jang hadir disitu; tatkala pada suatu malam seorang kepala kaum adat jang masih muda umurnja dalam keadaan mabuk datang kerumah saja, dengan marah² ia hanja mengatakan kesalahan² bapanja dan menjebut-njebut alangan jang selalu diadakan bapanja itu terhadap dirinja.

Perhubungan jang kaku terhadap keluarga laki² jang lebih tua mengakibatkan bahwa kaum laki² jang muda lebih suka tinggal diluar rumah sadja.

Dalam hal jang kedua terlihat alangan² berhubungan dengan kebiasaan hendak melebihi orang lain. Membanggakan hal berseri-serinja sesuatu peralatan jang telah diadakan dalam golongan-kerabat sendiri adalah suatu hal jang sewadjarnja, tetapi seorang laki² tidak boleh membanggakan hartanja, sawah²nja, ternak dan perhiasan²nja; tentang hal itu haruslah ia diam dengan sopannja. Pentjurian ternak banjak sekali terdjadi; hal itu ialah suatu bentuk dari pada perbuatan untuk melebihi orang lain; tetapi mentjuri barang² lain boleh dikatakan djarang dilalukan; djika ada djuga hal demikian itu terdjadi maka amatlah hinanja perbuatan itu dalam pandangan mereka.

Tiap² perbuatan untuk melebihi orang lain, baik setjara besar atau setjara ketjil, baik dengan angan² atau dengan sesungguhnja, mengakibatkan bahwa jang menderita perbuatan itu merasa harga dirinja dalam masjarakat itu terganggu. Tentang orang itu dikatakan bahwa ia merasa dirinja siri' dan bahwa ia akan membalas dendamnja dengan djalan melebihi pula lawannja itu.

Diatas telah ternjata bahwa golongan-kerabat itu adalah suatu golongan jang kabur batas-batasnja dan bahwa kemuliaan ahli kerabat itu masing²nja tidak tetap; suatu pembagian tingkat jang

tetap dari atas kebawah tidak dapat ditundjukkan — ketjuali dalam satu hal: para karaëng dan rakjat.

Satu-satunja hal jang tetap ialah kedudukan perempuan jang a.l. ditentukan dengan sunrang (mas-kawin). Serangan terhadap seorang keluarga perempuan ialah suatu hal jang dirasakan oleh orang Makasar itu sebagai suatu pelanggaran terhadap satu antara lembaga²nja jang memberinja perasaan tenteram tetapi jang amat sedikit djumlahnja. Suatu pembalasan jang biasa sadja dalam hal demikian rupanja tidak mungkin. Membunuh diri sendiri tidak terdapat antara mereka. Menurut anggapan mereka tak dapat hal demikian itu diselesaikan selain dari pada dengan djalan bahwa seorang laki² harus membunuh orang jang telah melanggar hal jang amat penting artinja bagi mereka itu. Dalam hal itu disebut djuga adjallo'. Membunuh itu selandjutnja terikat pula pada berbagai-bagai adat; banjak pula kemungkinan untuk menghindarinja. Adat kawin-lari itu misalnja adalah satu antara tjontoh² tentang hal itu.

Laki² dan perempuan itu, dalam sifat² jang harus mereka punjai, dipandang sebagai pelengkap jang satu dengan jang lainnja; rupanja bilamana mereka itu berhimpun, barulah mereka dipandang sebagai kesatuan jang lengkap.

Menurut anggapan mereka, djika seorang laki² jang tidak beristeri terdapat dengan seorang perempuan, sedang orang ketiga tidak ada antara mereka itu, tak mungkin lagi lain artinja bahwa antara mereka itu ada hubungan terlarang. Ichtiar jang djahat dikatakan datangnja dari pihak laki²; perempuan jang terdapat dalam perhubungan demikian itu hanja disesali karena tidak dengan setjukupnja berlaku hati².

Tetapi tidak semuanja laki² dan perempuan itu sama memenuhi sjarat² jang ditentukan bagi djenis mereka masing². Laki² jang tidak memenuhi sjarat² itu ialah orang² jang „homosexuil" dan dan jang tidak beristeri. Perempuan² jang tidak memenuhi sjarat² jang tertentu itu terdapat, selain daripada antara perempuan² djalang di-kota² besar, sebagai perempuan² jang mendjadi bidan, dukun (sanro), ibu-pengantin atau Ratu; didalam kedudukan demikian, dihargakanlah bahwa mereka mempunjai kegiatan dan daja upaja, jang biasanja ditjela djika terdapat pada seorang perempuan.

APPENDIX.

Cijfers uit registers getrokken vormen een welkome aanvulling van de gegevens, die anders niet, of slechts moeizaam via mondelinge inlichtingen, te krijgen geweest zouden zijn. Bij gebruikmaking van registermateriaal bestaat echter het gevaar dat er onvoldoende inzicht bestaat, in de mate van zijn betrouwbaarheid.

Gegevens, gebaseerd op registers maken steeds een exacte indruk; de verzamelaar is geneigd zelf in hun betrouwbaarheid te geloven. Deze betrouwbaarheid kan echter slechts worden beoordeeld bij kennis van de cultuur waarin die registers gebruikt worden. Een aantal „fouten" in de registers is direct te begrijpen als een gevolg van in die cultuur aanwezige ideeën. Zij maken dat bij vergelijking der cijfers met andere gebieden voorzichtigheid geboden is.

Hier zal thans m.b.t. een aantal registers worden nagegaan voor welke doeleinden daaruit getrokken cijfermateriaal zal kunnen worden benut en voor welke niet, zo mogelijk met opgave der redenen.

De volgende registers werden in de adatgemeenschap aangetroffen:

1. geboorteregisters.
2. overlijdensregisters.
3. huwelijksregisters.
4. echtscheidingsregisters.
5. landrenteregisters.
6. Indonesisch-notariaatsregisters.
7. registers van gerapporteerde misdrijven.
8. vonnissen van rechtbanken.
9. gemeentedienstregisters.
10. overnachtingsregisters.
11. registratieregisters.
12. schoolregisters.

Geboorteregisters.

De Imang van de adatgemeenschap houdt de geboorteregisters bij, volgens hem door de Kali van Goa gegeven voorschriften. In de kolommen vindt men achtereenvolgens de naam van de vader, en van de moeder van het kind; van de kampong, waar de geboorte plaats had; vermelding van het feit, of de geboorte 's nachts of overdag plaats had, de geboortedatum en het geslacht van het kind.

De aangifte geschiedt als het kind enige weken oud is. Als het kind vòòr de inschrijving overlijdt, heeft deze dus in het geheel niet plaats. Tijdens een verblijf van 6 weken maakte ik 2 van dergelijke gevallen mee. Deze registers kunnen dus geen betrouwbare cijfers m.b.t. de kindersterfte leveren.

Er is geen sanctie gesteld op niet-inschrijving. De reden dat men een pasgeboren kind niet direct wenst in te schrijven, is het geloof, dat dit ongeluk met zich zou kunnen brengen, omdat het als een uiting van overmoed of trots wordt opgevat. Het is dezelfde reden waarom een pas geboren kind in oude lappen gewikkeld wordt. Er is geen zekerheid dat het per jaar ingeschreven geboorten het juiste aantal is.

Een vrouw krijgt haar eerste kind bij voorkeur in het huis van haar ouders, vooral als zij daar zelf ook geboren is. Vele kinderen worden dus ingeschreven in een kampong waar hun ouders niet meer wonen, en waaruit het enige maanden na de geboorte al weer „verhuist".

Een kind krijgt bij de geboorte niet direct een naam, om dezelfde reden als waarom de geboorte niet direct wordt medegedeeld. Alle jongens worden met Baso of Batjo, alle meisjes met Basse of Batje aangeduid. In deze halve anonimiteit acht men het kind veilig. Pas jaren later krijgt het een eigen naam, die echter niet in het register wordt opgenomen. Een geboortebewijs wordt niet afgegeven.

Overlijdensregisters.

In de overlijdensregisters, die eveneens door de Imang voor de hele Adatgemeenschap (omstreeks 14.000 zielen) worden bijgehouden, vindt men in de achtereenvolgende kolommen vermeld: de naam van de overledene, zijn geslacht, zijn leeftijd; de kampong van overlijden, of het overlijden 's nachts dan wel overdag plaats had, de datum, de laatste ziekte en soms enkele opmerkingen over erfgenamen en nalatenschap.

Alleen bij de allerjongsten, werd ter bepaling van de leeftijd verwezen naar de geboorteregisters; voor de rest volstaat men met een schatting.

De opgegeven redenen van overlijden zijn uiteraard die van een leek; de Imang gaat af op klachten, die tijdens de laatste ziekte geuit waren; buikpijn, hoesten, soms: ouderdom, vindt men als zodanig vermeld.

Ook deze registers dienen dus met voorzichtigheid gehanteerd. Leeftijd, noch reden van overlijden, zijn als betrouwbaar te beschouwen.

Huwelijksregisters.

In de kolommen der huwelijksregisters vindt men achtereenvolgens: van de bruigom: zijn naam, de geschatte leeftijd, woonkampong; naam van zijn vader en van zijn moeder, hun woonplaats dan wel de mededeling, dat zij overleden zijn. Van de bruid idem. Vervolgens: de naam en de woonplaats van de wali en zijn familieverhouding tot de vrouw, dan wel de mededeling, dat de wali haking optrad; de datum van de huwelijkssluiting; de formule van de talak al takli' (Makassaars: djandji tala'); het bedrag van de bruidsprijs (sunrang); de mededeling dat de sunrang voldaan, dan wel geleend werd en welk bedrag in geld en welk in precies omschreven goederen voldaan werd; de duimtopafdruk van de bruid of van haar vader als die leeft; de naam van de huwelijkssluiter en van de getuigen en een kolom opmerkingen.

Vluchthuwelijken worden in Borongloë naast de gewone of feesthuwelijken geregistreerd. Dat wil dus zeggen, dat in het algemeen in Borongloë huwelijken van vluchtende paren van elders geregistreerd worden en dat huwelijken van uit Borongloë afkomstige vluchtende paren elders worden genoteerd. De neiging om naar Makassar te vluchten schijnt groter dan andersom; in Makassar hebben sommige Imangs speciale vluchthuwelijkenregisters. Na verloop van tijd keert men pas terug. Het totale aantal in Borongloë geregistreerde huwelijken is dus niet gelijk aan het aantal gehuwde paren.

De sunrang bedraagt bij een vluchthuwelijk steeds 20 reaal. Aangezien de sunrang overigens standmeter is, is het aantal huwelijken van 20 reaal op zichzelf niet kenmerkend voor de standsverhoudingen.

De leeftijd der huwenden moet met voorzichtigheid gehanteerd worden zoals ook bij de behandeling van het kinderhuwelijk reeds opgemerkt werd.

Echtscheidingsregisters.

De echtscheidingsregisters worden door de Kali van Goa bijgehouden voor een deel van het Landschap Goa dat meerdere adat-

gemeenschappen omvat. Dit is een administratieve kwestie, die locaal verschillend geregeld is. In de Japanse tijd toen reizen onveilig geacht werd, heeft ook de Imang van Borongloë tijdelijk de bevoegdheid gehad de echtscheidingen te registreren.

Van deze vier soorten personenregisters was het onderhoud slecht. Registers van weinige jaren terug, verkeerden in een zo deplorabele staat, dat zij niet meer met vrucht te raadplegen waren. Vóór deze registers tot een Burgelijke Stand uit kunnen groeien zullen eerst vele verbeteringen aangebracht moeten worden.

Landrenteregisters.

In de landrenteregisters vindt men van ieder stuk grond, waarvan de grenzen heel precies zijn aangegeven, de naam van degeen, die er de belasting voor betaalt. Dat kan de indonesisch bezitter zijn, de gronden van een vrouw staan echter geregeld op naam van haar echtgenoot of, als zij ongehuwd is, op naam van haar oudste broer; gronden van jongere broers staan vaak op naam van de oudste.

De registratie der gronden geschiedt per kampongterritoor. Het is mogelijk het gemiddelde grondbezit per hoofd en per huis te berekenen; het is niet mogelijk aan te geven hoevele hunner „grootgrondbezitter" zijn, — aangenomen dat men bijv. iemand die meer dan 5 ha bezit als zodanig zou willen beschouwen — want door een deel zijner gronden te zetten op de naam van vrouw of kinderen wordt het totaal bezit van één man via deze landrenteregisters reeds niet meer naspeurbaar.

De landrentedienst stelt de belastingbetaler en de indonesisch bezitter practisch aan elkaar gelijk. De jurisprudentie echter verbindt aan het feit dat iemand ingeschreven is in de landrenteregisters niet zonder meer een indonesisch bezitsrecht.

De landrenteregisters maken een verschil tussen gronden in indonesisch bezitrecht en gronden die in pand genomen zijn. Bij een berekening van gemiddelden van het sawahareaal dienen deze beide gronden bij elkaar opgeteld te worden. De landrenteregisters zijn in uitstekende staat.

Het Indonesisch Notariaat.

Het z.g. Inlands Notariaat, dat op het adatgemeenschapskantoor wordt bijgehouden en dat voor de oorlog een steeds belangrijker taak begon te krijgen, was midden 1949 nog niet op vooroorlogs-

peil. In 1940 werden in Borongloë 318 zaken geregistreerd, in 1946 en 1947 resp. 36 en 56.

De bedoeling van dit instituut is de rechtszekerheid te bevorderen. Partijen, die een transactie aangaan, *kunnen* deze rapporteren aan het betrokken hoofd en de laatste is dan *verplicht* om die transactie in het register in te schrijven en tevens om aan beide partijen een uittreksel van hetgeen door hem genoteerd werd, te overhandigen.

In de kolommen vindt men achtereenvolgens vermeld: naam en woonplaats van de vervreemder; naam en woonplaats van degeen aan wie vervreemd wordt; een omschrijving van het goed; daarbij worden aangegeven zijn grenzen als het grond, en zijn kentekenen als het een karbouw betreft; de som die betaald wordt of — bij ruil — het goed met een gelijksoortige omschrijving; tenslotte de verdere afspraken, die n.a.v. deze overdracht gemaakt zijn.

Het Adatgemeenschapshoofd verricht de inschrijving indien het locaal goed geïnformeerde hoofd van de kampong waar de grond ligt, of waar de karbouw vandaan komt, hem meedeelt, dat hij tegen de transactie niet van bezwaren hoorde. Het Instituut was gezocht, omdat vooral de Inheemse Rechtbanken veel waarde hechtten aan de uittreksels, die door kopers of pandnemers op de zitting geproduceerd werden.

De persoonlijke zorg en belangstelling voor dit instituut van de locale hoofden verschilt zeer en daarvan blijkt het aantal zaken dat ingeschreven wordt direct afhankelijk te zijn. Vergelijking der cijfers zegt dus weinig over het werkelijke aantal der transacties, dat in de resp. gebiedsdelen wordt afgesloten. Men krijgt uit dit register een algemene indruk van hetgeen in een bepaald gebied verhandeld wordt. Men kan er geen conclusies uit trekken t.a.v. het aantal der transacties.

Van de 31 transacties, die in 1948 genoteerd werden, betroffen er 6 een sawahoverdracht; 5 de overdracht van een stuk droge grond; 16 een karbouwenverkoop en 2 de overdracht van een naaimachine.

Het aantal karbouwenverkopen benadert wellicht de werkelijkheid nog het meest, omdat bij vervoer — hetgeen noodzakelijk is bij verkoop aan iemand die buiten de eigen adatgemeenschap woont — een karbouwenpas nodig is, en sommige hoofden bij afgifte van zo'n pas een zekere dwang tot inschrijving in het register

van het Indonesisch Notariaat uitoefenen. De grondtransacties benaderen de werkelijkheid naar schatting tot op geen tiende deel.

Misdrijvenregisters.

In het register van misdrijven (Rappor Kedjahatan), dat eveneens op het adatgemeenschapskantoor wordt bijgehouden, tekent men de overtredingen en misdrijven op, die daar aangebracht worden; en tevens degene die tot klaarheid gebracht worden. In het 1e halfjaar van 1948 werden er 15 aangebracht d.w.z. 9 karbouwendiefstallen; 2 mishandelingen; één bedreiging met de badik; 2 lichte diefstallen en één vrouwenaanranding. 8 van de 9 karbouwendiefstallen bleven onopgehelderd. Dit register werd eerst in 1948 ingevoerd; over zijn werking is nog weinig te zeggen.

Registers van rechtszaken.

De registers der rechtszaken, die gesplitst zijn in civiele en criminele zaken, worden wat betreft de „kleine" zaken die voor de Kleine Inheemse Rechtbank (Hadat Ketjil) van Borongloë komen op het adatgemeenschapskantoor aldaar bewaard. De registers der „grote" zaken, die voor de Inheemse Rechtbank (Hadat Besar) van Goa behandeld worden, vindt men op het Landschapskantoor in Sungguminasa. In de civiele registers vindt men naam en woonplaats der partijen; de eis en het antwoord; de mededelingen der getuigen, de beslissing van de rechter en een enkele overweging waarin staat hoe de rechter tot zijn beslissing is gekomen. M.b.t. de criminele zaken geldt naar verhouding hetzelfde. Deze overwegingen zijn niet direct vergelijkbaar met degene die in de registers der gouvernementsrechters worden aangetroffen.

Gemeentedienstregister.

Het kamponghoofd heeft een register waarin de namen van de herendienst — thans: gemeentedienst — plichtige mannen van zijn kampong vermeld staan. Hierin vindt men echter niet het totale aantal werkbare mannen, omdat enkele familieleden van het hoofd en enkele kampongfunctionarissen vrijgesteld zijn van het verrichten van die diensten en omdat vele hoofden geneigd zijn het aantal vrijstellingen naar eigen inzichten uit te breiden om hun positie in de kampong te versterken. Dit register wordt slecht bijgehouden; oude registers worden niet bewaard.

Overnachtingsregister.

Het kamponghoofd houdt een overnachtingsregister (buku bermalam) bij, waarin van degeen, die in de kampong overnacht, genoteerd wordt: zijn naam, zijn woonplaats, de duur van zijn verblijf en naam van zijn gastheer. Het doel hiervan was ook in de onrustige jaren 1946 en 1947 een zekere contrôle uit te kunnen oefenen op de vreemdelingen, die in de kampong kwamen. Nu deze contrôle niet meer zo belangrijk is, wordt alleen maar zo nu en dan een naam opgetekend, opdat het schrift bij een eventuele contrôle niet geheel leeg getoond behoeft te worden. Van meer dan 90 % der overnachtingen wordt, zoals ik heb kunnen waarnemen, niet gerept. Het register kan dus niet dienen om een bepaalde horizontale mobiliteit te meten.

Registratieregister.

Het Registratieregister is, gezien zijn inrichting, waarschijnlijk bedoeld om een overzicht te geven van het aantal werkbare mannen en de door hen op te brengen belasting, per kampongterritoor.

Naast de kolom waarin de naam van de man vermeld staat is een kolom voor het aantal van zijn vrouwen, zijn kinderen, karbouwen, paarden; zijn beroep, zijn leeftijd, het bedrag dat hij moet betalen aan inkomsten-belasting enz. Ongehuwde werkbare jonge mannen krijgen een eigen plaats in het register; de jongste was 19 jaar.

Voor kennis van het totaal aantal zielen kan dit register niet dienen, omdat huizen waar een weduwe met kinderen woont niet zijn opgenomen; als een jonge man omstreeks 19 jaar is, krijgt hij een plaats in het register, maar niet zijn moeder en jongere broers en zusters. Huizen zonder mannelijk gezinshoofd vindt men er dus niet in.

Het register bleek niet geregeld te worden bijgehouden; sommige pasgeboren kinderen werden niet opgenomen, sommige doden niet afgeschreven. Van bestuurszijde werd mij als ervaringsfeit medegedeeld, dat sinds de distributie van kains aan de hand van dit register geschiedde, het totaal aantal der ingeschrevenen met 10 % vermeerderd was; dit bleken voornamelijk ongehuwde vrouwen en meisjes te zijn.

Vergeleken met mijn eigen kaartsysteem van de bewoners van

Bontoramba waren 17 mannen (of jongens) en 104 vrouwen (of meisjes) te weinig geregistreerd; tezamen 121 of omstreeks 15 % op een totaal van 803 zielen. De zojuist vermelde vermeerdering van 10 % had toen al plaats gehad.

De geschatte leeftijd wordt alleen voor de ingeschreven mannen genoteerd. De ervaring neergelegd in het rapport van de Volkstelling 1930, dat leeftijdschattingen onbetrouwbaar zijn, werd hier bevestigd. Een man van 47 jaar bleek een zoon te hebben van 38; meerdere mannen zouden op hun 12e jaar vader geworden zijn. De oudste man van de kampong was op 66 jaar geschat. Bij die schattingen bleek een duidelijke voorkeur voor bepaalde getallen te bestaan, die het m.i. gevaarlijk maken verdere conclusies hierop te bouwen; 11 mannen werden op 40 jaar getaxeerd, 10 op 50 en 9 op 52; maar 39 jaar oud waren er volgens deze schatting slechts 2; 41 of 42 jaar slechts één; terwijl mannen van 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57 en 59 jaar niet in de kampong zouden wonen.

Schoolregisters.

De schoolregisters, die door het schoolhoofd zeer precies worden bijgehouden, en door Inspecteurs van het Departement gecontroleerd, verkeren in zeer goede staat.

Van ieder kind wordt in het z.g. stamboek opgetekend de naam, het geslacht, de naam van de vader, de naam van degeen die het schoolgeld betaalt; datum van op school komen, klassikale verhogingen, datum van het van school gaan, reden van het van school gaan. De woonplaats der kinderen is niet in het stamboek opgenomen.

De volksschool van Bontomanai is tot 1945 toe, de enige school in de ruim 14000 zielen tellende adatgemeenschap Borongloë geweest. Deze school werd in 1923 opgericht, maar leidde tot 1936 toe een vrij pover bestaan: het aantal leerlingen was gering. In de 2e helft van 1935 kwam er een nieuw schoolhoofd en het aantal leerlingen liep toen direct sterk op. Het aantal nieuw ingeschreven leerlingen bedroeg in:

1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
12	70	37	78	64	17

In totaal werden dus in 6 jaren 278 kinderen ingeschreven, waarvan 197 (72 %) jongens en 81 (28 %) meisjes. De teruggang in 1940 is te wijten aan de omstandigheid, dat de Inspectie meende,

dat er te veel leerlingen op de school waren en dat het onderwijs daaronder leed.

Voor het lesgeven aan deze 3-jarige volksschool was behalve genoemd schoolhoofd nog één hulponderwijzer verbonden. De beide mannen verdeelden de 3 klassen zo, dat beurtelings één klas vrij had, dan wel voor zich zelf werkte.

Van deze 278 kinderen, kregen er 60 een einddiploma. De rest verliet de school om verschillende redenen, die men in het stamboek der school vermeld vindt. Van 95 werd als reden opgegeven: luiheid; van 49 eigen verzoek; van 29 ziekte; van 23 overgang naar een andere school bijvoorbeeld i.v.m. verhuizing der ouders; van 14 geen geld, en van 8 het feit, dat zij te klein waren.

Luiheid heeft niet alleen betrekking op de prestaties op school, maar ook op het schoolbezoek, en kinderen die 2 km of verder weg wonen zijn er moeilijker toe te brengen om iedere dag opnieuw die grote afstand af te leggen, dan degenen, die direct in de omgeving wonen.

Onder „eigen verzoek" vallen vele meisjes, die door de ouders of andere familieleden te groot geacht worden, om nog gewoon op straat te lopen; meisjes boven de 12 jaar, maar vaak al boven de 10, houdt men bij voorkeur thuis.

Het slecht betalen van het schoolgeld is voornamelijk de laatste 2 jaren een reden geweest om een kind van school te verwijderen; de school had toen voldoende leerlingen. Niemand behoeft te menen, dat armelui's kinderen hier extra in hun ontwikkelingsmogelijkheden benadeeld worden; veelal zijn deze ouders niets armer of rijker dan anderen, zij hebben het schoolgeld er alleen maar niet voor over.

Het feit dat leerlingen te klein waren werd alleen in 1939 als reden opgegeven om de school te verlaten; dit is te beschouwen als direct gevolg van het feit dat het aantal leerlingen te groot geacht werd en omdat de Inspectie meende, dat het onderwijs hieronder leed.

In 1949 werd gepoogd om van de 278 leerlingen die van 1935 t/m. 1940 ingeschreven werden, na te gaan waar zij thans woonachtig waren. Deze poging is als mislukt te beschouwen. 104 kinderen woonden in 1949 nog in dezelfde kampong; 12 waren verhuisd naar een kampong buiten Borongloë, 1 naar een kampong buiten Goa en 7 waren dood; van de grootste helft (154) was

de verblijfplaats onbekend. Ik neem aan, dat verreweg het grootste deel hiervan niet meer in dezelfde kampong woonachtig is, omdat mijn informant, het schoolhoofd zelve, zeer goed van de locale verhoudingen op de hoogte was, en dus in de meeste gevallen de woonplaats wel zou weten als die ongewijzigd was gebleven. Geen positief antwoord kon echter gegeven worden op de vraag naar de woonplaats van 154 oud-leerlingen. De tijd ontbrak om dit op een andere manier na te gaan.

Er is een zekere correlatie tussen het aantal leerlingen, dat die jaren uit een bepaalde kampong naar de school te Bontomanai ging en de afstand die die kinderen moesten afleggen. De aantallen en de afstanden in km volgen hier:

80 uit Bontomanai zelve.
77 „ Pakatto ± 1 km.
25 „ Borong 2½ km.
24 „ Songkolo 2½ à 3 km.
20 „ Kotjikang 2½ km.
15 „ Parang Banua 4 à 5 km.
13 „ Borongkaluku 2½ km.
8 „ Bontoramba 5 km.
5 „ Bontoa 5 km.
4 „ Buttadidi 4 km.
3 „ Bolangi [1]) 4 km.
2 „ Borongpalala 3 km.
1 „ Bonto[2] 6 km.

Uit 2 kampongs kwamen geen leerlingen.

1 daarvan ligt 7 km van Bontomanai en 3 km van een andere plaats met een school; daarheen gingen dus die kinderen

Alle genoemde kampongs zijn via goede voetpaden met Bontomanai verbonden m.u.v. Borongpalala. De kinderen die daarvandaan komen, moeten over modderige voetpaden lopen. Parang Banua en Bontoa zijn door een grote rivier, de Djeneberang, van de andere kampongs gescheiden. Het grote aantal kinderen uit Parang Banua valt dus op. Hier wonen veel familieleden van het Adatgemeenschapshoofd, dat zoals hij zeide, zijn familie steeds aanspoorde hun kinderen naar school te zenden.

Het totaal aantal zielen van een kampong, de verbindingswegen,

[1]) Kampong ener aangrenzende adatgemeenschap.

en de leiding die van een hoofd uitgaat vormen dus naast de af te leggen afstand, de minder belangrijke factoren die het schoolbezoek beïnvloeden. Een nieuwe school levert hiervan direct het bewijs.

In 1945 werd een nieuwe school in Bontoramba geopend. In Juli 1949 telde deze 226 ingeschreven leerlingen, waarvan een klein deel toen reeds weer van school af was. Van deze 226 waren er afkomstig:

uit Bontoramba	60	(26	jongens	en	34	meisjes)
„ Pagentungang	61	(40	„	„	21	„)
„ Buttadidi	53	(36	„	„	17	„)
„ Songkolo	35	(20	„	„	15	„)

Alle drie de laatstgenoemde kampongs grenzen direct aan Bontoramba. Van 17 leerlingen wist het nieuwe schoolhoofd de woonplaats niet; deze wordt in de stamboeken niet opgetekend.

De belangrijkste registers zijn hiermede besproken. De betrouwbaarste tevens degene die het best bewaard werden, bleken die registers te zijn, waarvoor een aparte dienst verantwoordelijk is (school- en landrenteregisters). Het onbetrouwbaarst waren en het slechts bewaard werden degene, die in handen der kamponghoofden waren gesteld (overnachtings- en gemeentedienstregisters). De staat van degenen die in handen waren van de godsdienstbeambten (Imang's) of van de adatgemeenschapshoofden is afhankelijk van de zin voor netheid en orde van de betrokkene, van het aanzien dat hij geniet en dat hem in staat stelt om bepaalde wensen t.a.v. die registers te realiseren, en tenslotte van de bevelen, en van de controle op de uitvoering daarvan, die centraal van de Kali naar de Imang's en van de bestuursambtenaren, thans de Zelfbestuursleden, naar de adatgemeenschapshoofden, uitgaan.

LITERATUURLIJST.

Als uitgangspunt voor deze literatuurlijst diende de „bibliography of Indonesian peoples and cultures" van Raymond Kennedy [1]). Enkele leemten werden gevuld en de lijst werd bijgewerkt tot Januari 1950.

Kennedy's indeling in „Celebes General" en „Macassar-Buginese" is om practische redenen niet gevolgd, evenmin als die in publicaties in het Nederlands en in andere talen verschenen.

Niet alle door Kennedy vermelde werken konden worden geraadpleegd. Het is dus mogelijk, dat enkele werden opgenomen, die op Noord- of Midden-, en niet op Zuid-Celebes betrekking hebben.

Op een enkele uitzondering na zijn de publicaties, die in de Adatrechtbundels zijn verschenen, niet nog eens apart onder de naam van de schrijver vermeld.

Lijst van afkortingen.

AEO	Annales de l'Extrême-Orient. Paris.
AHV	De Aarde en Haar Volken. Haarlem.
AO	Acta Orientalia. Leiden.
BCI	Bulletin of the Colonial Institute. Amsterdam.
Bijd.	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië. Den Haag.
CI	Cultureel Indië. Leiden.
D	Djåwå. Weltevreden.
G.	De Gids. Amsterdam.
GTNI	Geneeskundig Tijdschrift van Nederlandsch-Indië.
IAE	Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Leiden.
IG	De Indische Gids. Amsterdam.
Ind. Gen.	Indisch Genootschap. Den Haag.
ITR	Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht. Batavia.
JIAEA	Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia. Singapore.
KS	Koloniale Studiën. Weltevreden.
KT	Koloniaal Tijdschrift.
MNZ	Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap. Rotterdam.
MVGNI	Mededeelingen der Vereeniging der Gezaghebbers in Nederlandsch-Indië.

[1]) Yale University Press, New Haven 1945.

NBGKW	Notulen van de Algemeene en Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Batavia.
NGM	National Geographic Magazine. Washington.
NH	Natural History. New York.
NION	Nederlandsch-Indië Oud en Nieuw. Amsterdam, Den Haag.
NTNI	Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië. Batavia.
Opw	De Opwekker.
PM	Petermanns Mitteilungen. Gotha.
PRGS	Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London. London.
TEG	Tijdschrift voor Economische Geographie. Den Haag.
Tijd.	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Batavia.
Tijd. BB	Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur. Batavia.
TN	Tropisch Nederland.
TNAG	Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap. Amsterdam, Utrecht, Leiden.
TNI	Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië. Zalt-Bommel, Nijmegen, Bussum, Den Haag, Amsterdam.
VBGKW	Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Batavia.
VMKAW	Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Amsterdam.
WH	Wolandia Hindia.
ZE	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin.
ZGEB	Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin. Berlin.

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/1 cont./ The latter put together his remarks under the attractive title, "The Ethnographer's Laboratory."

In this introduction only an attempt can be made to present the author's own difficulties and experiences.

121 The object of the investigation was the rural community of the Makassarese and Buginese.

Initially, before the Second World War, the task was to give an account of the adat law of South Celebes. It has been impossible to carry out this instruction. The material gathered was lost during the war. Only parts of chapters that were ready and had been sent to Jakarta were rescued. The plan concerning adat law, nevertheless, still finds expression in the paragraphs about large landownership, polygamous marriage, and, in the third section of the last chapter, that about marriage by flight. This plan therefore determined the manner in which this investigation was begun.

/2/ It very soon became apparent that a choice would have
114 to be made with respect to the kind of description of adat law that was to be achieved. Two very different types of publication are to be found in the literature dealing with adat law. Both types are designed to support the judge in his task of administering justice according to adat law. In the first category, which is most clearly represented in the work of Vergouwen (1), the

[113]

1. J.C. Vergouwen, Het rechtsleven der Toba-Bataks /The Legal Usage of the Toba-Batak/, 1933.

investigator starts out from the idea that the judge is not acquainted with the community in which he has to administer justice. Accordingly, the author first tries to give information about the community's structure and then to describe the content of the

114 /2 cont./ The conception was as strange as it was grand. It was, however, only imaginable in a period when juridical and judicial work had to be carried out in a community completely unknown to the judges. Ethnographic material was therefore gathered by jurists or by juridically schooled officials of the Inland Administration /3/ and incorporated into the given juridical system. In view of the fact that this system was given and the ethnographic material lay at hand, it speaks for itself that their publications were always constructed on this combination. They remained, however, primarily descriptions of milieu providing a welcome prop for the strange judge in his task of administering justice in a community unknown to him. But they were not ethnological studies satisfying the demands of the profession, nor sociological legal studies, nor normative legal ones.

The prop appeared to be insufficient for the judges, however. The norms according to which the judge had to pass judgment appeared not to be clearly discernible in these descriptions. Another mode of presentation was accordingly looked for. In this, Soepomo led the field. He recorded various legal cases which had taken place in the kampongs with their solutions, and on this he based his conclusions, which he presented in the form of legal rules easily manipulated by the judge. In these publications, therefore, an acquaintance with the community's structure on the part of the judges was assumed, however unconscious it might be. Here the objection is that the interaction of conflicting norms, to be found in every community but especially in those where a great number of changes take place within a short period of time, does not become clearly apparent. The judge lacks the data to assess what this interaction is. The latter can be demonstrated to him only by an analysis of the community's structure.

121 At the outset of my investigation of adat law, I chose the Vergouwen type /of approach/, and I did so more unconsciously than on the basis of an analysis of the two methods. The notion

121 /3 cont./ of an investigation into the driving forces of Makassarese-Buginese culture was always present as a companion motivation for the work on adat law, because, as it was then formulated, the law cannot be understood without a knowledge of the society in which it operates.

After the war, in 1948, when the problem of how the latent knowledge of this culture could be made productive was considered, the decision was made to give a description of its structure. To this end an investigation of an area already [114] familiar to me from before the war was carried out for six weeks during June and July of both 1948 and 1949.

If the presentation of a structural description is regarded as the task /4/ of the investigator, then it is necessary to give his theoretical schooling. The latter was determined by the lectures of de Josselin de Jong at Leiden and was later developed further by studying Linton's work.

121 It appears impossible to treat as a separate factor the third 114 aspect, namely the investigator's personal attitude. This would amount to an analysis of his personality. However, the disadvantage that personal attitude inevitably entails so long as just one investigator is describing a community was always strongly felt by me. I gladly give support to Wagley when he agrees with the Chinese sociologist Li An-Che, who declares that an area study of China "must be executed with the cooperation of Western and Chinese scholars, and that for an understanding of American society we should call upon non-American -- even non-Western -- students as well as upon our own" (1) /cited in

1. Pamphlet No. 6 published by the Social Science Research Council, New York, 1948, p. 7.

English/.

161 The Makassarese and the Buginese at the present time number almost four million people. For hundreds of years they have

212 For hundreds of years they have
/4 cont./ had their own script and their own literature. The
181 element of strong seclusion is absent in their rural communities, with the exception, perhaps, of a number of thinly populated mountain regions.

114 In the fairly extensive literature one finds a great number of topics dealt with separately, but no comprehensive treatment. The best insight is still given by Kooreman (2). A more recent

[113] 2. P. J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden /The Actual State of Affairs in the Government Region of Celebes and Its Dependencies/" Indische Gids, 1883.

important study is that by Friedericy (3).

[113] 3. H. J. Friedericy, "De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren /Status among the Buginese and Makassarese/" Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. IV, pp. 447-602.

[602] With several authors one repeatedly finds the statement
121 that kinship is regarded as of great importance by Buginese and Makassarese without any further elaboration of this point. The approximation of a community by way of kinship relationships has generally been accepted as correct by ethnologists since Rivers (4). Therefore, my attention first turned to this

4. W. H. R. Rivers, "The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry," The Sociological Review, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff., 1910.

121 /4 cont. topic. The kinship terminology served as a starting point for this purpose.

/5/ Choice of Working Area

123 631 565 The stranger who intends to carry out an "adat investigation" in South Celebes -- and all ethnological investigations, those concerned with adat law as well as sociological and similar investigations, are so termed by the Makassarese and the Buginese themselves -- first comes in contact with the prince of the province /Landschap/ or with the head of the adat community where he wishes to work. One may not bypass the prince and his kin group /familie/, the nobility, at least not without incurring great difficulties later on. For the consequence of failing to obtain his consent to work in a certain kampong in his domain is that one loses the much needed good will of a large part of his subjects who might otherwise become good informants. Ignoring him is more than just discourtesy; it is an action which, from the point of view of the prince, expresses hostility. A highly placed stranger -- and that, after all, includes every investigator -- is a potential center of power to whom those who might be less favorably inclined toward the prince might be drawn and thereby constitutes a danger for the latter.

123 565 671 Adat investigation among ordinary kampong people is further suspect because, according to the prince and his kinsmen, the little man has no adat, just as, according to the Dutch bourgeoisie of half a century ago, the people had no manners. For a man of the nobility, adat is just that which distinguishes him from the people; his adat is the real one.

123 Here at the same time the danger that threatens one who would begin an investigation with the nobility becomes apparent. He loses the opportunity to obtain an insight into the relationship between high and low, as seen from the standpoint of the latter. Only after I had expressly declared that it was precisely [121] the adat of the common people that I wished to study, because Mr. Friedericy had already described that of the prince, was it agreed that I should live elsewhere.

121 [631] /5 cont./ The head of the adat community of Borongloë, one of the approximately ten adat communities which formed the province of Goa, was to be my host. I was able to agree to the choice of this adat community of around 14, 000 individuals, since the location in relation to Macassar was favorable; since the head was an energetic young man who made a pleasant impression on /6/ me and who, moreover, knew Dutch, a circumstance which could only facilitate the first contact; and finally, since, as soon became apparent to me, in this region there were no special vexations or corruptions, which frequently create an atmosphere hindering an investigation.

123 The investigator who has found a place to live in the kampong can henceforth avoid the old "adat experts" with great ease. As elsewhere in Indonesia, they constitute a barrier between the investigator and the object of his investigation.

[115] My host was a figure full of vitality who could not possible sit at home for any length of time and who preferred to roam through his domain, talking everywhere, settling things, and [621] drinking coffee. His roving nature had the advantage that I was introduced to many houses of all 14 kampongs of the adat community in the most pleasant way imaginable and thus received a rough general view of what went on. It had the disadvantage that there could be no question of regular daily conversations of any length concerning the facts observed by myself.

At his house I became acquainted with the manner in which this headman's kin group /familie/ treated its servants and other underlings, and I received a first insight into Makassarese kin group /familie/ and nuclear family /gezin/ relationships. Not till then did the important position that the group of relatives /ver wantengroep/ occupies in Makassarese life among those of higher as well as of low /social status/ become clear to me. Therefore, not until then was it possible to attempt a closer analysis and to look around for a group of relatives that could be considered for this purpose.

121 /6 cont./ My choice of a group in kampong Bontoramba (1)

[621] 1. One of the 14 kampongs that form the adat community of Borongloë.

was mainly determined by three factors. in the first place this group seemed to display a great amount of cohesion; it had already repeatedly become apparent to me that members of this group were married to each other. In the second place, the kampong head, a prominent man in this group, had seemed favorably disposed toward me on a number of occasions. Thirdly, one of my best informants was married to the daughter of that head. And, finally, the kampong was located so that, compared with many of the others, it was within easy reach. [115]

121 In writing up data it had become evident to me earlier that indefinite quantitative adjectives had to be called in repeatedly 125 to describe /7/ relationships without the picture of the related group becoming clear at the same time; the "many" unmarried women, the "few" divorces, the "regular" occurrence of marriages by flight, and the "frequent" marriages of members of the same generation, all these statements are, in the end, not very meaningful. A kampong survey in which attention was paid to all these points seemed to be the best method of obtaining a clearer insight into a great variety of relationships. The first survey took place as early as 1940. However, the material was lost. Not until 1948 did the opportunity present itself to repeat the survey. A kampong territory has fixed boundaries, and since neither the worship of ornaments, the grouping of statuses, nor, finally, kin relationship offered a foothold, I chose this territorial unit as the starting point for further research.

125 The registration took place from house to house and was carried out on the basis of the following questions: 1. the names of the inhabitants of the house; 2. their mutual kin relationship; 3. their place of birth; 4. their kin relationship to the head

125 /7 cont./ of the kampong. In case someone was not related to the Kapala or his wife, it was established whether he was related to a certain Mangenre, who, as soon became evident to me, occupied a central position in a group of relatives of around 100 Buginese. If this did not appear to be the case either, I looked for kinship connections with neighboring houses. In this way a first general view of the size of the groups of relatives in one kampong territory came into focus.

July 1, 1948 was chosen as the date for the survey.

125 In further analysis of the data it appeared that the mobility which had already been noted for the adat community head
166 and which actually was regarded as a troublesome quality by him personally was a trait occurring generally in Makassarese society. This mobility, however, was not reflected in the original figures. For this reason a second survey was carried out a year after the first one. At this time the names of the occupants of the houses were noted down again, and, in cases where there was a divergence from the compilation of the previous year, the reason that led to migration was ascertained and the place where the immigrant had come from and to which the emigrant had gone were noted down.

In so doing, I considered as immigrants those who entered the kampong, and as emigrants those who /8/ left it. Finally, those who changed houses within the kampong in the course of the year were registered as transmigrants.

124 The investigation of the related group thus led to a further investigation into a particular quality of the group: its mobility. This mobility ultimately led to an investigation into the migration of the Makassarese into Buginese country and on some aspects concerning the life of such colonists.

[36] [621] Living Conditions

Kampong Bontoramba is an hour from Macassar by bicycle across an asphalt motor road. A stay in the kampong therefore
123 can neither be compared with one on a remote island nor with

600 /14 cont./ method the material remains limited to the answers written down and the entire responsibility for an adequate picture rests with these answers.

The first method has the advantage over the second one of furnishing quick results (1). It is therefore preferable in

1. See E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Social Anthropology, Inaugural Address, Oxford, 1948, p. 7: "...an intensive study of a single primitive society takes about ten years" /cited in English/. This is the period of time, at any rate, set for a beginner!

those cases where it can be pursued without damage being done to the reliability of the results.

125 The mutual relationship of the two methods has not yet been fully evaluated, however. In the investigation in South Celebes, the latter method has been followed.

In so doing, it appeared impossible to give an exhaustive description of the culture. Only a few aspects could be illuminated.

Nor did it seem possible to give an "objective" description. Time and again a choice had to be made from the mass of facts, and in this choice there lies a subjective element.

121 The initial object of this work to present a cultural description has been adhered to up to the end. With an eye 000 to future investigations, the question may be raised however whether it would not be more in accordance with factual procedure to first set oneself a definite problem and subsequently to explore how this problem was worked out in a certain community. The responsibility of the writer for the choice of his facts and their ordering is thereby in no way reduced. Evans-Pritchard has already given a positive answer to this question (2).

171 174 /157 cont./ thinking that they are really women, they are dressed half as man and half as woman. Their general exterior is more feminine than masculine. They imitate women in the use of make-up, they wear their hair like women, and veil themselves.

So much for the account given by Lane. The correspondence with the Masri dance described above seems clear. However, why this dance spread to South Celebes just around 1928 remains obscure.

121 838 The data given above invite a number of observations. As a starting point, I want to take the conclusions of Kinsey and his associates concerning homosexuality. They call the "homosexual" an important subelement of sexual activity, "primarily because it is an expression of capacities that are basic in the human animal" (3).

3. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, Philadelphia and London, 1948, p. 666.

Furthermore, I want to make use of the proposition established by Margaret Mead (4). She speaks of the social

4. M. Mead, Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, London, 1935. See among others, pp. XX ff.

personalities of the two sexes, to which men and women in a certain culture are reared to conform, with more or less success. Among other things, she points to the fact that not all men possess to an equal degree the qualities which are

121 /157 cont./ demanded of them in a certain culture, and that
838 therefore there are among them those "who have voluntarily given up the struggle to conform to the masculine role and who wore female attire and followed the occupations of a woman."

It appears that in Makassarese society a number of male
838 individuals at an early age turn away from those of their own sex and attach themselves to the girls. They adapt themselves to these /158 in clothing and behavior. The older ones accept that they are different from other boys. When they get older they continue in their attitude. This entails certain consequences with respect to their sexual life.

Sexual contact with their female peers is regarded as out of the question. A kawe kawe is accepted as a matter of course into the group of women. If a kawe kawe comes from outside and is not yet known, then the men and old women at first watch him carefully, so I was told. In case of sexual contact with a woman, the kawe kawe is, among other things, threatened with expulsion from the group of women. Consequently, he would have to spend his time regularly in the group of men where he does not feel at home emotionally. It is possible that this fact restrains him from attempting sexual contacts with one of the women. To satisfy his sexual needs, he is therefore dependent on men.

I am not acquainted with any cases of men who became kawe kawe after they had passed puberty. The social separation of the sexes at that time may already be too great for the transition to be regarded as still possible.

838 One does find the phenomenon that men at the courts
793 partly dress and behave like women, in an institutionalized
644 way, for the ornament ritual. The possibility of the kawe kawe to be both man as well as woman -- in social life --, is here an imperative.

A kawe kawe tied to this institution is called a bissu. Even a "normal" married man seems to be capable of being

609, 123

Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Land Dyak OC8
Flores OF9
●Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8
Ambon OH4
Ceram OH9

/For data on the reception of the foreign traveler, investigator or author by the local people, see also category 574. /

/v cont./

I enjoyed in their domain. I should especially mention the kinsmen of the last-mentioned adat community head, Messrs. Manggaukang Daëng Kulle and Galasi Daëng Kio', in whose houses I was allowed to stay regularly. I cherish memories of many evenings spent pleasantly with them.

I always think back with the greatest pleasure to my collaboration with the assistant to the government linguist, /vi/ Mr. Abdurrahim. It is his great knowledge of matters concerning the kin group /familie/ to which I am largely indebted for my improved understanding of the Makassarese group of relatives /verwantschapsgroep/.

With respect to the postwar period, I owe special thanks to Professor G. J. Held, both for the fact that he obtained official support for me to gather the necessary material in an area already familiar to me, as well as for his critical and constructive comments after he had read the manuscript.

Finally I thank my wife, who followed me with our daughter to Borongloë, both for her assistance during the field work, when her contacts with the women of the vicinity provided me with data concerning this group that would otherwise have escaped me, as well as for her help in correcting proof. /vii/

121 /4 cont./topic. The kinship terminology served as a starting point for this purpose.

/5/ Choice of Working Area

123 631 565 The stranger who intends to carry out an "adat investigation" in South Celebes -- and all ethnological investigations, those concerned with adat law as well as sociological and similar investigations, are so termed by the Makassarese and the Buginese themselves -- first comes in contact with the prince of the province /Landschap/ or with the head of the adat community where he wishes to work. One may not bypass the prince and his kin group /familie/, the nobility, at least not without incurring great difficulties later on. For the consequence of failing to obtain his consent to work in a certain kampong in his domain is that one loses the much needed good will of a large part of his subjects who might otherwise become good informants. Ignoring him is more than just discourtesy; it is an action which, from the point of view of the prince, expresses hostility. A highly placed stranger -- and that, after all, includes every investigator -- is a potential center of power to whom those who might be less favorably inclined toward the prince might be drawn and thereby constitutes a danger for the latter.

123 565 671 Adat investigation among ordinary kampong people is further suspect because, according to the prince and his kinsmen, the little man has no adat, just as, according to the Dutch bourgeoisie of half a century ago, the people had no manners. For a man of the nobility, adat is just that which distinguishes him from the people; his adat is the real one.

123 Here at the same time the danger that threatens one who would begin an investigation with the nobility becomes apparent. He loses the opportunity to obtain an insight into the relationship between high and low, as seen from the standpoint of the latter. Only after I had expressly declared that it was precisely [121] the adat of the common people that I wished to study, because Mr. Friedericy had already described that of the prince, was it agreed that I should live elsewhere.

Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Land Dyak OC8
Flores OF9
Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8
Ambon OH4
Ceram OH9

/For a reproduction of the schedule employed by Raymond Kennedy on his 1949-50 field trip to various areas of Indonesia, see 3.: Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, category 116, pp. 230-241./

121 [63] /5 cont./ The head of the adat community of Borongloe, one of the approximately ten adat communities which formed the province of Goa, was to be my host. I was able to agree to the choice of this adat community of around 14,000 individuals, since the location in relation to Macassar was favorable; since the head was an energetic young man who made a pleasant impression on /6/ me and who, moreover, knew Dutch, a circumstance which could only facilitate the first contact; and finally, since, as soon became apparent to me, in this region there were no special vexations or corruptions, which frequently create an atmosphere hindering an investigation.

●123 The investigator who has found a place to live in the kampong can henceforth avoid the old "adat experts" with great ease. As elsewhere in Indonesia, they constitute a barrier between the investigator and the object of his investigation.

[115] My host was a figure full of vitality who could not possible sit at home for any length of time and who preferred to roam through his domain, talking everywhere, settling things, and [621] drinking coffee. His roving nature had the advantage that I was introduced to many houses of all 14 kampongs of the adat community in the most pleasant way imaginable and thus received a rough general view of what went on. It had the disadvantage that there could be no question of regular daily conversations of any length concerning the facts observed by myself.

At his house I became acquainted with the manner in which this headman's kin group /familie/ treated its servants and other underlings, and I received a first insight into Makassarese kin group /familie/ and nuclear family /gezin/ relationships. Not till then did the important position that the group of relatives /ver wantengroep/ occupies in Makassarese life among those of higher as well as of low /social status/ become clear to me. Therefore, not until then was it possible to attempt a closer analysis and to look around for a group of relatives that could be considered for this purpose.

125 /7 cont./ of the kampong. In case someone was not related to the Kapala or his wife, it was established whether he was related to a certain Mangenre, who, as soon became evident to me, occupied a central position in a group of relatives of around 100 Buginese. If this did not appear to be the case either, I looked for kinship connections with neighboring houses. In this way a first general view of the size of the groups of relatives in one kampong territory came into focus.

July 1, 1948 was chosen as the date for the survey.

125 In further analysis of the data it appeared that the mobility which had already been noted for the adat community head 166 and which actually was regarded as a troublesome quality by him personally was a trait occurring generally in Makassarese society. This mobility, however, was not reflected in the original figures. For this reason a second survey was carried out a year after the first one. At this time the names of the occupants of the houses were noted down again, and, in cases where there was a divergence from the compilation of the previous year, the reason that led to migration was ascertained and the place where the immigrant had come from and to which the emigrant had gone were noted down.

In so doing, I considered as immigrants those who entered the kampong, and as emigrants those who /8/ left it. Finally, those who changed houses within the kampong in the course of the year were registered as transmigrants.

121 The investigation of the related group thus led to a further investigation into a particular quality of the group: its mobility. This mobility ultimately led to an investigation into the migration of the Makassarese into Buginese country and on some aspects concerning the life of such colonists.

[36] [62] Living Conditions

Kampong Bontoramba is an hour from Macassar by bicycle across an asphalt motor road. A stay in the kampong therefore 123 can neither be compared with one on a remote island nor with

●123 /8 cont./ one in a modern city where an investigation is carried out. As far as obtaining writing materials, medicine, photographic materials, and the like is concerned, the difficulties are inconsiderable. But the manner of living, as always, presents challenges. A house of one's own has the advantage of privacy. But there is no empty house to be found in the kampong. To have one constructed meets with objections: it costs extra work and extra money, since building, after all, is not only a question of materials, manpower, and technology, but also one of organization. When I was by myself I always stayed with the head of the adat community in his kampong, or else with my most important informant in Bontoramba.

Being a guest has the advantage that it is easier to provide for oneself. I always ate the menu of my host. During the month of fasting I received a meal apart. Payment for lodgings is never possible; presents are understood; medicine, kajuputih oil, periodicals with illustrations, and photos of members of the household were always welcome as such. There was always room for a cot with a mosquito net, as well as for a writing table and chair; an enclosure created a mandi /bathing/ place and a toilet. Taking lodgings has the further advantage that one takes part in the life of the household without having been expressly invited.

I lived in a house of my own with my wife and daughter for a brief period before the war. In a society such as the [562] one I was dealing with, possessing, as it does, a strict separation of the sexes, I repeatedly obtained data from my wife which otherwise would decidedly have escaped me.

/9/ The lack of privacy is one of the reasons why life in the kampong is extremely tiring for the investigator. It is quite possible to abandon habits if one only knows which. But whoever believes that he can then go on living without adat is in error. To find out the sensitive points is one of the most important activities of the first period, and during the first few weeks it is advisable, therefore, not to do much else but

123 /9 cont. / to look and listen. Everything that the investigator is able to carry out on top of just listening and looking without causing any damage during this time is pure gain.

Introduction

The investigator is a foreign element in the community to which he comes to work. The relationship to the individuals in his environment must constantly be adjusted. There are some manners which they accept from him. There are also manners which they find so troublesome, especially after a while, that his contact and thus his work suffers from it. Frequently the first month is decisive in this. Hence a person who feels free to show his disapproval of the stranger's behavior in a way that is comprehensible to the stranger is the best mentor.

As a Dutch official I was regarded as a high guest in Macassar [554 country. It is discourteous to display one's disapproval of his 576] conduct to a higher person; this violates the profoundest feelings. My gratitude toward my mentor is therefore so great precisely because his personality was dynamic enough to allow him to be a bad Makassare in the sense that, contrary to his feelings, he nevertheless pointed out my mistakes.

Initially I laughed too loud and talked too loud, for loud [517 talking and laughing really occur only when several men are 555] together. Then one of them likes to tell tall or absurd stories because the person who can do this well raises his standing. I 123 learned that as a male guest I belonged in the parlor and that I 574 could not walk through the back; that I could ask men or boys, and possibly also older women, something, but that young girls [562 and newly married women landed in difficulties if I so much as 576] greeted them, because this is enough to point to a "contact" with the stranger, which is forbidden. I noticed that somebody constantly kept me company and found this troublesome. Only later did it become apparent that this belongs to the ordinary courtesies observed toward a guest. /10/ A Makassarese does not like to be alone and therefore believes that his guest would also find this unpleasant.

576 /11/ A stranger is first stared at quietly, "in order to get used to him," as it is said; one looks at his face and judges whether he is "good" or not. Once established, this judgment, whose criteria have not become clear to me, is not subject to much modification.

123 576 Nobody seemed to find it strange that I participated at a festive meal in long trousers and not, like the others, in a sarong; but it was regarded as impolite that I kept my shoes on, and it was found odd when, at a subsequent time, the sarong fit was "wrong." I am left-handed and therefore ate with that [264 514] hand, but the touching of food with the left hand was observed with disgust, because it is considered that one uses one's left hand in cleaning after defecating.

In themselves these are all small things, but they concern forms of social intercourse which are carried out as a matter of course and thereby furnish emotional security. The foreigner who takes no account of this is offensive, and it is impossible to say beforehand which offense will be felt as so troublesome that his work will suffer from it.

Informants

123 [576] The strict separation of the sexes in this society makes it difficult for a male investigator to work regularly with a female informant. [166] The great mobility of the men also makes regular work with a man difficult. For instance, it was impossible for me to have daily contact with a number of individuals over a long period of time in order to give an account of their life.

[115] The men who functioned best as daily informants were not those who were of the highest standing in their community, but precisely those who, afflicted with a "clerical" mentality in the good sense of the word, were in a position to work regularly and possessed a sense of actuality and detail. Since my stay in Borongloë after the war lasted for only six weeks both times, it was possible for me to adapt myself to this typical mobility by not residing longer than six days in a row with one and the

●123 /11 cont./ same host. Each time it struck me again how much easier help was during the first few days compared with the last.

The kampong survey always furnished me with more than one informant per house.

/12/ Language of Communication

000 De Josselin de Jong has written that the investigator who contents himself with collecting information in a language different from that spoken in the region will remain an "amateurish outsider" in the society who will never be taken completely seriously by his informants (1). The judgment

1. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, Studies in Indonesian Culture, Ch. I, "Oirata, a Timorese settlement on Kisar," Amsterdam, 1937, p. 2.

sounds harsh; in my experience it is all too just. But in a country where ethnology has developed from linguistics and where several linguists are at work who -- the ethnologists cannot be thankful enough for this -- concern themselves regularly with ethnographic investigations, it must be stressed that for the ethnologist the language is not a goal but a means, albeit an essential means, and that therefore in learning the language it is not necessary to strive for perfection but for a maximum of effectiveness in the briefest possible time.

Firth writes that, equipped with summary data concerning the language of the district where he was going to work, he was able to make himself understood sufficiently for his purpose after two to three months (2). Du Bois seems to have required

2. R. Firth, Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy, London, 1946, p. 314.

/12 cont./ from three to four months for her purposes on Alor (3).

3. C. Du Bois, People of Alor, 1944.

The period of around three months needed for "learning" a language seems ridiculously brief. It just depends on what one means by this. My experience has been that the minimum demand which may be set is that the investigator understands someone who answers his question and who does not speak particularly unclearly. He should be able to follow in large outline communications concerning an event that has taken place. Details can be inquired into at the conclusion of the account. Brief statements between members of a household, exchanged in an offhand manner, will always remain difficult to understand. Only at the very end did I speak Makassarese in the presence of the Prince, and then only concerning a topic well known to me. In the formal court atmosphere a discourtesy is easily committed, and the taking of risks is unnecessary.

I did not notice any troublesome result caused by a bad effect on my contact with the environment through mistakes made in speaking. Those with whom the investigator works regularly get used to his /13/ accent, and, where contact based on mutual interest exists, grammatical mistakes become less important.

Technique of Investigation

It is possible to carry out an investigation, first of all, by having previously set-up questionnaires filled out, by regularly controlling the filling out, and by working out the answers obtained; secondly, by participating in the life of a community, by putting one's questions on the basis of the facts one has observed, and by working out the totality of the facts accordingly.

With the first method, the difficulty consists in setting up the questions. Those who set them up start out unconsciously

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 562
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197]
words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaeng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaeng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaeng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favorably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when [114]
in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaëng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had
576 a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
593 an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).
123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is
177 evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaëng stands there but says nothing. Beside

563 I then asked whether there were other stores in the kampong. He said there were several, mostly belonging to Chinese. Rahim said the Chinese live in a few houses along one street. He pointed them out saying that the Chinese, or at least some of them, had been there for a long time and speak Makassarese well. But, though they marry Makassarese girls, the children of such marriages never do, but instead follow their fathers' line. Evidently they marry Chinese. Thus it appeared that the Chinese breed mates for their own folk by first mating or marrying with local girls. Rahim added that although Chinese men married Makassarese girls, Makassarese men never married Chinese girls. This is understandable, as there are no Chinese girls until the second generation. Then they are considered Chinese and marry Chinese. I must ask about the feeling toward the Chinese on various points. Rahim went to this kampong school, and then to an intermediate school in Makassar, and then, I suppose, to a higher school.

000

123 512 562 As we left the store the lads asked if I would take them to the mosque in my jeep. The old man especially said that it was a long walk for him. Indeed it was so. In fact, I wondered if he would have done it if there had been no jeep. Four of them, including Rahim's father, piled in, and I took them to the mosque. This is Friday, and many people were walking in that direction. Rahim said that it was taboo for women, and there were no women going.

346 177 The mosque was quite a fine one, white, with (amazing!) an old cremation urn at the top of one tower. Van Heekeren said this was usual. These urns were imported from China four to five hundred years ago, and were evidently used for ashes in Hindu days. But it is remarkable to me that one should be on top of a mosque!

285 I saw some very fine baskets in a store. One was varicolored with a round top which had words plaited in around the border. Perhaps I will buy it later.

342 Thus went the first day or at least the first morning. I will leave things alone for a while. And on Monday I will meet my assistant. My general impression of the houses in the kampong is one of a mixture. The good houses are built mainly of wood and thatch, but there are several of these which are poor and are falling down. Van Heekeren said that bamboo is scarce, hence the use of wood. And maybe that accounts for the lack of good repair in some cases. The people are pleasant and polite, I have been pleasantly impressed. I see very few women around here and wonder where they are. One sees many more in Java. And those one does see here, though often very fine, are not generally so handsome as the Javanese or Sundanese.

The previous discussion took place in the evening in the house of the Kepala kampong [of Balombaru--Analyst]. As we talked about various subjects I found that whenever I spoke about the United States I got a good reaction. The village head, a spirited individual, said that he wanted to go there. I said that in a few years perhaps he could. I found out later that one reason the Kepala kampong appeared to be so clever is that he once was a sailor and traveled a good deal. One source said that this was not true but that he had merely been a customs official. In any event he does act like a very special person. 521 156 842 829

I said that there were few children per family in the United States because of the long period of education and the great expense involved. They said that in Makassar everyone wanted lots of children. However, they volunteered nothing regarding education. Then the village head said jokingly that he was going to the United States to help the population problem there. He said that if he got there he would make lots of children! That is the spirit I notice here. The men are very jocular. They like good and rough conversation. In their talk they are quite direct. There is little refinement, halus, such as there is in Java. Nevertheless, they are remarkably polite. All goes very nicely. And there never seems to be an embarrassing or false step.

Later in the evening, I sat with a Dutchman. An acquaintance of his was drunk. He said that he was not interested in the United States when I talked about it. He was very rough indeed, and the other Dutchman was ashamed. Maybe it was a matter of the alcohol involved. 000

These folk are amazingly attractive. Maybe they are not so when just amongst themselves, and perhaps their appearance now is because of the presence of a visitor. I would like to know what goes on from day to day, and if they are on their best behavior now. 609 123

I talked Malay with them and this went over quite well. I told them about the United States and about Yale and about the shrinking world. Perhaps they are just polite, but they seemed interested. One thing went over especially well. I said that there was no pangkat [rank, class] in the United States. I gave the case of President Truman. His father was a tani [farmer] and he had no special rank. Nevertheless he worked himself up. But the thing which hit the Kepala kampong the hardest, and that which he told most eloquently to the people, was that every four years a man like Truman must stand up before the country for election. And if he is not

123 chosen to remain in office he then goes back to where he
609 came from. This evidently was quite something to them. I always added that this was neither better nor worse, but just a different way of doing things. I think I put the point across. I said that in the United States we had large houses and big buildings because the weather was so cold. But basically the principles were the same. I said that they used bamboo for struts and supports while we used steel. They used clay to work where we use cement. Then I brought up the point that they knew considerable about the United States as a result of having seen many moving pictures. On the other hand, we know nothing about Makassar.

272 At this point, without any pressing business, the Kepala kampong called for some coconut water. We had quite a time about the word coconut milk in English. Someone was told to strip a few coconuts and the coconut water was quite good, although I could see that it would spoil rapidly. It was served in glasses, though Rahim asked first if I preferred it from the
[833] nut directly. In Bontorio it is said that this coconut water causes impotence, but the men drank it.

563 The assistant showed me some silver filigree work. It
326 struck me as mediocre, but I said that it was fine. Later van
439 der Wetering, Secretary of the Centrum Cultureel Stichting [Cultural Foundation Center] in Makassar, said that it was poor and made for the tourist trade. They use a kind of tamarind acid to clean such silver work. It is actually quite banal. One fellow said that the Chinese brought the silver
435 from Hongkong and gave it to the smiths. Later they bought the finished article back and sold it. The fellow who was the constructor of the building said that there was much trouble nowadays. He needed a truck but could get one only by paying f.80 per day. But he could make only f.75 per day. When I commented: apa boleh buat [what can be done about it?] they laughed.

829 We talked about mobility and change from generation to generation. I said that in the United States a son seldom followed the trade of his father. Although this was not too clear they seemed to be surprised. They implied that if the father was a smith, his son would be one also.

609 After a hearty farewell, we went back to the Karaeng. He
156 was there, and there were still many people around. We went in and noted that the atmosphere was entirely different. He is a kind of United States business man in type. He is close mouthed and position-proud. Perhaps he was just embarrassed. However, I missed the give and take that was so

we went to de Graaff's house for a conference. He called in the information man who was also in noble dress. He was old and lean and impressive. His name is Sulewatang Udjung. There were a few others including his son, Andi Pabara. They decided that the best kampong would be near Pampanua, but I said that that would be too far so they then decided on one on the border of Watampone, Bukaka. Andi was chosen as an assistant. There was much talk and the controleurs came in, Kollewijn and Thierens, both fine men and the Buginese should be glad they have them. M 124 [115]

I made long speeches in Dutch and Malay (how silly of me to have thought that I could use English here!) regarding the need in the United States of knowing more about Bone, United States customs, my project, and so forth. Everyone seemed well impressed. The Dutch acted very fine and spent all morning helping me. After much encouraging talk we went to the Arumpone the biggest "medicine" in South Celebes. He lives in a not too impressive house. There is no palace here. The Sulewatang said later that he formerly had the present house of the Assistant Resident. And that house was also not up to Standard Oil standards. The Arumpone's house has an equally large pavilion separated into two parts, in one of which sits the great aradjang and in the other the guests. The Arumpone talked quite a bit of American journalists, especially those who had visited Bone before dying in a plane crash in India. He showed me a photograph of himself taken with them. The Assistant Resident said later that the Arumpone said he was impressed by my speaking in Indonesian and had been critical of the journalists who come here and do "research" without any language facility. The Arumpone is a dignified fellow about fifty, wearing a uniform which looks somewhat like a general's, and a fine yellow songkok. He had two gold pens. He said he was going to Buton tomorrow, and seemed very proud. He said I must come again and take a photograph (that camera!). He is reputed to be a conservative. Also, he is not up to the blood of the deposed and exiled-to-Rantepao former arum. Later Thierens said to me that the Arumpone here lived in fear of intrigue, and that when one of the Aru Pitu [the seven princes of Bone] was around, he shuts up. Thierens also said that this was not too different from the intrigue against the arumpone in Bontorio. The present Arumpone is the head of the Hadat tinggi (House of Lords with veto power) in Makassar. This Hadat tinggi is for all of South Celebes (Sulawesi Selatan). The second man in the Hadat tinggi is the Goa radja. I met the Tomarilalang, the

M 123 565 M 565 292 578 C 565 634

123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
181 schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this point. I said that they needed business education, and they saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kampong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it. In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told them about the Javanese using these without giving up Mohammedanism, and although they could see the point they responded in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over Dutch because it is an international language. They said that all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can understand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but

368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case.

library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but 000
this was no longer the case. Thus few people read. There are
no newspapers here, and only a few, for example, the teachers, 212
read papers from Makassar or from places like Java. Very 204
few indeed ever write. (The Minang bau man said that there 538
are no creative writers here at all, but that in Java and
Sumatra there are many. He is probably right.) They do not
even write letters here. They did not know that their script [171]
came from India originally, and they were surprised when I [123]
gave a talk on old Indic script. As for Chinese, they teach
their own language to their children and the latter also learn 871
Buginese, as adults do. Nevertheless, Chinese children al- 868
ways have a decided accent. They go mainly to their own
school. The Toradja in Tolangi speak Toradja when their
relatives visit them, but speak Buginese well in addition.

As for the radio, there are only a few in the area and only 207
radio owners and their families listen to broadcasts. During
the Japanese time there was a central loud speaker for propa-
ganda which was set up in the market place at Watumpone.
They agreed that if they had one set up now many would listen
to it.

As for movies, they say that everyone loves them. Never- 517
theless, many never go at all, especially the poor and the 434
farmers who live in remote places. Those near Watumpone 546
go a lot. The prices are: f.2 for the first [i.e., best seats--
Analyst], f.1 for the second, and f.0.25 for the third. Most
people want the latter. Most of the films are from the United
States and England. They talk constantly about war films.
Later I learned that these are the ones which came out during
the war in the United States and which are just now getting
into Indonesia. Also I found out later that newsreels which
are amazingly old are also shown. It takes years for films
to get out here. In addition, they have some very old Malay
films, evidently made in Singapore before the war. They had
seen many cowboy pictures. Later on the old Sulewatang
showed me that he had learned much about the United States
from the movies. He was especially impressed by the ice-
dancing Sonja Henie films. He could not understand why she
did not fall down. Children in particular love movies and [857]
Andi said they remember entire stories and tell them over
and over again. Later I heard a woman say that her maid
thinks movies are wonderful. People here talk about cowboy
(accent on the last syllable), chorus girl dancing, etc. Andi
said they liked the war films a lot and also the ones with fist
fighting.

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
●123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they
585 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
831 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. 842
But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Per- 611
haps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here?
I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They [123]
listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families.
They said there simply was no control here. The more the
better. I talked at length regarding the future decision con-
cerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather
a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of
Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that
here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children,
but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very inter-
esting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories.

We quit at 6 P.M as the guru had to go to prayer. This is 512
Friday (or maybe he goes everyday).

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The 123
people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is 574
true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always 562
tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must al-
ways be served to guests, and the Kepala kampong said that
if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there
may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come
into the front when I am present, a difference from the be-
havior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served
by the Kepala kampong or his son or a retainer. The Kepala 576
kampong, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends
over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes
hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the
younger ones not so much.

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. 595
Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten 852
days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several 574
houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is
sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant.
We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a 000
house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way
we saw the kampong Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later
the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watam-
pone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a
three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children
soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim
like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they
marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau.
The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am
not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the
marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the
marriage is completed.

612 /16 cont./ living together in the same territory (pa'rasangang),
621 whose members till the soil. Two pairs of opposing tendencies are observable here. In contrast to a striving toward endogamy, a much weaker striving to enter into marriage with non-kinsmen can be observed. In contrast to a striving to live together in the same territory, there exists an urge to disperse.

631 The Makassarese-Buginese section of the daërah /district/ of South Celebes is at present divided into provinces. Each /landsdrap/ consists of a number of territorial units, frequently called adat communities /adatgemeenschappen/. Each adat community in turn consists of a number of territorial units frequently called kampongs. The boundaries between provinces, between adat communities, and between kampongs are fixed on maps. This is a situation which anyone can immediately notice.

114 In addition it repeatedly appears in the literature that the writers are conscious of the fact that kin relationship
602 plays a very important role among the Makassarese. The foreigner observes that a Makassarese not only lives with kinsmen in one house, but also that he has kinsmen scattered throughout the country./17/ But no statements can be found in the literature with regard to the precise nature of kin relationship and its relation to the clearly discernible territorial division, and there exist only vague notions among foreigners who have become thoroughly acquainted with South Celebes, as well as among the Makassarese themselves.

● 124 Therefore, in carrying out this investigation, it was not possible to isolate a certain group of relatives as an object of observation; the boundary lines were always vague. The only form of grouping which was clearly outlined and which could therefore better serve as a starting point was the territorial one (1).

114 /17 cont./ 1. It is therefore not surprising that in the summary chapter on social organization in his book Beginselen en Stelsel van het Adatrecht /Principles and System of Adat Law/ Ter Haar assigns "the village and district communities of South Celebes" to the "communities in which the genealogical factor... has no significance" (p. 15). Using the available literature, his conclusion could not be different. Here it will become apparent how incorrect this interpretation is.

● 124 Hence kin relationships of the residents of a kampong territory were recorded. For this purpose the names of all kampong residents were taken down from house to house, and at the same time kinship connections of the occupants were collected for each house. The kinship connections between the occupants of various houses were then traced. In so doing it appeared simplest to ask everyone whether he was related to the Kapala or his wife, and if so, in what degree. The fact [592] that, aside from a few exceptions, members of a household always turned out to be kinsmen facilitated the investigation because it was possible to indicate precisely which houses belonged to the Kapala's group of relatives and which did not.

124 612 Everyone was counted of the Kapala's group of relatives who believed himself to be related to him or his wife and of whom this was not denied. The latter happened once. It concerned a kampong functionary who had few kinsmen in Bontoramba but who had obtained influence through his personal qualities (his organizational ability, his eloquence) and

124 /17 cont./ who now wished to improve his position by being
612 regarded as a distant kinsman of the Kapala. It was the
daughter of the Kapala himself who made it clear to him that
[608] his opinion could not possibly be correct. /18/ Furthermore,
[609] the strangers, that is to say, the non-kinsmen married to a member of the Kapala group, whose children thus also belonged to this group, were likewise counted among the Kapala related group.

In the sole instance in which -- while the married couple
124 were not related to each other -- individual kinsmen of the
612 man, as well as of the woman (who belonged to the Kapala
592 group), lived in their house, the man's kinsmen were not included in the Kapala group; he himself was.

Aside from traceable relatives, a number of relatives by
124 marriage were therefore also counted among the related group.
612 The latter should accordingly be defined more accurately as a traditional bilateral endogamous group of relatives.

Among the Buginese, none of whom were related to the Kapala, a prominent man called Mangenre was used for the same purpose as the Kapala in the first group, so that with respect to the occupants of a number of houses, it can be said that they belong to Mangenre's group of relatives. With regard to the occupants of the remaining houses, the mutual kinship
[128] relationship, insofar as it existed, could then be easily established. For the sake of convenience, the first group will be called the Kapala group, the second the Mangenre group, and the last the Rest group.

The result of this investigation showed that of a total of 129
621 houses, the Kapala group occupied 81, the Mangenre group 18, and that the Rest group lived in the remaining 30 houses.
[612] The latter's members belonged to 13 different groups of relatives. The members of one group of the Rest group lived distributed over nine houses; those a second group over five houses, and those of a third over three houses. In three cases persons related to each other occupied two houses, and in the

167 /57 cont./ The Makassarese and Buginese proclivity for colonizing as well as their call to the sea can probably be explained by the same conflict.

3. Colonizations

The move of a man of high nobility with a large number of followers to a remote region, such as could be observed half a century ago, might in a few cases be explained by difficulties with very close relatives.

In the case of recent migrations of Makassarese to Buginese country, an economic motive is always reported. However, it seems more correct to say that changes in the economic structure stimulated the tendency toward mobility.

In several kampongs situated to the north of Parepare, large groups speaking Makassarese have been found. I undertook an investigation in three kampongs, Kape, Langa, and Paria. The aim was to explore the integration of Makassarese colonists, living among the Buginese. To make a distinction from the migrations discussed above, we shall here refer to colonizations.

124 125 167 The "Makassarese" living in a certain kampong were in each case called together for a brief survey. This usually resulted in a number of adult men appearing. They were questioned on several points: their name and the names of their housemates; who of these were married; whether this married couple was related to each other and if so to what degree; whether this marriage had taken place in the festive manner or by way of silariang; which region they regarded as their homeland; for how long they had resided here; the reasons that had led them to leave their homeland and come here.

The results showed few differences between the three kampongs. /58/ Everywhere the tie with the homeland turned out to be a very close one. During harvest time, kinsmen came to help. After the harvest, individuals of the colonists'

they will say that their fathers did it this way. Van Heekeren M
knows of a family still living in a cave (where?). When he 181
asked them why they were not living in the nearby village, they 609
said that their fathers from away back had lived in caves, 177
and there had been no change. He said further that in Mandar
there must still be a few of the Toala type. They live far
back, and bring in tribute to the radja. He will look for them
he said. But he thinks that the Toala are merely mountain
Buginese. He added that Toala radja are very glad to see
whites because their relations with whites have always been
good. Men like Adriani and Kruyt started this good tradition
and hence they like whites. Also, the Makassarese and
Buginese never had too many whites around and so there are
good feelings in this respect. He said that Bone is a good C
example of this. There [in Bone--Analyst] the 1906 war was 175
regarded as a sporting proposition. Afterwards the radja was 648
restored. The flag shows clasped hands, Dutch and Bone.
Speelman said that as long as the chain he gave to the radja
of Bone remained unbroken the two peoples would remain
friends. He gave an enormous chain. Also inscribed on the
flag is a statement to the effect that they will remain friends
as long as the sun continues to shine. When there were
troubles after the war, the Bone radja declared his position
strongly and raised the Dutch flag.

Even the younger generation admires and believes in the C
mana of the radjas. Thus if President Soekawati [President 778
of the State of East Indonesia] appears there is little reaction, 565
but if the radja appears there is great feeling.

Van Heekeren is going on an expedition to Galumpang in C
the southern part of West Toradja territory. He is excavating 114
a neolithic site there. It takes about six days of walking be-
yond the end of the road to reach the site.

Abdul Rahim is to get me a man, probably a relative, to M
start the work in the kampong of Balombaru. This kampong 124
is six kilometers south from the center of Makassar, and is
Rahim's own village. It is two kilometers beyond the city
limit, in Guru. It is said to be a good place for my work in
as much as it has most of the typical characteristics, includ-
ing the influence of nobility. I will start tomorrow.

Flores: I met [in Makassar] the Radja of Sikka. He looks
like an American Negro. His name is D. Silva, and he is
evidently a Catholic. His secretary is a Dutchman. This
seems to be the pattern now in East Indonesia, with the
Dutchmen acting very obsequious.

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FIELD NOTES ON INDONESIA, 1949-50

PART I

SOUTH CELEBES

Balombaru - Bukaka - Merante

Field study begun August 12th, 1949.

I decided to start at once at the kampong near Makassar. I will hire a man to collect the basic facts on the basis of my outline [acculturation schedule]. Then I will go to Sadang and Bone, for about one week in each place, and start two other assistants working there, one in each place. I had the good luck, through van Heekeren, to meet Abdul Rahim. He is from the kampong Balombaru, near Makassar, and just outside the gemeente (haminta) [municipality] limits, but a separate unit. Cense and Chabot also studied here, and Rahim helped. My plan may involve a longer stay in Makassar, and I will try my best. Today, Friday, I started, but I still have to get an assistant here. Rahim is looking for one and says he will get a relative. He speaks [to RK] only Dutch, and the assistants in mind speak only Malay. Therefore it was necessary to get the schedule translated into Dutch and Malay. 124 [115]

124 Levij of the Voorlichtings Ministerie (Kementerian
Penerangan Indonesia Timoer) [Ministry of Information for
the State of East Indonesia] offered to do this providing I
would pay the expenses, using his office staff. I went with
361 Rahim and van Heekeren to Balombaru this morning.
491 Balombaru is in the adatgemeenschap [native community]
Karawisi, in which there are perhaps six other kampongs
(check). To get to Balombaru we went out [south] on the Goa
road for about six kilometers, then turned right on a side
road, and finally again on a dirt road. As the limits of the
municipality are reached the road at once appears to be full
of holes; and in the dry monsoon period there is terrible
dust. We were stopped by a police cordon and later found
out that the reason was that they expected to have a meeting
of the police school (I think) in the afternoon and wanted to
keep cars out so that there would be less dust! We went by a
side route, and first stopped at a stucco house with an office
which belonged to the district head, the Karaeng. He is an
important man in Goa. He was not in. His assistant im-
pressed me by his poise and by his quiet manner. We went
363 on, and got to the village [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] itself,
going around a plaza, a dusty kind of turnabout with the enter-
ing road coming in at right angles to the "main street" of the
kampong. Rahim said that there were side streets too. It ap-
peared that most of the houses were located along the roads.
I will see. We stopped (before this, and outside the kampong
proper) at the house of the Imam, near the mosque (I must
check the name of the main kampong where the Karaeng and
342 the Imam and the mosque are located). The Imam lives in a
very nice Makassar type house. We went upstairs to the
main room, which was large, and in which there was a bed
with a klambu [mosquito net]. There seemed to be several
other rooms in the rear. The floor was of wide planks not
placed too close together so that the air could come up into
the room. The house itself was of wood with atap thatch [i.e.,
of palm leaves or the like]. The Imam said he had seven chil-
156 dren. He married in 1929 in Mecca, and seemed very proud
562 of this. He brought it in at the very first chance. He is a
576 small, quite handsome man, perhaps forty years old. His
wife is pretty, has gold teeth, and looked as if she were
dressed in Javanese style. She is evidently modern in a
sense, as she came right up to us, and shook our hands.
Rahim said this was not the old style, as ordinarily women
would stay behind. She also broke into the conversation
from time to time. However, she did sit at another
table, listening. We sat at a table in the middle of

South Celebes: Kuurman said that the league of three (Bone, Soppeng, Wadjo) was the most powerful unit here. It is headed by Bone. In the past, Goa was next to Bone, or at times vice versa. Now the Bone ruler is the kepala daerah, and Goa furnishes only the second man. (There must be an interesting psychological relationship here.) C 634

[Makassar] Abdul Rahim is not a Christian. He is a Mohammedan. But he told me that he was not too devout, as he sees good in all sects. He reads the Bible, for example. He is evidently one of the people in Makassar who belongs to a kind of "ethical culture society" which studies and discusses all religions, taking good points from each. I have heard about this in various quarters and wonder if they are mostly natives, mostly Christians, or what. M 115 795

Second trip to Balombaru, Tuesday, August 16th, 1949: When we left there last Friday, I asked when we should go again; maybe Saturday or Sunday? He [Abdul Rahim, the author's assistant--Analyst] said "No, Monday." Maybe this was so he could find an assistant, but I wonder if it may not have been to give the people a chance to talk the project over. I doubt the latter. Anyway, we went there and tried to see the Karaëng, but he was not in yet. Incidentally, I had to see the people today, as tomorrow is Independence Day and everything will be closed. There were lots of people in the Karaëng's office and a distribution of clothing was going on. But there were also many people coming in to see about something, possibly taxation. They all had a paper, which may have been a form or a type of bill. There was much talk regarding money, and I thought this was like the government in general. As a rule there is always some charge. I left from the Karaëng's place saying that I would return later and went to the Kepala kampong [head of the native village]. He lives in a pretty good house such as all notables seem to own. It is built in native style. He is a fine lad, young, good looking, pleasant, and gay. He is also well dressed. In the house there were also several others. I sat to the right of the Kepala kampong at the table. Rahim sat in front of him. The lad who is to be my assistant sat to the left of the Kepala kampong, and then there were about three other individuals sandwiched in. Everyone was ready to talk and the whole atmosphere was informal and impressively pleasant. Around the room sat young lads, girls and women. One older boy spoke up once or twice and received no rebuke. Everything was serene and there was no squabbling. Children behaved very well. The Kepala kampong has, I think, four or five children. M 124 M 124 576 855

124 They are small and pretty. They came from time to time to
576 sit on his lap and looked at me. He was serene and his
855 children were wonderful in behavior. Rahim got to the point at once and the Kepala kampong said that this fellow was the man. He indicated a rather angular fellow perhaps twenty-five years old, the kind of Adam's appled type. However, he seemed keen enough. He attended school (lower school only)
463 with Rahim. Then he [i.e., assistant to author--Analyst] got
311 into a trade working with a gold and silver smith. This happens to be one of the main trades of the village. Rahim said there were some farmers in the village, but there was not much wet rice land in the area. However, many people have sawah in other kampongs. Other trades in the village involved commercial enterprises, and being a prau man. A river runs by here and it is mentioned in Friedericy as the one where Goa once levied a river mouth tax on all praus. I
124 later found out that the lad was willing to give up his trade
465 for a while and work for me. He was somewhat ashamed
156 when Rahim asked him about a salary. He said he would leave that matter up to me and Rahim said that this was acting as a typical Makassarese, that is malu [timid, shy, ashamed], although I wonder if he would be so malu when talking about pay with the Chinese who runs the gold and silver business. Later I talked with Rahim about the matter of salary for this man. He told me that things were expensive now, the man had to give up his work, and so forth. He added that he needed more than three to four guilders a day
[593] for his family. And he added that if he did not receive enough his wife would complain. Evidently he must keep his wife happy. So even among the Makassarese a wife nags. Rahim is very strong on the point of getting and keeping in the good graces of one's wife. This is a revelation to me, as I thought women in Mohammedan lands kept their mouths shut. But here, perhaps, is an indication of the underlying qualities of Malayo-Polynesian women. Rahim finally said that one hundred rupiah per month would be all right. I asked about the regular pay which a smith might receive. He said that it was very good, as much as f.10 or f.15 per day. I then said that maybe f.100 was too low, and that I would go up to f.150. He seemed pleased that I was not going to be a chiseler, and said that I could pay a reasonable salary and then if I wanted to, at the end, I could give a bonus. I asked if I had better not give some sort of advance, and he agreed. Hence I gave f. 30 to be given to the assistant (named Mohammed Saleh) who will call on Rahim Thursday after Hari Merdeka.

noticeable in the Kepala kampong's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim. M 156 609

I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs, a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampong had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampong's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better. M 565 342 554

At the Karaëng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa". I 192

I asked Rahim about the Karaëng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i.e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaëng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes. M 156 554

I went back to the Karaëng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaëng as well as to the Kepala kampong. Rahim said that the Karaëng was ana tino [i.e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i.e., the nine electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought. M 124 565

The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him. M 124

Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were M 541 533 177

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

● 124 I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone, and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

we went to de Graaff's house for a conference. He called in the information man who was also in noble dress. He was old and lean and impressive. His name is Sulewatang Udjung. There were a few others including his son, Andi Pabara. They decided that the best kampong would be near Pampanua, but I said that that would be too far so they then decided on one on the border of Watampone, Bukaka. Andi was chosen as an assistant. There was much talk and the controleurs came in, Kollewijn and Thierens, both fine men and the Buginese should be glad they have them. M 124 [115]

I made long speeches in Dutch and Malay (how silly of me to have thought that I could use English here!) regarding the need in the United States of knowing more about Bone, United States customs, my project, and so forth. Everyone seemed well impressed. The Dutch acted very fine and spent all morning helping me. After much encouraging talk we went to the Arumpone the biggest "medicine" in South Celebes. He lives in a not too impressive house. There is no palace here. The Sulewatang said later that he formerly had the present house of the Assistant Resident. And that house was also not up to Standard Oil standards. The Arumpone's house has an equally large pavilion separated into two parts, in one of which sits the great aradjang and in the other the guests. The Arumpone talked quite a bit of American journalists, especially those who had visited Bone before dying in a plane crash in India. He showed me a photograph of himself taken with them. The Assistant Resident said later that the Arumpone said he was impressed by my speaking in Indonesian and had been critical of the journalists who come here and do "research" without any language facility. The Arumpone is a dignified fellow about fifty, wearing a uniform which looks somewhat like a general's, and a fine yellow songkok. He had two gold pens. He said he was going to Buton tomorrow, and seemed very proud. He said I must come again and take a photograph (that camera!). He is reputed to be a conservative. Also, he is not up to the blood of the deposed and exiled-to-Rantepao former arum. Later Thierens said to me that the Arumpone here lived in fear of intrigue, and that when one of the Aru Pitu [the seven princes of Bone] was around, he shuts up. Thierens also said that this was not too different from the intrigue against the arumpone in Bontorio. The present Arumpone is the head of the Hadat tinggi (House of Lords with veto power) in Makassar. This Hadat tinggi is for all of South Celebes (Sulawesi Selatan). The second man in the Hadat tinggi is the Goa radja. I met the Tomarilalang, the M 123 565 M 565 292 578 C 565 634

C third man in the Aru Pitu, who, together with the Arumpone
565 and the Makadangetana, form the self-government council of
634 the State. With them sits the Sulewatang Udjung, Minister of Information. The same general pattern holds in Wadjo and Soppeng. Each minister has a function, for example, police civil, etc. The Tomarilalang is a young fellow, tall, and good looking. He seems intelligent and quiet; though really dumb as I found out later.

C I talked with the Tomarilalang about changes, for example,
565 in clothing. I later found out from the Dutch police advisor
557 that the Arumpone fears the Tomarilalang, and others as
578 well, for possible intrigue. I also found out later that the Makadangetana, the old stocky fellow with a mustache who was formerly only a kampong chief, rose slowly until he became even Minister of War. So there is mobility at least within the higher class, and maybe within the middle class.

C I talked a great deal with Thierens, a young intelligent
647 Dutch controleur. He is sympathetic toward the native at-
563 tempt, and like most Dutch now working with them seems to be of the high and democratic type. For example, Thierens asked what I thought was the case among the conservatives who still hold on in Batavia. He saw much trouble ahead for the natives, and I agree. He said that now all the Dutch here are assistants to native officials. The police advisor later said that they were advisors only. I got the idea that the old ways were completely gone. I noticed the great respectful attitude of the Dutch toward native upper classes. They are now the second men. But, as far as I could see, the natives were also very polite. At least this seems to be so in South Celebes.

M Next day we went to the kampong of Bukaka which is al-
124 most inside Watampone. It has a population of about 3,000.
291 I went to the house of the Kepala kampong in my jeep with
596 Sulewatang Udjung and Andi. Sulewatang Udjung is always
609 well dressed. He wears an elaborate, ornate closed jacket
574 and sarong, and on his head the horsehair and gold bordered songkok. He is an old fellow with a bad case of tuberculosis and Thierens warned him to be careful. But when I visit him he offers tea and awful gummy Buginese cake, and I must eat it. A large crowd lives in his house. There is much evidence of an extended family. He said he had eight children and thirty grandchildren. It seems that most of them are here. They are pretty good looking and rather well dressed. This is an indication of why they need political jobs. Andi, for
000 example, works in the Office of Economic Affairs. The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that

The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that Andi could also work for me. Thus it goes. The Kepala kampong is a fat fellow with a yellow turban. He is called "Mado" which is the Buginese term for Kepala kampong, or rather, Mado Bukaka. His house is not bad, with a ramp on the side structure, but stairs going up into the main part of it. He is no noble, nor are there any bangsawan [titled nobles] in the village. When Sulewatang Udjung ordered, he called together the kali, guru [teachers], and notables (the Sulewatang later told me that family heads are also important). They are a motley crew. They came in and sat around on chairs. The Sulewatang, Andi, the magistrates, and I sat around a table. Coffee and cookies were served. They all listened well and the guru, a good looking young man, seemed especially intelligent. The Sulewatang gave an opening address and I joined in with more and more comments regarding the United States and the need for knowledge of South Celebes. They were quite silent, but one or two nodded and smiled continuously. I got the idea that they will do what they are told. They too were fascinated by my camera. Also, as usual, they plaintively asked (as asked by the Sulewatang) why things are so expensive and hard to get in Celebes, when there is obviously so much of everything in the United States. They are greatly interested in this matter. I tried to explain the fact that the dollar is high and the rupiah low, and also about the foreign exchange currency control. They got the main point. We then went over my notes (I had gone over the Friedericy notes with the Sulewatang the night before). They got the idea and it seems that they want to appear as both modern and as good Mohammedans, as they always shied away at questions regarding such things as spirit belief, old type feasts, and offerings. This was especially true of the Sulewatang, who always said that formerly such and such a practice may have been observed here and perhaps at present is still observed in the mountains, but in this place and at the present time it does not exist. I was told that such practices were mere legends now, but they admitted that in most cases the people still knew about them. 124 342 622 624 565

The next day I talked with the controleur. He showed me the perkara [legal case] records of the office here. In Wadjo, Bone and Soppeng combined there are over one thousand legal cases per year. Many of these pertain to horse and cattle stealing, which is an old custom here. I saw one decision: six months in jail. 691 685

342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
764 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always re-
513 moved. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
●124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate.
625 The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well
102 things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaëng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]

368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friedericy). This
565 fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to
another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded.
582 But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman.
829 I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States, something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indonesian man in the United States could marry an American woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed. Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the
567 Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I des-
427 cribed the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?) The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens, and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food. When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that formerly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they were.

000 One thing about education: the business man asked if I could take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told him to write the Institute for International Education in New York.

769 Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of the old belief in present practice, including information concerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the countryside people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a sense, were ancestors.

126 I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in
● 124 the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the women were very proud. Also the children remained pests.

The camera, as usual, made quite an impression. In general, rapport was good, and I came back in the afternoon to give my assistant more paper. He drew a fine rough map of the kampong and is a very good man. But I need to have an expansion of many of his answers [to RK's questionnaire]. The trouble is that it is hard for me to read Malay. I have to get around it by having it translated into Dutch! 126 124

Balombaru, September 1, 1949. Second day: This time without Rahim. I have arranged, I think, to have a man type up Saleh's notes in Dutch. I got to the house at 8:30 A.M., and looked over some pages to give to the translator. The material consists of page after page of complete census data, house by house, giving age, occupation, family connections, and so forth. I can also check the material with the accompanying map. Saleh did a fine job; he is a remarkable fellow. Rahim says that although he went only as far as the lower school, he reads a lot and is interested in things in general. 124

First, I talked over the census with Saleh, his hadji father, his cousin's helper at gold work, and the old bearded sea captain carpenter. Then, after coffee we went off on a ride around the kampong following his good map. We went first to the cement factory, run by a Makassarese named Liyu who was once a poor man but learned a lot about business and has now become the richest individual in the village. He owns the cement factory. It is located near a river, where the big praus used to be able to sail in near the old market place (twenty-five years ago). The river here is now a wide, dry bed. In the distance is Gusungdjonga where Saleh's father lives. It is an island in the wet season. I noted the remnants of a bamboo bridge going across to the other side. It was standing one hundred years ago. The cement factory, with four big kiln chimneys in two buildings together with several other buildings, uses local lime rock and wood from the nearby woods. The rock is broken up and put into the blazing ovens at the top of the fire. It comes out as fine cement. Because of the great amount of road building going on now sales are way up. On the bank of the river are many big heaps of sand, and plenty of trucks to haul it away. Also, Saleh says that there are plenty of men working here. I took a photograph of the factory. Liyu's house, a big one, is situated nearby. 339 472

Then we went to the site of the old pasar, in the center of the village. On one side we noted a row of cement houses rented by the radja to Chinese, who can't own the land. Nor 563 427

the latter there are ten graves of former radjas who were also holy men. One was especially important. Over the door was a sign in Arabic telling about the dates and lives of the men there buried. The dates are from 1600 to 1700, the Golden Age, of course. Busses are loaded going to this place, and the area itself is thronged. The people buy oil cakes and bring real flowers and lay these on the graves. The graves are thick with flowers. Then the people make their request, for example, for a child to get over an illness. I saw at least two Chinese there and I was told that plenty of them come to make requests. I did not go to the Kale Goa place with the graves today as it was too late. I will go tomorrow morning. I had little time to go into religious matters, but these matters are very strongly held here. I will cover these notes later on. 764 782 563 755

I took Saleh to meet Nunuhitu, the translator and typist. 1240

Ternate and the Moluccas: I met the Sultan of Ternate in the club, where he stayed until 3 A. M. He touched no alcohol. He said that if he were in the United States he might drink, but not in Indonesia. He is a very little fellow, his clothes being too large for him, and is in the room next to me at the hotel. He is very keen and speaks English very well. He was in Australia during the war and spent quite a bit of time with the Americans. He even has a familiarity with American slang, for example, merry-go-round. A Dutchman said that he is 100 per cent Nederlander, and he spoke thus, but evidently not a stooge. He says he knows that he will have to yield to the folk here soon, but admits that other radjas are often not of the same disposition as he is. He has an intelligent progressive mind evidently, and although he works with the Dutch, he knows why. That is, he realizes that the Indonesians need their help. He is a member of the East Indonesia Senate. Evidently there are very few in this body, and they are the highest only. Thus the Tidore sultan is not in this body, but in the House of Representatives. The Sultan said that the siwa and lima were old Ternate and Tidore customs originally. Ternate, in the old days, was divided into nine negri or tribes, and everywhere rule among the people was divided into nine divisions. This is no longer true on the island, but he knows that it once was this way. He says that two of the original nine negri still exist. Tidore originally was divided into five negri and wherever the local adat was extended it was so organized. I asked him how he knew about this, and he said that his father had told him. His family has been in direct ruling line for 600 years and these old things are passed 000

Bukaka, September 7, 1949. First day: I went to the house 124
of the Kepala kampong and began going over the schedule with Andi and the teachers and a few of the boys. Andi has a big empty map on which he will work. He is scared of the census-taking so I told him to start on Bukaka proper in which there are more than a hundred houses. This should be a good sample. He is a slow worker. He said he was having much trouble getting the common people to speak. The Kepala kampong is cooperative and so are the teachers and a few others. But the rest say that they don't know. He is irritated and he said that the Bone people get scared of everything. He said that he did not know why. Perhaps it is the government, but no reason is sure. Later Thierens said that maybe this was because they were scared of Andi, who represents the radja class. I think perhaps he was right. It would have been better if I had got a common man from the kampong to do this job. We got a lot of probably only approximately accurate information regarding the population.

Evidently, few people leave per year and the population is 166
relatively stable though seemingly on the increase numerically to a slight degree. Those who leave are mainly unmarried men. When they leave they go mostly to other places on Celebes. From this place there are no contract coolies and few sailors (compare this with Makassar and the kampongs near Makassar). Many of those who go away return as they say it is pleasanter and more pleasing to live in the kampong. They complain of the crowds of people outside. Also they can always get food here. (But this information is derived from the returnees, and perhaps those who have not returned would tell quite a different story.) Those who have returned to the village say that they have no trouble refitting into the kampong life. As for property and so forth, those who had it mostly had families and had left property with them while they were away. There is no noticeable resistance to anyone leaving the village.

The section on migration was really quite unsatisfactory. 167

As for immigration and information on visitors it appears 563
that even fewer individuals have come into the kampong in the last fifty years. There are a few Chinese, Arabs, Toradja, as well as a very few Makassarese. There are also a few Javans. Family relations seem to be important in this respect. Very few people go away regularly, just as very few people visit regularly. Immigrants fit in easily if they are Mohammedan, but it takes a while. But the Toradja stay apart, as do the Chinese. Several Toradja work for Chinese. And

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese 535
in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and 181
there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead- 152
pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the sim- 832
ple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the 292
local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have
much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light
banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was
when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected
because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face to-
ward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward
prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The
high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And
the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under
them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in
festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and 124●
finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Moham-
medan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living 163
children per woman was three, but that the average number
of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average
number who die to each woman is two. They say there has
been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not
much if any difference according to class. This I do notice,
that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is 861
the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. 828
I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that
they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says
there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a
child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex]
(and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted
that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary
people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. 562
They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, 584
women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women 883
never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) 181
If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or some-
one else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not
usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders
doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change
noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional
pair coming from school together, but this is carried out
for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

121 /6 cont./ My choice of a group in kampong Bontoramba (1)

[621] 1. One of the 14 kampongs that form the adat community of Borongloë.

was mainly determined by three factors. in the first place this group seemed to display a great amount of cohesion; it had already repeatedly become apparent to me that members of this group were married to each other. In the second place, the kampong head, a prominent man in this group, had seemed favorably disposed toward me on a number of occasions. Thirdly, one of my best informants was married to the daughter of that head. And, finally, the kampong was located so that, compared with many of the others, it was within easy reach. [115]

121 In writing up data it had become evident to me earlier that indefinite quantitative adjectives had to be called in repeatedly
●125 to describe /7/ relationships without the picture of the related group becoming clear at the same time; the "many" unmarried women, the "few" divorces, the "regular" occurrence of marriages by flight, and the "frequent" marriages of members of the same generation, all these statements are, in the end, not very meaningful. A kampong survey in which attention was paid to all these points seemed to be the best method of obtaining a clearer insight into a great variety of relationships. The first survey took place as early as 1940. However, the material was lost. Not until 1948 did the opportunity present itself to repeat the survey. A kampong territory has fixed boundaries, and since neither the worship of ornaments, the grouping of statuses, nor, finally, kin relationship offered a foothold, I chose this territorial unit as the starting point for further research.

125 The registration took place from house to house and was carried out on the basis of the following questions: 1. the names of the inhabitants of the house; 2. their mutual kin relationship; 3. their place of birth; 4. their kin relationship to the head

●125 /7 cont./ of the kampong. In case someone was not related to the Kapala or his wife, it was established whether he was related to a certain Mangenre, who, as soon became evident to me, occupied a central position in a group of relatives of around 100 Buginese. If this did not appear to be the case either, I looked for kinship connections with neighboring houses. In this way a first general view of the size of the groups of relatives in one kampong territory came into focus.

July 1, 1948 was chosen as the date for the survey.

125 In further analysis of the data it appeared that the mobility which had already been noted for the adat community head 166 and which actually was regarded as a troublesome quality by him personally was a trait occurring generally in Makassarese society. This mobility, however, was not reflected in the original figures. For this reason a second survey was carried out a year after the first one. At this time the names of the occupants of the houses were noted down again, and, in cases where there was a divergence from the compilation of the previous year, the reason that led to migration was ascertained and the place where the immigrant had come from and to which the emigrant had gone were noted down.

In so doing, I considered as immigrants those who entered the kampong, and as emigrants those who /8/ left it. Finally, those who changed houses within the kampong in the course of the year were registered as transmigrants.

121 The investigation of the related group thus led to a further investigation into a particular quality of the group: its mobility. This mobility ultimately led to an investigation into the migration of the Makassarese into Buginese country and on some aspects concerning the life of such colonists.

[361] Living Conditions

[621] Kampong Bontoramba is an hour from Macassar by bicycle across an asphalt motor road. A stay in the kampong therefore 123 can neither be compared with one on a remote island nor with

000 /14 cont./ method the material remains limited to the answers written down and the entire responsibility for an adequate picture rests with these answers.

The first method has the advantage over the second one of furnishing quick results (1). It is therefore preferable in

1. See E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Social Anthropology, Inaugural Address, Oxford, 1948, p. 7: "...an intensive study of a single primitive society takes about ten years" /cited in English/. This is the period of time, at any rate, set for a beginner!

those cases where it can be pursued without damage being done to the reliability of the results.

●125 The mutual relationship of the two methods has not yet been fully evaluated, however. In the investigation in South Celebes, the latter method has been followed.

In so doing, it appeared impossible to give an exhaustive description of the culture. Only a few aspects could be illuminated.

Nor did it seem possible to give an "objective" description. Time and again a choice had to be made from the mass of facts, and in this choice there lies a subjective element.

121 The initial object of this work to present a cultural description has been adhered to up to the end. With an eye 000 to future investigations, the question may be raised however whether it would not be more in accordance with factual procedure to first set oneself a definite problem and subsequently to explore how this problem was worked out in a certain community. The responsibility of the writer for the choice of his facts and their ordering is thereby in no way reduced. Evans-Pritchard has already given a positive answer to this question (2).

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[844]

/52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

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2. Migrations

It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

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I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949). Births and deaths were not registered because they were not relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81

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/53 cont./ This means, therefore, that over a period of one year, two-elevenths of all kampong residents changed houses.

The subdivision into Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest group shows that the largest migration took place in the Mangenre group, where almost /sic/ two-fifths of the group members moved, while in the Kapala and Rest groups approximately one-seventh of the members changed domicile. As a reason for this we could cite the fact that the Mangenre group most closely approximates what is called below a group of colonists. The members of such a group seem to form little attachment to their place of residence. Many of the Mangenre group moved away to Macassar, where, according to reports, they were able to earn more money than in Bontoramba.

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According to these figures, migration is just about equal among men and women. /54/ For 72 migrating men there are 73 migrating women.

The difference in migration between married and unmarried people does not seem to be great. Here one should differentiate the cases where only a married man or woman changes houses from the migration of a complete family unit.

In one year, 22 families with 35 children moved in Bontoramba, a total of 79 persons. In 8 of these 22 cases, a young couple moved away from the parental house. A two-family house in this way became a one-family house. This reflects the striving of each family to have its own house (1).

[125]

1. A young man or woman who moved to his (her) spouse's family after marriage, thus changing a one-family dwelling into a two-family dwelling, was registered as a transmigrant.

Three families who wanted to live closer to their sawahs

167 /57 cont./ The Makassarese and Buginese proclivity for colonizing as well as their call to the sea can probably be explained by the same conflict.

3. Colonizations

The move of a man of high nobility with a large number of followers to a remote region, such as could be observed half a century ago, might in a few cases be explained by difficulties with very close relatives.

In the case of recent migrations of Makassarese to Buginese country, an economic motive is always reported. However, it seems more correct to say that changes in the economic structure stimulated the tendency toward mobility.

In several kampongs situated to the north of Parepare, large groups speaking Makassarese have been found. I undertook an investigation in three kampongs, Kape, Langa, and Paria. The aim was to explore the integration of Makassarese colonists, living among the Buginese. To make a distinction from the migrations discussed above, we shall here refer to colonizations.

124 The "Makassarese" living in a certain kampong were in
● 125 each case called together for a brief survey. This usually
167 resulted in a number of adult men appearing. They were questioned on several points: their name and the names of their housemates; who of these were married; whether this married couple was related to each other and if so to what degree; whether this marriage had taken place in the festive manner or by way of silariang; which region they regarded as their homeland; for how long they had resided here; the reasons that had led them to leave their homeland and come here.

The results showed few differences between the three kampongs. /58/ Everywhere the tie with the homeland turned out to be a very close one. During harvest time, kinsmen came to help. After the harvest, individuals of the colonists'

571 /106 cont./ and subsequently had continued to live there
591 even after the reconciliation. Furthermore, there lived in Bontoramba a young woman, an orphan who had gotten into difficulties with her parents, who lived elsewhere, and so she had been taken into the house of one of the prominent /107/ kampong residents. In the third place, a Javanese, an ex-colonist, should be mentioned here. He had come to live in the house of one of the Mangenre group to work for this person (1). Similar cases are known to occur in each kampong.

[125]

1. The two last-named individuals were registered as kinsmen of the master of the house in the census.

571 Nowadays a kampong head frequently has someone in
622 his house who carries letters for him and performs extra
202 errands. This function is created by the need for a confidential
602 messenger (2). Frequently the head will take a young kinsman

2. In Borongloë the suro (literally, "messenger") has come to have the job of attending to community labor /gemeentediensten/ -- until shortly before the war, corvée /herendiensten/. He does not run errands. This development, however, varies greatly from one locality to another.

for this purpose.

571 In principle, kinsmen are equals, and therefore there
602 can never be any question of a relationship of followers between

114 /256 cont./ Of these 278 children, 60 received a graduating
217 diploma. The rest left school for various reasons which are
871 recorded in the school's register. For 95 the reason given was laziness; for 49, their own request; for 29 illness; for 23, transfer to another school, for instance in connection with the parents moving; for 14, lack of money; and for 8, the fact that they were too small.

Laziness has reference not only to the achievements at school, but also to attendance at school, and children who live as far as two kilometers or more are with greater difficulty induced to cover this great distance every day, than those who live near by in the vicinity.

Under "own request" many girls are included who are regarded by their parents or other kinsmen as too big to walk on the street. Girls above twelve years of age, but frequently even those over ten, are preferably kept at home.

The poor payment of tuition was a reason for removing a child from school, particularly during the last two years. At that time the school had sufficient pupils. One does not need to jump to the conclusion that poor people's children were here especially prejudiced in the opportunities for development. Frequently, these parents are no poorer or richer than others, they just won't spare the tuition money.

The fact that pupils were too small was only given as a reason for leaving school in 1939. This must be regarded as due to the fact that the number of pupils was considered to be too large and because the Inspector believed that instruction was suffering from this.

125 In 1949 an attempt was made to discover the residence of the 278 pupils enrolled from 1935 through 1940. This attempt must be regarded as a failure. In 1949, 104 children were still living in the same kampong; 12 had moved to a kampong outside Borongloë, 1 to a kampong outside Goa, and 7 were dead. Of the great majority (154) the place of residence was /257/
[115] unknown. I assume that by far the greatest part of these no longer

125 [115] /257 cont./ resided in the same kampong because my informant, the school director himself, was very well informed about local conditions and accordingly would have been quite familiar, in most cases, with the domicile if this had remained unchanged. But no positive answer was forthcoming to the question concerning the domicile of 154 ex-pupils. There was no time to investigate this matter in another way.

871 There is a certain correlation between the number of pupils who went to school in Bontomanai from a certain kampong during those years and the distance that these children had to cover. The numbers and the distances in kilometers follow here:

80 from Bontomanai itself
77 from Pakatto, about 1 kilometer
25 from Borong, 2.5 kilometers
24 from Songkolo, 2.5 to 3 kilometers
20 from Kotjikang, 2.5 kilometers
15 from Parang Banua, 4 to 5 kilometers
13 from Borongkaluku, 2.5 kilometers
8 from Bontoramba, 5 kilometers
5 from Bontoa, 5 kilometers
4 from Buttadidi, 4 kilometers
3 from Bolangi (1), 4 kilometers

1. Kampong of an adjoining adat community.

2 from Borongpalala, 3 kilometers
1 from Bonto Bonto, 6 kilometers

There were no pupils from two kampongs.

One of these kampongs is situated 7 kilometers from Bontomanai and 3 kilometers from another place with a school. The children therefore went there.

[487] All the kampongs mentioned are connected with Bontomanai by means of good footpaths, with the exception of Borongpalala.

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and 584
if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment 834
you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him.

Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions 125
as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans.

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such 565
class designations as bangsa hamba[slaves] and others as 558
turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were 567
plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's.

Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell 855
plenty in order to send him to school.

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went 567
to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general 558
exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are 166
of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may 152
be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe.) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 000

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8
Celebes OG1

S
793 There are not many
838 homosexual priests, but there are some. (Could this be an indication of Buginese influence, or is it from the common
S underlying base of both Buginese and Toradja culture?)
565 In Rantepao they have many tumbang at the mabua. There
535 is a tumbang from each noble family.
527 Move to Watampone: I left Makale on September 21, and
C went to Watampone via Pangkadjene. I started work there,
117 but on Friday, September 23, at dusk, while returning from Cape Patiro I hit a stump and the jeep overturned throwing me out and cutting a gash many inches long in my scalp. I was knocked out but was soon taken to a house. People carried me to the office of the district kepala in the dark. This was several miles away. They carried me on a bamboo litter, and there was much blood. A party arrived with a doctor and I was taken to a hospital and stitched up. I was laid up for two weeks with a concussion. I am now writing on Wednesday, October 5, twelve days later, and seem to be all right. I hope to be able to leave here for Makassar on Sunday, October 9th.

Someone stole the spare tire and bracket from the jeep. It had evidently broken off on impact. This accident nearly finished me, and it made me miss the ship to Bima on September 30. I will now try to get the earliest ship going to either Bima or Ambon.

M Watampone: Starting September 22, I spent most of my
● 125 time recovering from the accident.

Andi brought me the census and map, both of which are fair. The census is poor in one respect, that is, the number of slaves and other classes given is only good for the heads of households. I will try to get more accurate data on this before I leave from the Kepala kampong. Also, the census is not really a complete job, and I made a mistake to say only the heads of households. And the census is good only for one of the three parts of the kampong complex. The results, however, are given below.

M I talked a bit now and then with Andi and others. One
565 thing I noticed was that across from the pasanggrahan there
346 is a middle school, which was the former palace of the radja, as can be seen from the five flaps on the gabled tin front. The regalia were kept in a side building (like a pavilion), which is at present the principal's office. The walls are very thick (I thought of the atomic buildings which have thick walls to keep powerful rays inside!). The present Radja had a house built across the plaza, and for the regalia, a bigger pavilion alongside.

585 /180 cont./ The higher guests come at this point and stand before the bed, one after the other. They take some karuntigi between their fingers, mix this with oil and powder, and amidst the mumbling of a spell, they smear this mixture on one of the fingers, on the arm, sometimes on the forehead or the neck of the bride. The place where the mixture is applied and the [177] manner have their significance. However, this ritual is not [554] performed by all the guests, but only by the higher and by a 887 number of older ones who themselves have many children and many sawahs, in other words people who seem to possess much "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means) and who now, on this occasion, want to transfer something of this to the bride. When a great [554] number of guests come "akkaruntigi," this raises the social standing of the host.

In the afternoon of the day following the "akkaruntigi," [178] the bridegroom leaves -- according to a very old, but at present no longer observed, custom from the lap of his mother --, amidst a great deal of lamenting on the part of his relatives, for the bride's house in order to arrive there around sundown. Only men are present on this occasion. On the way and especially upon arrival at the bride's house, a loud dikir is heard. It is said that formerly at that moment a greeting of welcome was addressed to the bridegroom by one /181/ of the wife's relatives who for this purpose stationed herself at the top of the ladder in front of the door opening. The only time [178] that I experienced this a certain embarrassment could be sensed. This was considered very old-fashioned. The number of those in Borongloë who are familiar with this address is small. The Pinati of Bontoramba gave me the text here reproduced, independent of any festival. The four-line verses reported at the end, in which bridegroom and bride are introduced speaking, were actually incorporated into the address, according to him.

126 The text was checked for uniformity in spelling with the 585 assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes. The

126 /181 cont./ latter here followed the system suggested by
585 Professor A. A. Cense. In the translation, I tried to transpose the frequently figurative text into as good Dutch as was possible. It was not my intention to take strict responsibility for the translation.

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Pakkio' bunting	Address to welcome the bridegroom
1. Iadende', iadende',	Happily, happily,
2. nia' todjemmindjo maë	there now finally comes
3. bunting salloa kutajang,	the bridegroom whom I have been expecting for such a long time,
4. salloa kuminasai.	for whose arrival I have been hoping for such a long time.
5. Nampako riudjung borikku, riappa' pa'rasangangku,	Now that you have come to the outermost point, to the border of my land,
6. nakurappoiko tjini', kutimbarangngiko pangngai.	I give you my best wishes and my love.
7. Nampako kuasseng nia', nakuitungko labattu,	Now I know that you are there, that you have really arrived,
8. kunragi memang berasa' ri- mangko' kebo',	I am preparing four-colored rice in a white bowl, /182/
9. kummatta memang rappobau' ripalakku,	then I will hack a betel nut into little pieces on the palm of my hand,
10. kunnanro memang kalomping ritalang bulaëng;	and I will place a folded betel leaf on a golden bowl;
11. kutongko intang, kubelobelo djamarro';	and I will cover all this with jewels and adorn it with emeralds;
12. intang matjora massingarri dallekannu,	glittering diamonds shine upon your face,

585 /190 cont./ the bridegroom goes up the steps and into the house. At the high side of the house in the front room the bridal bed is usually made up. On this the bride is seated with her back turned to the entrance. Behind her the bridegroom takes his place. Immediately after this, the Moslem wedding ceremony (nikka') is performed.

The Imam of the adat community who performed the 793 wedding ceremony here described recorded in Makassarese in 585 detail the points of the ceremony that he considered the most 115 important, after the ceremony had taken place. The translation 126 of his report follows here.

'When I was about to marry Rahimi and Sija I asked 585 Rahimi's best man what the name of the bridegroom was, and Bandong (2) answered: 'the name of the bridegroom is Rahimi.'

2. The best man's name.

"Thereupon I asked: 'What is the name of his father and of his mother?' And then Bandong answered: 'Rahimi's father is called Palu, and his mother is called Sati. Both are still alive; they live in Bontobaddo (3).' /191/

3. Name of a section of kampong Bontoramba.

"Then I further questioned Malla (1): 'What is the name

1. Name of the bride's father.

of the bride?' And Malla answered: 'The name of the bride is Sija; I am her father, her mother is called Sani; she is deceased.'

"Thereupon I again asked Malla: 'What is the amount of the sunrang?' And Malla said: 'Twenty-four reals.'

S 838 824 772 Van der Veen said that there are only a few real hermaphrodites here, but that there are many homosexuals. And here is something! Boys who show feminine tendencies are fed maize because it is linked with the earth (female principle), and not rice, because the latter is heavenly and connected with the male principle.

000 Ambon: I met an insurance man at the Rotary Club meeting in Makassar, at which I spoke. His name is Kaihatu. He is from Oma, on Saparua, I think [Haruku]. Anyway, he said that they have quite a bit of pela [ally, in the sense of institutionalized friendship] practices there. One cannot marry a person of a fellow pela village. Thus Oma and a village on another island [Saparua] are in a pela relationship to each other. This involves a great amount of mutual aid. Although one can not marry a person from the other village it is evidently possible to marry in one's own village. Kaihatu said that even in a far away place such as Java, if a man of Oma meets one from a pela village he will help him in all ways possible. And he will never think of marrying. This custom is still strong, and even the moderns have no idea of breaking it. He also said that there was much black magic and that such beliefs are firm. I will see him later.

M 609 ●126 291 South Celebes: On my way back from Malino I was stopped by two lads at Lebon pasar. They were on their way from Makassar to the village where the Goa radja lived. They were selling clothing and asked me for a lift saying that there were two men. But soon two more appeared, and finally there were seven. All got in the jeep with their luggage. They were jolly and friendly. They pointed out a special black cape worn by nobles (but not only by nobles; perhaps only by women?) on the road. This type of cape is really beautiful, even out in the country. At one point they asked to stop and bought two large bunches of bananas. I asked them why. They said that the bananas were for me! And these the "surly Makassarese". I took a fast photo of them [with a Polaroid Land camera] and they were overjoyed. I gave one to them, and they are going to make copies for all. They posed with considerable pride. The kraton [court] of the radja was white walled, but inside it looked like the ordinary native houses.

M [115] 181 609 177 South Celebes: the following information was obtained from van Heekeren of the archaeological service and Abdul Rahim, Guru, an assistant of Cense and Chabot. They said that the Makassarese and Buginese are very conservative. They claim that they will not change much. Thus, if they are asked why they do not use the potter's wheel, for example,

Now regarding the kampong itself: the name of the kampong is Bukaka and it is located in the wanua Tanette Riattang, which is under the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang. The Sulewatang Tanette Riattang lives in Watampone. He is different from the Aru Tanette Riattang, who has no wanua, but who is one of the central seven princes. The head of the kampong has the title Mado Bukaka. He is a fine fellow and seems like a better character than most of the bangsawan. His father and his father's father and so on back have headed the kampong for countless generations. He is not a noble, says the Sulewatang. The Sulewatang also says that his ramp is not "genuine". Council is held in neither kampong nor wanua. If there are legal proceedings in the kampong the Kepala kampong may call in a notable or two to help. If there is a legal case in the wanua, the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang will call in maybe three or four (never all) Kepala kampongs to help. If there is really a big legal case, it goes to the Hadat Tinggi in Watampone. There are fifteen Kepala kampongs in the wanua. In most of the kampongs there are several smaller kampongs (two, three, or more), somewhat like hamlets. The Sulewatang used the term lingkongan [circle]. 361 622 632 623 632 692 621 632

The next day we got down to the work involving a rough map and a ground plan. The kampong abuts on Watampone, indeed it is actually a continuation of it. Thus one side of the market street is Watampone and the other is the kampong. There are several stores on the kampong side. I asked if the Chinese there would say that they were living in the kampong. The answer was no, but that they would say they lived in Watampone. Thus it is a kind of false border. Also, the big, beautiful, new mosque of Watampone is within the kampong borders. But the kampong is evidently not too important and Watampone is in the same wanua, that is, in wanua Tanette Riattang. The kampong itself is the western-most of the kampongs in this wanua, and the western border goes along with the eastern border of wanua Palaka (kampong Tjabalu). On the north is wanua Awampone (kampong Tjelapa). On the east is another kampong, Ta, of wanua Tanette Riattang. And, of course, Watampone is to the south. As one enters the kampong of Bukaka coming from the main center of Watampone, one goes along the main street for four kilometers from south to north, from the Watampone border to Tjelapa. On entering Bukaka one sees the great mosque and the large house of an Arab, both structures being white and blue, an ironic combination. It is a great misfortune that Mohammedanism got in here. From the main road (the Kepala kampong's house is not far from the Watampone border) to 1260 621 632 101 131 102

[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friedericy). This
565 fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to
582 another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded.
829 But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman. I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States, something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indonesian man in the United States could marry an American woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed. Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the
567 Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I des-
427 cribed the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?) The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens, and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food. When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that formerly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they were.

000 One thing about education: the business man asked if I could take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told him to write the Institute for International Education in New York.

769 Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of the old belief in present practice, including information concerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the countryside people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a sense, were ancestors.

126 I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in
124 the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the women were very proud. Also the children remained pests.

The camera, as usual, made quite an impression. In general, rapport was good, and I came back in the afternoon to give my assistant more paper. He drew a fine rough map of the kampong and is a very good man. But I need to have an expansion of many of his answers [to RK's questionnaire]. The trouble is that it is hard for me to read Malay. I have to get around it by having it translated into Dutch! 126 124

Balombaru, September 1, 1949. Second day: This time without Rahim. I have arranged, I think, to have a man type up Saleh's notes in Dutch. I got to the house at 8:30 A.M., and looked over some pages to give to the translator. The material consists of page after page of complete census data, house by house, giving age, occupation, family connections, and so forth. I can also check the material with the accompanying map. Saleh did a fine job; he is a remarkable fellow. Rahim says that although he went only as far as the lower school, he reads a lot and is interested in things in general. 124

First, I talked over the census with Saleh, his hadji father, his cousin's helper at gold work, and the old bearded sea captain carpenter. Then, after coffee we went off on a ride around the kampong following his good map. We went first to the cement factory, run by a Makassarese named Liyu who was once a poor man but learned a lot about business and has now become the richest individual in the village. He owns the cement factory. It is located near a river, where the big praus used to be able to sail in near the old market place (twenty-five years ago). The river here is now a wide, dry bed. In the distance is Gusungdjonga where Saleh's father lives. It is an island in the wet season. I noted the remnants of a bamboo bridge going across to the other side. It was standing one hundred years ago. The cement factory, with four big kiln chimneys in two buildings together with several other buildings, uses local lime rock and wood from the nearby woods. The rock is broken up and put into the blazing ovens at the top of the fire. It comes out as fine cement. Because of the great amount of road building going on now sales are way up. On the bank of the river are many big heaps of sand, and plenty of trucks to haul it away. Also, Saleh says that there are plenty of men working here. I took a photograph of the factory. Liyu's house, a big one, is situated nearby. 339 472

Then we went to the site of the old pasar, in the center of the village. On one side we noted a row of cement houses rented by the radja to Chinese, who can't own the land. Nor 563 427

764 hundred years old and may show that Mohammedanism here
174 came in a little later than in Goa. These tombs seem to date from the period of conversion to Mohammedanism, judging from the dates, especially in Goa. In this cemetery there are also modern, ordinary graves.

The Kepala kampong said that before the war there were many fine urns on the tombs, but the Dutch controleur had taken them. Later on van Heekeren told me that the Japanese took a lot of these urns too.

346 We went to look at the old and the new mosques. Both have
174 urns on top, as in Goa. The one on the old mosque has blue and white figures on it; the one on the new mosque is brown, apparently of a solid color. I asked van Heekeren, and he said that all mosques have these urns, even in the Paloppo and Luwu areas. He says that these urns are of Chinese origin and were formerly used to hold the ashes and charred bones (i.e., some of the bones) of the cremated bodies, before Islam came in. Van Heekeren is sure that there is not very much Hindu influence here; the urn burial trait is not Hindu but merely pre-Islamic Makassarese and Buginese. I
[126] took some photographs and gave some polaroid prints to the Kepala kampong, of him and his wife in hadji dress, with their little daughter (perhaps one and a half years old, who waves when you say dag [hello or good-bye--Analyst]).

000 While we were talking about slaves an old fellow came in and stood at the foot of the stairs mentioning something to the Kepala kampong. He was the slave of the assistant chief (seriang). They talked in a very low whisper.

838 Talking with Andi, I brought up the homosexual matter
793 again. He maintains that homosexuals are numerous here.
778 The official ones are attached to the aradjang and at the head of them is the puang matoa, chief of the bissu. When the aradjang is taken out, the bissu from many kampongs gather in Watampone and dance. I asked if every wanua has an aradjang. They do not. However, there are some kampongs that have them. The bissu handle and take out these lesser aradjang too. This also would bear research.

838 Andi went on and on about the scandalous behavior of the
548 ordinary homosexuals (tjalabai). They dress and act like women and are found everywhere. There are many in Watampone. They swish and flirt and stick rolled up handkerchiefs in their blouses to imitate breasts. Andi says that many men are crazy about them and spend lots of time and money to have sex with them. He was surprised that I had seen none. I do remember at the pasar malam that I had seen a "girl" in a bright red blouse (kabaya), and a well painted face. "She"

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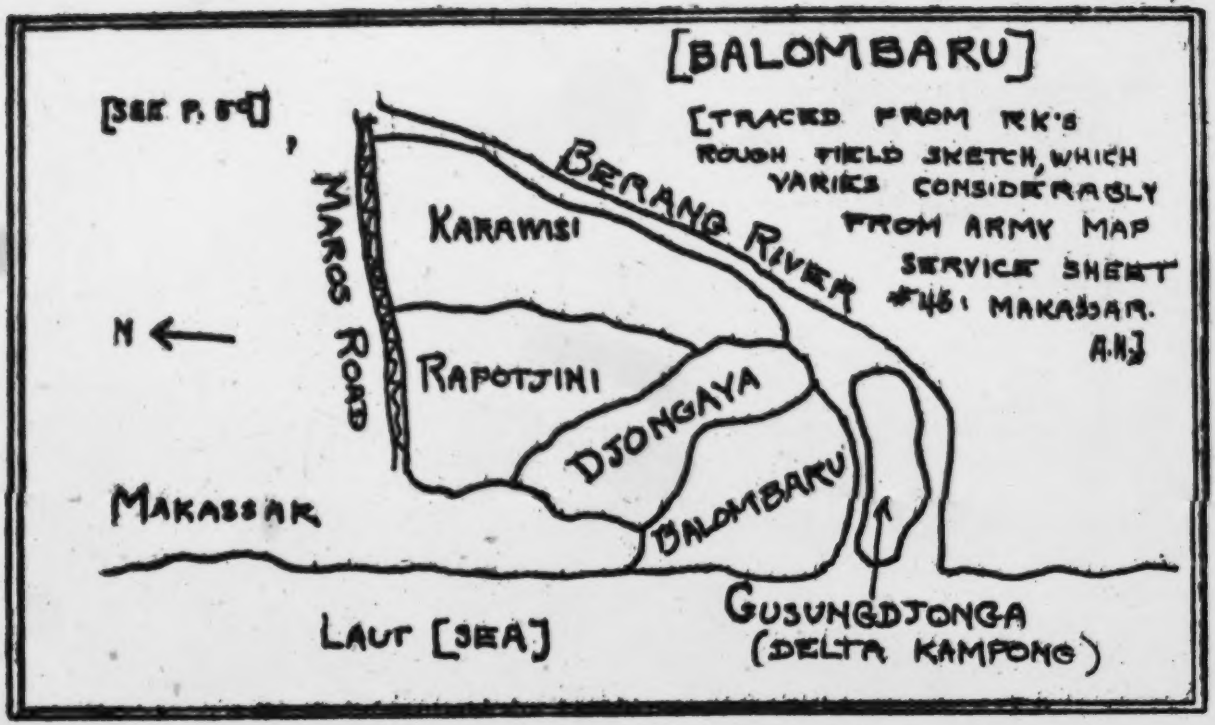
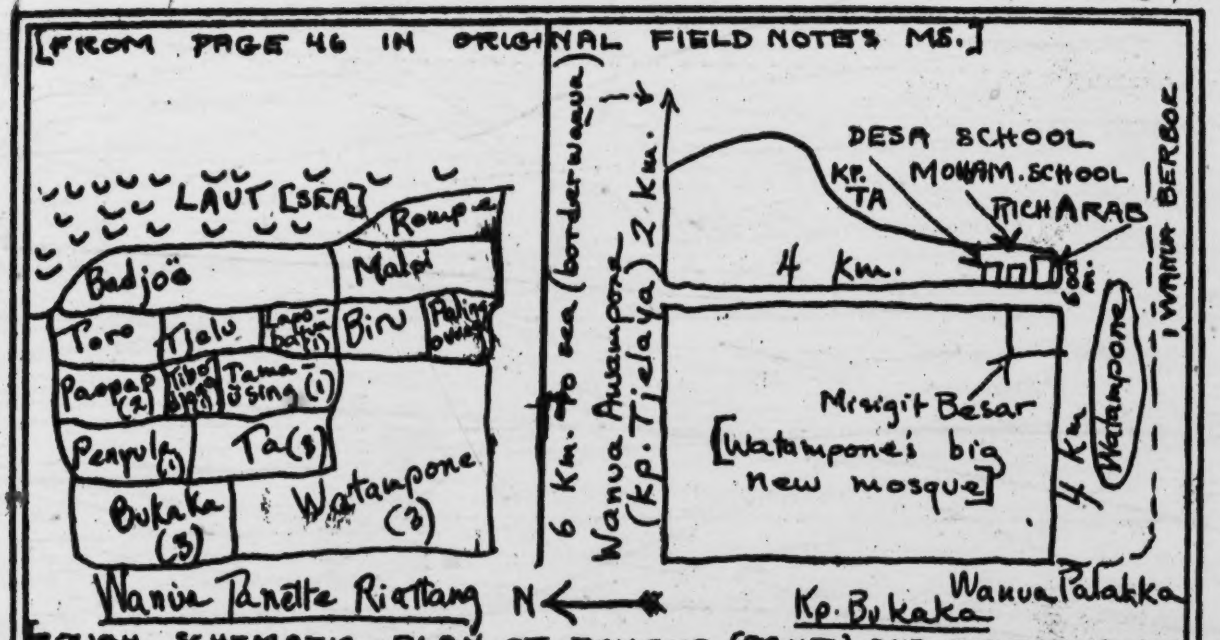

[BALOMBARU]
[SEE P. 64]
[TRACED FROM RK'S ROUGH FIELD SKETCH, WHICH VARIES CONSIDERABLY FROM ARMY MAP SERVICE SHEET #481 MAKASSAR. A.H.]
BERANG RIVER
MAROS ROAD
KARAWISI
RAPOTJINI
DJONGAYA
BALOMBARU
N
MAKASSAR
LAUT [SEA]
GUSUNGDJONGA
(DELTA KAMPONG)

102
● 1216
361

[FROM PAGE 46 IN ORIGINAL FIELD NOTES MS.]



[ROUGH SCHEMATIC PLAN OF BUKAKA (RIGHT) AND SURROUNDINGS (LEFT) TRACED FROM RK'S FIELD NOTES. SEE P. 55.]

3: Kennedy E-5 (1949-50) OB1 Indonesia
Makassar OG6

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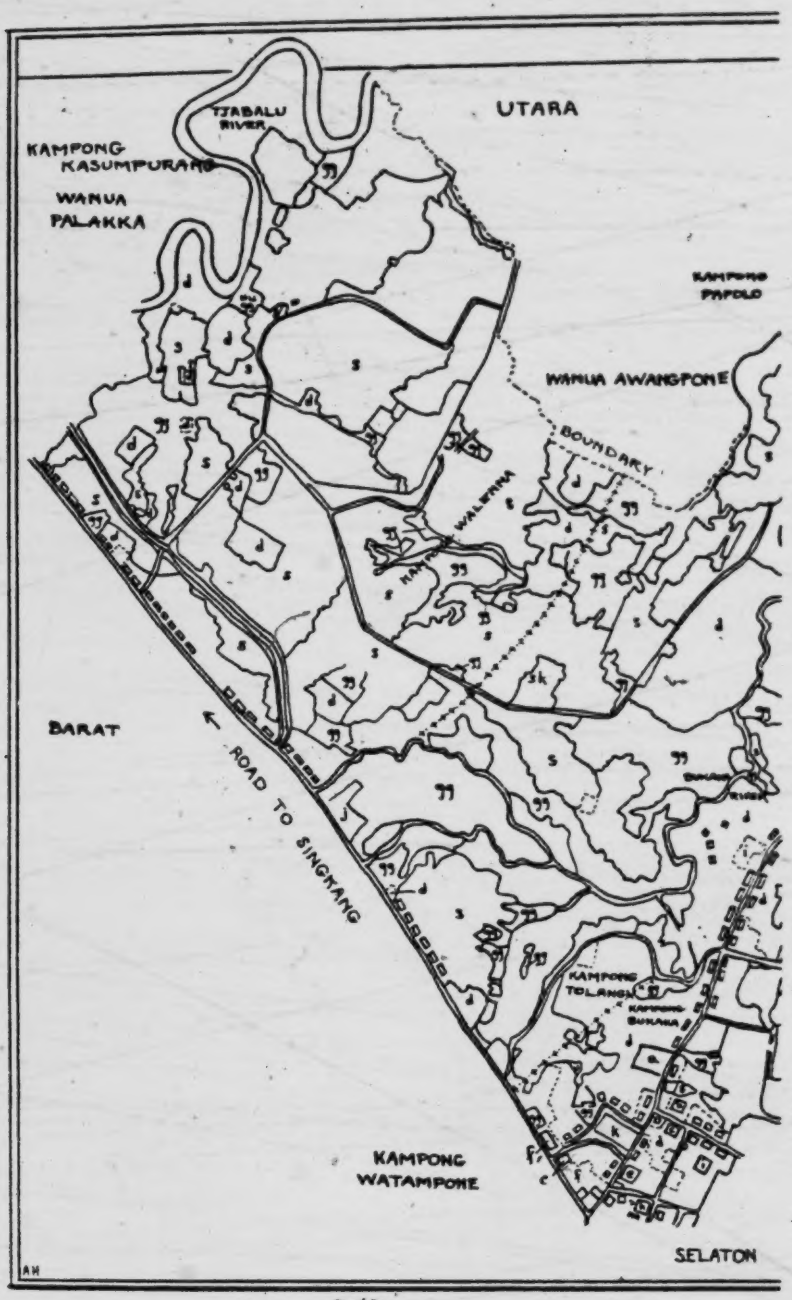

3: Kennedy E-5 (1949-50) 1953 OBI Indonesia
Makassar 086

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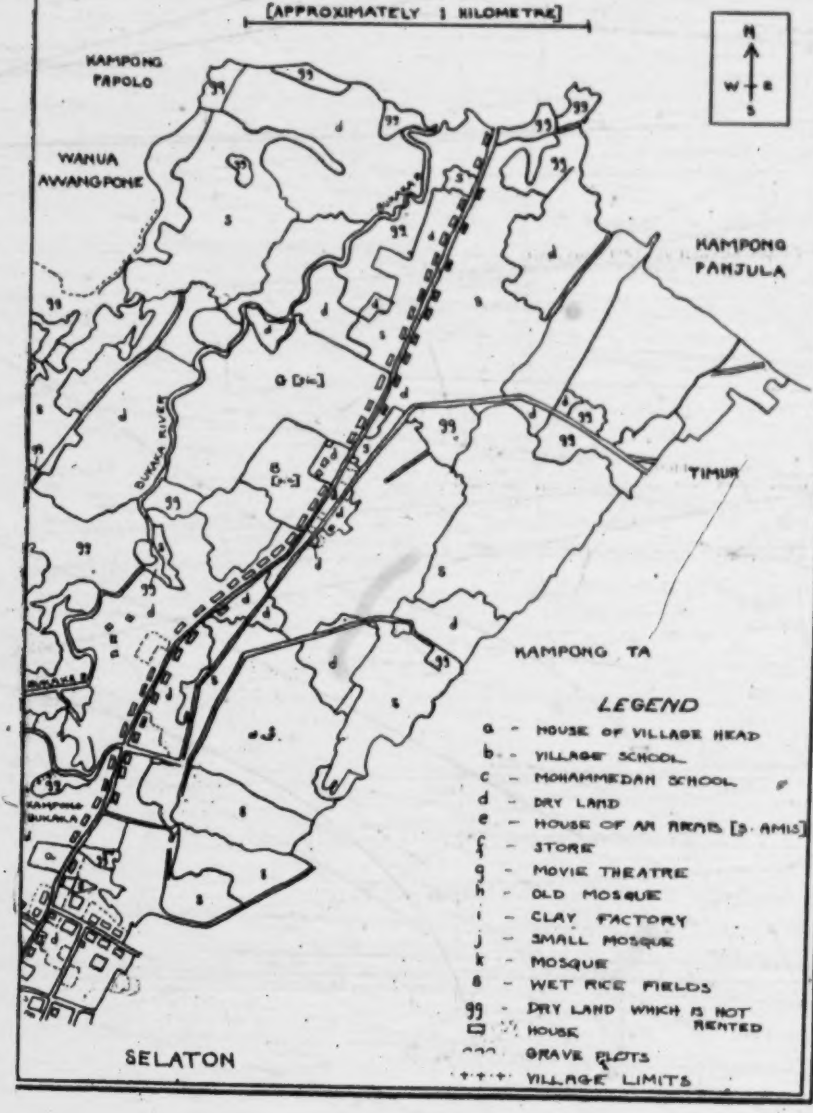
KAMPONG BUKAKA

WANUA TANETE RIATTANG

LANDSCHAP BONE



NOTES ON THE MAPS AND PLANS

M 102 126 S 102 126 I 102 126 C 102 126

The plans on pages 265 and 266 were traced from Kennedy's sketches, and the spelling of place names follows the originals. A few terms he gave in Dutch and Indonesian have been translated. The plan on pages 267-8 was traced from a very large tracing supplied to Kennedy by his informant, and the spelling of place names follows that given by the informant, but here again, some terms have been translated in the course of editing.

A consistant orthography has been difficult, sometimes impossible to follow. In the maps on pages 261-2, and 263-4 the editors have attempted to follow the spelling of the latest gazetteers. In preparing the map of South Celebes itself, much trouble was encountered in locating the correct villages, as mentioned in Kennedy's notes. His spelling was inconsistant, at times differs from both the old, and such new spellings as have been adopted under the Republic of Indonesia, and often the same names are used again and again, even for villages which are quite close together. Some villages do not appear on any maps or lists.

As is the Indonesian custom, u has been substituted for the Dutch oe. In the maps, as in the field notes, j is substituted for y, in accordance with modern usage. A few exceptions have been noted above, where Kennedy's own sketches were traced.

For more precise study, reference may be made to the detailed sheets published by the U.S. Army Map Service, in a scale of 1:125 000. These were made during World War II from Netherlands topographic and hydrographic maps and charts of recent date. Sheets numbered 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 23, 24, 25, 26, 33, 34, 39, 40, 46, 47, 48, 54, 55, and 56 will be found useful in following Kennedy's work in South Celebes.

On his trip through Borneo, Kennedy lost a container of village maps prepared for him by his assistants in the field. Among the lost were those for South Celebes, except Bukaka, which appears on pages 267-8.

C [631]

Key to Political Divisions of South Celebes (pp. 263-4) [Dutch "Onderafdelingen"; translated "Subdivisions" by U.S. Army Map Service]

1	Makassar	12	Bone	23	Mamudju
2	Pangkadjene	13	South Bone	24	Boven Binurang- en Pituulama-salo
3	Maros	14	Wadjo	25	Palopo
4	Goa	15	Soppeng	26	Rantepao
5	Takalar	16	Parepare	27	Makale
6	Djeneponto	17	Sidenrang Rapang	28	Malili
7	Bonthain	18	Pinrang	29	Kolaka
8	Bulukumba	19	Enrekang	30	Masamba
9	Sindjai	20	Barru		
10	Salajar	21	Madjene		
11	North Bone	22	Balangnipasche en Binuangsche Benedenlanden		

554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaëng related group, that only a small number are contracted in that of the adat community heads, and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives.
582 The marriage registers are particularly useless for this purpose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling out the marriage registers know that the administration does not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this girl, a very special figure ahead of his time, had recorded the birth dates of his children in a notebook, and therefore a check was possible in this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

156 /242 cont./ Among the men who possess to a low degree
833 the qualities established as a norm for them, there are to be
found the "kawe kawe," the unmarried men, the married men
838 who refuse to have sexual intercourse with their wives, and
possibly the koro patients. It is impossible for me to indicate
the boundary between a lack of the qualities demanded by
the culture and a supposed lack.

156 Among the women who possess the qualities ascribed to
them to a small degree, one finds the prostitutes and also
[548] matrons and bride's mothers, and those who perform the
ancestral ritual, all of whom owe their standing to their work,
which serves to raise the standing of the community. Among
these there are also the princesses, who in these countries
frequently played a dominant role. Among females in this
[562] position there is none of the docility left, which is expected
in women.

/248/ Appendix

114 Figures drawn from registers constitute a welcome addition
to the data that could not have been obtained otherwise,
●127 or only with great difficulty through verbal information.
However, in making use of register material, there is a danger
that the degree of its reliability will not be sufficiently
realized.

Data based on registers always make a precise impression.
The collector is inclined to believe in their reliability him-
self. But the reliability can only be judged through an
acquaintance with the culture in which they are used. A
number of "mistakes" in the registers can be immediately
understood as a result of ideas present in that culture. They
raise the demand for care in the comparison of figures with
other regions.

127 /248 cont./ At this point we shall examine a number of registers to see for what purposes it is possible to use figures taken from them and for what purposes they cannot be used; if possible we shall at the same time give the reasons for our opinion.

The following registers were found in the adat community:

1. birth registers
2. death registers
3. marriage registers
4. divorce registers
5. land-tax registers
6. Indonesian notary registers
7. registers of reported misdemeanors
8. sentences handed down by courts of law
9. community labor registers
10. overnight registers
11. registration registers
12. school registers

Birth Registers

[193] 217 163 114 The imam of the adat community maintains the birth registers according to instructions passed on to him by the Kali of Goa. In the columns appear next to each other the names of the father, the mother, and the child; the kampong where the birth took place; a record of the fact whether the birth took place at night or during the day, the date of birth, and the sex of the child.

/249/ Notification is made when the child is a few weeks old. If the child dies before registration, the latter ordinarily does not take place, therefore. During a stay of six weeks I observed two such cases. These registers therefore cannot supply any reliable figures concerning infant mortality.

124 /17 cont./ who now wished to improve his position by being
612 regarded as a distant kinsman of the Kapala. It was the
daughter of the Kapala himself who made it clear to him that
[608] his opinion could not possibly be correct. /18/ Furthermore,
[609] the strangers, that is to say, the non-kinsmen married to a member of the Kapala group, whose children thus also belonged to this group, were likewise counted among the Kapala related group.

In the sole instance in which -- while the married couple
124 were not related to each other -- individual kinsmen of the
612 man, as well as of the woman (who belonged to the Kapala
592 group), lived in their house, the man's kinsmen were not included in the Kapala group; he himself was.

Aside from traceable relatives, a number of relatives by
124 marriage were therefore also counted among the related group.
612 The latter should accordingly be defined more accurately as a traditional bilateral endogamous group of relatives.

Among the Buginese, none of whom were related to the Kapala, a prominent man called Mangenre was used for the same purpose as the Kapala in the first group, so that with respect to the occupants of a number of houses, it can be said that they belong to Mangenre's group of relatives. With regard to the occupants of the remaining houses, the mutual kinship
[128] relationship, insofar as it existed, could then be easily established. For the sake of convenience, the first group will be called the Kapala group, the second the Mangenre group, and the last the Rest group.

The result of this investigation showed that of a total of 129
621 houses, the Kapala group occupied 81, the Mangenre group 18, and that the Rest group lived in the remaining 30 houses.
[612] The latter's members belonged to 13 different groups of relatives. The members of one group of the Rest group lived distributed over nine houses; those a second group over five houses, and those of a third over three houses. In three cases persons related to each other occupied two houses, and in the

114 /82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from
174 an exogamous kinship grouping.
565 The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articulation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came into existence, is not clear.

128 The connection established by Friedericy between class and
565 kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As
554 much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used

2. F. van Heek, op. cit., p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing" /aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be feasible.

182 It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes
554 signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage
582 is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment. Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two elements which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

554 The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's
[581] children because this establishes the standing gained by one personally, within the bounds set by descent.

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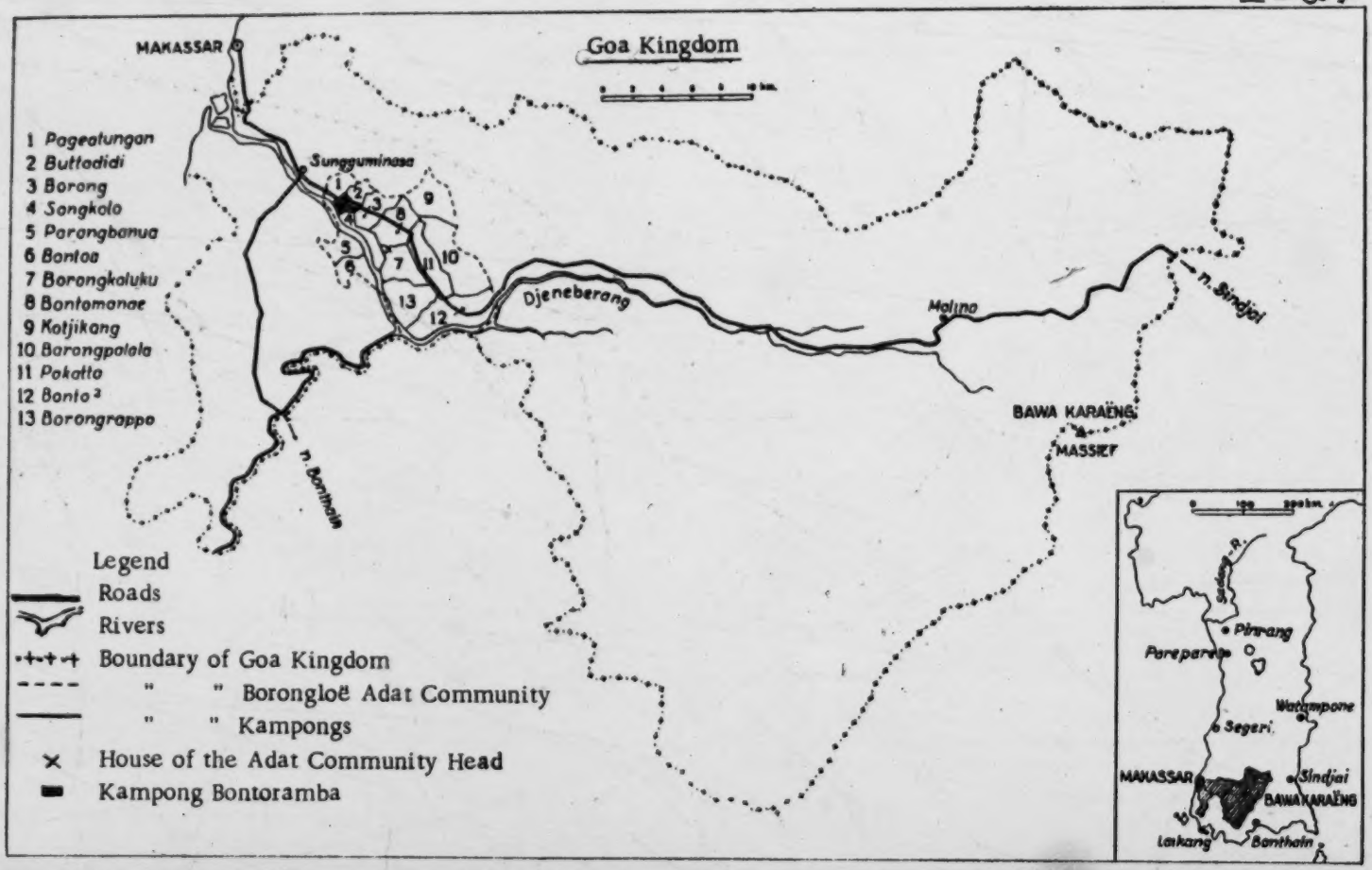
1:Chabot--vi E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6



000 /14 cont./2. E. E. Evans-Pritchard,
The Nuer, Oxford, 1940, p. 261.

/15/ Chapter I

Kinship

131 Goa Province extends from the ocean to the mountains.
133 The Djene'berang River, originating on the almost 3,000 meters high Bawakaraëng and emerging into the sea just to the south of Macassar, flows entirely through Goa's regions.
491 The large motor highway which connects Macassar with
361 Malino, situated 70 kilometers away in the mountain, runs practically parallel with the river. Approximately 10 kilometers outside Macassar lies the little town of Sungguminasa, still entirely in the plain, the residence of the Prince of Goa. Only 30 kilometers further on the road begins to climb
[133] steeply. The 30 kilometers to Sungguminasa lead through an undulating plain where woods and sawahs alternate. Groups of houses lie scattered through the country. At kilometer post 15, just past Sungguminasa, lies Kampong Bontoramba.
369 Elegant automobiles belonging to the residents of the large city roar through it, but this has little influence on village life and everyday thought. Some of the old people have never seen Macassar. For the majority a visit to the large city is a significant event, but more because of the many curiosities to be seen and experienced there than because of the changes to be introduced into one's own life after returning home.

631 Bontoramba is one of the 14 kampongs which form the adat community of Borongloë, and at present Borongloë, together with 10 other adat communities, forms the federative unit which for hundreds of years has been known as Goa Kingdom.

Now regarding the kampong itself: the name of the kampong is Bukaka and it is located in the wanua Tanette Riattang, which is under the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang. The Sulewatang Tanette Riattang lives in Watampone. He is different from the Aru Tanette Riattang, who has no wanua, but who is one of the central seven princes. The head of the kampong has the title Mado Bukaka. He is a fine fellow and seems like a better character than most of the bangsawan. His father and his father's father and so on back have headed the kampong for countless generations. He is not a noble, says the Sulewatang. The Sulewatang also says that his ramp is not "genuine". Council is held in neither kampong nor wanua. If there are legal proceedings in the kampong the Kepala kampong may call in a notable or two to help. If there is a legal case in the wanua, the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang will call in maybe three or four (never all) Kepala kampongs to help. If there is really a big legal case, it goes to the Hadat Tinggi in Watampone. There are fifteen Kepala kampongs in the wanua. In most of the kampongs there are several smaller kampongs (two, three, or more), somewhat like hamlets. The Sulewatang used the term lingkongan [circle]. 361 622 632 623 632 692 621 632

The next day we got down to the work involving a rough map and a ground plan. The kampong abuts on Watampone, indeed it is actually a continuation of it. Thus one side of the market street is Watampone and the other is the kampong. There are several stores on the kampong side. I asked if the Chinese there would say that they were living in the kampong. The answer was no, but that they would say they lived in Watampone. Thus it is a kind of false border. Also, the big, beautiful, new mosque of Watampone is within the kampong borders. But the kampong is evidently not too important and Watampone is in the same wanua, that is, in wanua Tanette Riattang. The kampong itself is the western-most of the kampongs in this wanua, and the western border goes along with the eastern border of wanua Palaka (kampong Tjabalu). On the north is wanua Awampone (kampong Tjelapa). On the east is another kampong, Ta, of wanua Tanette Riattang. And, of course, Watampone is to the south. As one enters the kampong of Bukaka coming from the main center of Watampone, one goes along the main street for four kilometers from south to north, from the Watampone border to Tjelapa. On entering Bukaka one sees the great mosque and the large house of an Arab, both structures being white and blue, an ironic combination. It is a great misfortune that Mohammedanism got in here. From the main road (the Kepala kampong's house is not far from the Watampone border) to 126 621 632 101 131 102

621 the border of wanua Palaka, kampong Tjabalu on the west,
it is four kilometers also. This western part is thus a
632 square. On the east side of the road, along the Watampone
101 border, it is only six hundred meters along the street to
131 the Ta border. But then the east border sweeps eastward in
102 a long curve so that on the northern side along the border of
Tjelapa, the northern border runs two kilometers from the
main road. (See rough map, page 46, field notes)[P.266 here]

871 There are two schools in Bukaka, one a religious school
435 and the other a village school. They are near the Watampone
556 border on the main road, or just off it. There are also ten
private Koran schools. There are about six hundred hadjis
here. I met one, a smug young man. And I teased him about
being one of the few rich men in town, but he said that it was
perhaps, if the family resources were pooled, six thousand
guilders. He remarked that ten thousand guilders was really
a great fortune here. Incidentally, the Sulewatang said that
the high figures given for the old days were somewhat off.
Prices were overvalued.

131 In the wanua, running eastward to the sea from Bukaka, are
361 the kampongs Penyula and Ta side by side; then Paopao,
Tibodjong (very small) and Tamaüsing, side by side; then
Toro, Tjelu, Lapobatua, Biru, and Palingorung, all side by
side (the latter two jut out to the south); then Badjoë and Maloi,
side by side (the former on the sea, the latter juts out to the
south); and finally, along the curve of the sea, Rompe. I for-
got to say that these really do not jut out, as Watampone is
also part of the wanua and it is to the south of Bukaka, Ta,
Tamaüsing. Thus the appearance seems to be roughly that
621 of a triangle. Aside from Watampone, each of the fifteen
kampongs has a kepala kampong. And within each of the kam-
pongs there are varying numbers of hamlets. Thus Bukaka
has three, Penyula has one, Ta three, Paopao two, Tibodjong
one, Tamaüsing one, Lapobatua one. I could not get any
information on the other kampongs, but will find out later. The
biggest kampongs, in order, are: Tjelu, Bukaka, Badjoë.
Others are small. Bukaka is the oldest.

368 The big misigit [mesjid, mosque] is used by Bukaka, Ta,
and Watampone. Other kampongs having misigit are: Penyula,
Badjoë, Paopao, Lapobatua, and Palingorung, thus there are
six in all.

632 In Bone, Andi says, there are twenty-one wanua. Seven
565 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, how-
ever, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua
there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

000 /14 cont./2. E. E. Evans-Pritchard,
The Nuer, Oxford, 1940, p. 261.

/15/ Chapter I

Kinship

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361 Malino, situated 70 kilometers away in the mountain, runs practically parallel with the river. Approximately 10 kilometers outside Macassar lies the little town of Sungguminasa, still entirely in the plain, the residence of the Prince of Goa. Only 30 kilometers further on the road begins to climb
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631 Bontoramba is one of the 14 kampongs which form the adat community of Borongloë, and at present Borongloë, together with 10 other adat communities, forms the federative unit which for hundreds of years has been known as Goa Kingdom.

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

Bali OF7
Ambon OH4
New Guinea OJ1

Javanese OE5
Sundanese OF7
Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Sumatra OD1

I 142 [x cont.]

certain indication of mixture with foreign blood. The men are beardless and do not have hair on the chest and limbs. The little hairs that cover various places on the body are pulled out with great care, as are the eyelashes and eyebrows. There is not much difference in height, which is always below the average stature of the European. With regard to the shape of face, the Malays are prognathous, although this prognathism is slight. The sloping face is more pronounced in some tribes than in others. Only the zygomatic arches generally protrude somewhat. The shape of the skull shows great divergence among the various tribes. The Javanese and Sundanese are [xi] brachycephalic, as are the Buginese and Makassarese. On the other hand, the Dajak [Dyak], most of the Sumatran tribes, the Balinese, and the Ambonese generally are mesocephalic.

A Sd St Bl Br M J 141

I 152 181

We have already learned that in disposition the Malays are reticent and do not show their emotions. One can rarely detect what is going on in the Malay's mind. The feeling of surprise, astonishment, or fear is usually scarcely discernible.

I NG 174 197

We see that the difference between the Papuans and the Malays is considerable. For a long time they were considered two entirely different races, and several ethnographers still hold this opinion. The most recent investigations, however, have proved that they formerly must have been one people. This conclusion is based on the similarity in language. The languages, even those of the pure, typical Papuans, show many family traits of the languages spoken by the Malayan race. Not only are numerous words, apart from sound changes, often the same, but both groups also have many similarities in grammar. It goes without saying, however, that because of the great differences between the two racial groups it has to be assumed that they have been separated from each other for a

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

796
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Before the commencement of the Dikir on the occasion of the Maulud festival in Laikang. Dikir is men's work; a girl is jokingly chased away. Page 193.

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631
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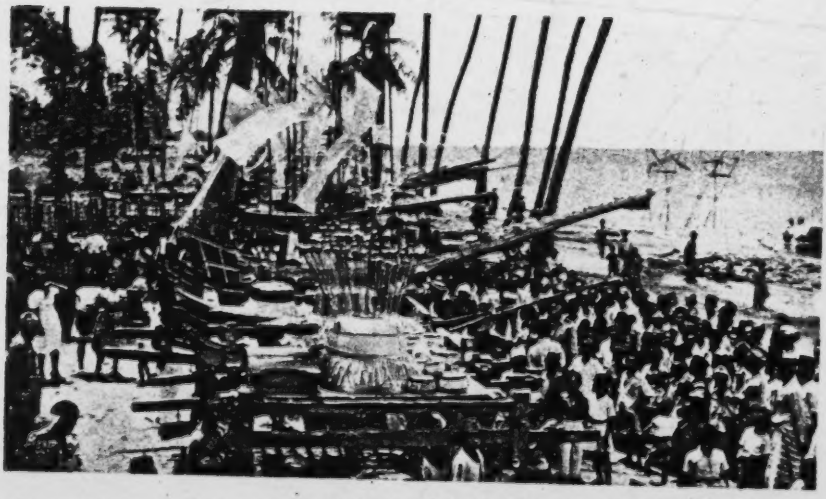

General view of the Maulud festival in Laikang. The scaffolds are sent in by kampongs. In their size and construction the competitive spirit between kampongs finds expression.

[end plate 4]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

585
292
516
142

The Imam of Borongloë (center) marries the bridegroom (right); to the left in the foreground is the father of the bride; to the right in the background the back of the bride can be seen. Pages 259-260.

292
585
516

Bride and bridegroom amidst the women and children waiting for their first joint "meal." Page 263.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 5]

[94 cont.]
631 of these territorial institutions is quite different from that of those found in other parts of the archipelago. From olden times on southern Celebes there has been [95] a kind of
643 feudal nobility, the Karaëng among the Makassarese and the Aroeng of the Buginese, with the members of their families, the Anakaraëng (Makassarese) and the Anakaroeng (Buginese). The criterion by which a Karaëng or an Aroeng is recognized as chief or ruler by the population is the possession of the so-called
[293 778] "regalia," which in southern Celebes are called ornaments (in Buginese, aradjang; in Makassarese, kalompowang). [Illustration appears here.] Among these objects there are a few of value, but also a number that are quite worthless, little bones, little pieces of wood, small stones, etc., and an article that is considered the most important, the gaoekang. It is a stone or a little stick that was found by the original owner, long, long ago in a particular
[142 291]

Buginese from Southern Celebes
Photo. Kol. Instituut Amsterdam. Coll. Veen.

[293 778] concealed place, or which he received under mysterious conditions. The worship of these regalia has something of the nature
793 of fetishism; among the prominent Karaëng there are even

I [245 cont.]
304 head of the newborn, however, is more common in the archi-
854 pelago, although not to such an extent that it can be compared with skull deformation among the Dajak, etc. Dr. Swawing,
J for example, says of the Javanese that the native midwives try
844 to shape the head after birth, but he adds that he very much doubts that the shape of the head can be altered artificially by
RL gentle manipulations with the hands. Marsden observed the
844 same thing among the Redjang. There is still another people, however, among whom artificial skull deformation seems to
MK exist, and they are the Buginese. Mr. Riedel mentions that they
304 observe this custom, but he gives no further details (1).

Riedel, Zeitschrift f. Ethnol.
Vol. VII, Part V.

NG One should therefore accept this data with caution. There
I is a circumstance, however, which confirms his information.
MK The Buginese skulls in European museums give the impression
304 that they have been artificially compressed with great force
142 from the front and back. Furthermore, it is to be noted that skulls found among other peoples of the archipelago are highly asymmetrical. Of course, from these few skulls one should not immediately draw the conclusion that artificial skull-deformation was practiced among these peoples so long as it has not been confirmed by eye-witnesses. Dr. Meyer says that the asymmetry of the [246] Papuan skulls that he brought back and those on the islands of Geelvink Bay is very striking, but he would not venture to conclude from this that it had been caused by artificial deformation (1).

1. Meyer, op. cit., p. 23.

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

684 834 /225 cont./ get water and not to talk." In another case a girl was washing at the well when a ball with which a group of young men were playing raga rolled close to her. She gave the ball a little kick, and the young man who came to get it laughed to her. A few days later she fled to him. Another case concerned a girl who, during one of the ceremonies preceding her wedding, broke wind. One of her cousins immediately took the blame for it: "Don't laugh, people, it slipped out of me," he said. A few days later, the nikka' had already taken place; she fled to him. As it turned out later, she did so at the urging of her aunt: "Go off, do what your siri' demands" (lampako, dongkoki siri'nu), the latter is supposed to have said. Subsequently, she married this man.

/226/ In none of these instances was the woman therefore in any direct danger. In all three of them her action [672] was completely understood, and her kin group was "not very siri'," that is to say, the reconciliation took place within half a year. Rather than remaining siri' and running the risk of being stabbed, these women resorted to flight. Rather than refusing to go with her and not being believed and thus being regarded as one who flees before a woman, the men married. The wife's kinsmen were siri' because she fled and thereby openly admitted that forbidden contact existed. But there certainly was understanding of her action and the feelings that led her to it. In the last of these three cases just described, the deserted bridegroom was also without feelings of rancor toward the second husband. He regarded the course of events as part of his lot. When etiquette had been satisfied [152] through reconciliation, there was no apparent trace of personal feelings of anger in him.

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and 584
if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment 834
you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him.

Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions 125
as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans.

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such 565
class designations as bangsa hamba[slaves] and others as 558
turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were 567
plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's.

Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell 855
plenty in order to send him to school.

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went 567
to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general 558
exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are 166
of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may 152
be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 000

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under
●152 forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly
all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one
family. They said that they had a very small house and were
very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master
family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true
161 fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants
592 whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small
houses have many more. The population has risen some
despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving
around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with
the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty
years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many
places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with
rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk
about it, but they have no money so they have to remain.
When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits
to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in.
I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the
poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend
to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies.
They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They
mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world,
but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved
in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same
here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people
from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and
207 Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar,
and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong
brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he
doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay.
There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding
literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst]
put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said
also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese 535
in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and 181
there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead- 152
pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the sim- 832
ple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the 292
local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face toward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and 124
finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Mohammedan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living 163
children per woman was three, but that the average number of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average number who die to each woman is two. They say there has been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not much if any difference according to class. This I do notice, that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is 861
the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. 828
I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex] (and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. 562
They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, 584
women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women 883
never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) 181
If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or someone else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional pair coming from school together, but this is carried out for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
586 and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
153 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
152 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with
[565] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas, the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said that this will mean very little in this area except for the formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to receive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect, too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean further insecurity for his position. There are great preparations being made for this event at the present time. There will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge. This is merely a generic term. At the top are the ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here (though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng, descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depending on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. 153
He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the 857
boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, 565
who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. 831
The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The 876
lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys.

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." 583
Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, 565
and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones 435
may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man 291
wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten 177
paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris 554
stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc.

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The 546
information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a 208
big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice.

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six 535
days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the 517
pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form 525
of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of 368
playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam.

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He 586
asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the 153
tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after mar- 163
riages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry.

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668 /138 cont./ the present-day rulers, only to become the prince himself in place of those who have been driven out.

181 The ideal of Makassarese-Buginese culture which is unconsciously present in people's thinking could be described
182 as a large kingdom comprising the whole of South Celebes
668 where peace prevails under a powerful and good prince. This formulation is based upon the striving, inherent in every bilateral related group, for expansion and steadily continuing inclusion of all surrounding groups until as large a grouping as possible has been attained, whose limits for the present are those of South Celebes.

182 We mentioned earlier a strong horizontal mobility which can be explained by a conflict in personality structure
565 and at the same time by a great insecurity about the
154 individual's standing which has its source in the absence of a clearly delineated vertical articulation. Unrest and insecurity are therefore always present, even in times of peace and order.

154 The established ideal is unattainable, but the individuals content themselves with this so long as they have the
181 opportunity to continue striving for this ideal in the "ordinary"
182 ways present in the culture. But as soon as this possibility
668 no longer exists in their opinion, and when the individual, perhaps unconsciously, believes that he is unequal to the circumstances, then the otherwise usual tension between ideal and reality becomes too great. The individual then seeks to attain his ideal in an extraordinary manner, which almost every culture provides.

The expectation of salvation is a hypertension phenomenon. It is an attempt to actualize in a short period of time the distant ideal which for a number of individuals had become too unattainable, whatever the reasons for this may have been.

Regarding sex, Thierens said that the extreme repression of it and the lack of open relations of a social sort between boys and girls here causes a high rate of homosexuality among boys. He said that nearly all boys are so. This may also link with the wandu custom, or at least the prostitute part of it. The boys are used to homosexual practice in youth, and like it. Also, perhaps the women, so bound by adat, are cold. Thus the homosexuals may be an attraction. The whole dead business has paralyzed these people even down to the simple sex matter. I remember the homosexual practices in Bontorio. But that was in the court, where there were girls. Maybe even there it was hard to get girls, and there may have been little in the way of social relationships. I remember that Bontorio had to get his slave girls on the sly. That is what Andi said, things must be kept in the dark. M 831 838 181 154

In regard to the Toala and the To Patuntung, I went to Soppeng on Sunday. We took one route down and another one back. It is in a rather mountainous section but Soppeng itself is a large and attractive town. On the way we could see the remoteness of many of the people here, even those on the road. In Soppeng I met Denzo, the Christian leader. He is young and good looking, much like Lethe in type and manners. His family comes from Saleier, but also from Bone. He was born in Saleier. He was baptized in 1937 although coming from a Mohammedan family. His mother is also a Christian and so is at least one sibling. He said that this resulted in some trouble with his father. By 1939, he had 800 Christians. During the Japanese time this number shot up to 2,000 and now he has about 3,000. This is the only place in the Buginese country where there are Christians. He has a church which is a part of the Protestant Church of Indonesia. But it is not a mission proper. He said that he converted from all classes, including at least one high fellow. He said that there are more women than men which did surprise me. I asked him how to approach women. He said that one must first ask the man. If the man is converted, then one can work on the woman, and usually the whole family becomes Christian. But one may not talk to the woman without the man's consent. Denzo said there was some trouble with the radja and with the nobles and with the fanatic Mohammedans. But after a while there was not so much trouble because they found out the Christians did not break up the adat and so they could not be too bad. Again we see the point that adat comes first, the Mohammedan practices being secondary. M 797 562 M [576] M [181]

Then I asked about the To Patuntung. He said there are not so many of them. They are ten kilometers walk south of C 563

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;
[589] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should
[581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will become apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse
581 only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For
833 a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

[155] With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those
[156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

105 /239 cont./ the vertical tendency is strong, and integration is either not present at all or else in a very weak form. In kin groups like that of the adat community head, that of the kapala and that of Mangenre, the striving for integration is time and again interrupted through oppositional striving. The vertical tendency and thus, at the same time, the disintegration of the group can best be observed among the prominent members.

In a kin group where an ornament is present, integration can always be more clearly shown than in one where the ornament is absent. Kin groups lacking an ornament seem incapable of forming a power center of significance. Stability, on the other hand, is found only where the vertical articulation is fixed. The vertical tendency inherent in the /240/ kin groups constantly has as a consequence the renewed disintegration of these groups.

262 South Celebes is a land with a large surface, in relation to its population, suited to wet rice cultivation. If the rice harvest has failed, maize is available to take its place. There seems to be no fear of a threatening food shortage among the Makassarese and Buginese.

855 Small children are well cared for over a long period of time by their mothers and female housemates. By the same token, there seems to be no fear of receiving insufficient care.

867 One of the first things a young person learns is the fact that he is restricted in his movements and that he must be
155 quiet when a man, even his father, is present in the house. Upon the arrival of a male guest the women and children withdraw from the front room, and the children are reprimanded if they make noise. This happens to a greater degree when a higher person comes to the house. Here are the first frustrations for the children (1).

1:Chabot--328 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

•155 867 /240 cont./ 1. For the ideas followed here, see A. Kardiner, The Individual and His Society, fourth edition, New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.
571 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same
578 descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle,
[685] and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

554 565 /97 cont./ than those of their mother. The daughters are preferably married to someone in their father's group of relatives.

The position of the sons resulting from these marriages is difficult. By reason of their descent they are unable to marry daughters from their father's group. For a marriage they are dependent upon their mother's group. In practice, it appears [156] that they often conduct themselves as the wildest and boldest among the young men. It may well be that this conduct is unconscious in order to show themselves, at all costs, worthy of a girl of somewhat higher blood.

Karaëng call those who were born from such marriages ana'tjera' (literally, "blood children"), but the kampong people call them karaëng. The former is a denigrating term, the latter one of respect. Lower persons know people with karaëng blood who live in their kampong; the latter are regarded as slightly higher than those about them by virtue of their blood. Upon questioning, it appears, for instance, that their great-grandfather was a karaëng who married one of the women from the group of relatives residing there, that his son married a kinsman of his mother, and so on. The fact [583] that their grandfather (great-grandfather) was a karaëng is taken into account in determining the sunrang; the knowledge is kept alive.

/98/ Confusion is created if one calls the ana'tjera' an intermediate class. They do not form a related group occurring between the nobility and the people. It is merely a matter of individual cases having a tie in common with their father's group, the karaëng. They try to be taken into their father's group of relatives. Among themselves, however, they do not form an integrated group because, through the mother, they always belong to different groups of relatives. But whichever of the two groups they settle down with, their father's or their mother's, they are not regarded as equals by those around them.

571 /102 cont./ 1. Ana' ana'na literally signifys "his children," here, therefore, "as if his children."

awareness that a relationship of authority of high over low, accepted by the latter, exists and likewise the realization that high and low need each other in their striving for higher standing. This relationship is based upon cooperation. The relationship between (almost) equal groups, on the other hand, is best described as opposition. The next paragraph will deal with this point.

●156 554 571 In addition to descent, the personal qualities of the individual are of importance in his striving to rise. The importance of these qualities is reflected in the saying that a good karaëng has good followers and a bad karaëng bad ones. Qualities required for a higher person to be a good one are: courage in fighting and skill in debate. He must have the courage to undertake risks; he must be active and at the same time able to stimulate activity in others. In addition, a certain generosity toward those lower is indispensable. Such a dynamic character attracts those who are lower; They like to work for such a person. Qualities appreciated in a lower person worthy of mention are: faithfulness to the master; courage, in the sense of readiness to assist his master and to avenge insults inflicted upon the master; and furthermore, a certain initiative within the bounds of freedom permitted him.

114 Four essays written by the government official, Kooreman, which dealt with his experiences during a stay of almost ten years in South Celebes appeared in the Indische Gids of 1883. He also described the system of followers (1). Kooreman was

1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 375 ff.

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the karaëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng.
[582] Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

156 The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
178 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis
[648] figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to
571 himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
634 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to maintain himself in his function.

589 /163 cont./ Today, just as fifteen to twenty years ago, a comparatively large number of men and women remain unmarried. The above-mentioned reasons may be of influence upon the number of those who remain unmarried during a certain period of time and in a certain group. An explanation of the same phenomenon during this period in the lower classes must be attempted separately.

581 Marriage seemed to be one of the most important events in the related group. The older people who bring about the marriages unconsciously apply a criterion of selection in the choice of those they are bringing together in marriage. The young man of whom they expect that he will contribute to the standing of their group has preference. This must be someone, therefore, who is always prepared to outdo others /164/ and to guard against the impairment of his own standing. Outdoing
156 other men and the conquest of women are two matters which in
584 the Makassarese conception go together in a man. The young men who possess these qualities to a strong degree frequently take the initiative toward marriage themselves, however limited the opportunities for this may be. Furthermore, there is a large number of men who do not get to take the initiative and begin to refuse when their marriage is announced to them, but who in the end let themselves be persuaded. There are those who externally let themselves be persuaded but who continue to refuse sexual union and in so doing cause the marriage to fail (1).

1. See below, pp. 273 ff.

156 Finally, there are a number of men who refuse to marry and upon whom the parents exert little further pressure. These
589 are the ones of whom it is believed that they would contribute little to the standing of the related group. Their fear of being inadequate in sexual relations with their wife, just as they are

156 /164 cont./ inadequate in their social relations with other
589 men, could be the reason for their refusal to marry. The fact that the older people do not consider these individuals capable of contributing to the standing of the group could be the reason why they are satisfied with their refusal.

[584] No initiative toward marriage of any kind may ever proceed from a woman. The docile, withdrawn girls are set up as an example. I believe, but would like to see this confirmed by further investigation, that among the unmarried women these docile types are still the most frequent. The more aggressive personalities who possess to a lesser degree the qualities most valued in this society seem to marry sooner. An old woman explained why a particular girl had been allowed to marry by reasoning that otherwise one might have difficulties with her later. By this, the old woman most probably was thinking of the possibility of siri' problems arising. The fact that these characters marry, while docile individuals frequently remain unmarried, points to the fact that the older people in their selections follow the path of least resistance. The types from whom the most difficulties are to be expected have a better chance of marrying.

[581] The men with the personal qualities that are most /165/ appreciated and the women with the personal qualities that are least appreciated have the best chances of marrying.

565 It is believed that the karaeng always possess a high de-
156 gree of the personal qualities appreciated in a man. Their
581 opportunities to marry are greater than those of an ordinary man; a marriage to a lower woman is a frequent phenomenon. Figures dealing with the unmarried in this group are not available, however.

The Koro Phenomenon

826 Koro is the Makassarese name for the disease symptom in
158 which a man believes that his penis is shrinking and will turn

548 /167 cont./ gave her little presents. Her father declared her dead, but her brothers did not follow his example. Consequently, there remained the threat of danger. After a few months she fled to Macassar with a man. An ordinary marriage by flight was therefore the end of the adventure of this woman who broke the ties with her parental house in order to gain greater freedom in Bontomanai than would have been possible in the midst of her own relatives.

156 548 It should not be expected that among prostitutes in the large city one will meet the modest, withdrawn types who, in the country, are held up as the ideal to the young girls. Rather one can expect among them those who submit with difficulty to the many restrictions imposed upon them. Further research would have to take place here.

I would venture to suggest that while in western Europe the innocent, misled, middle-class girl is found as well as the girl who becomes a prostitute for economic reasons, in South Celebes where no economic coercion leads to prostitution, women with aggressive characteristics, probably the adventurous type, practice prostitution.

Polygamous Marriage

162 595 As of April, 1940, there were 34 polygamous men among more than 13,000 inhabitants (1) in the adat community of

1. There is no sense in giving figures for polygamous marriages in the kampong Bontoramba. In 1940 there were none, and in 1949 new figures could not be collected after the war for lack of time.

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;
[589] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should
[581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will be-
581 come apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For
833 a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

[155] With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those
[156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

585 /195 cont./ is not the issue, but rather the tactfulness in
833 getting the wife to perform the sexual act. They had thus satisfied the wishes of those around them. Their masculine pride
[156] was flattered because they had shown that they were good conquerors of women. This characteristic is particularly prized in Makassarese. A woman always shows herself averse to a man, even to her husband. It is the latter's art to win her for himself through a pleasant outward appearance, a well-chosen word, a strategic touch, and very little physical force. That is how the ladies' man Sawerigading (1) does it.

1. See R. A. Kern, I La Galigo, p. 333.

The art of conquering women that Sawerigading possessed to the highest degree is at most held up as an ideal to the young Makassarese. Even before the wedding ceremony takes
581 place according to Moslem rite, one of the older women con-
593 ducts a number of conversations with the bridegroom. She talks,
521 and the young man listens. She tells him that it will be difficult for him to make his wife happy, but that his happiness in his future life will be dependent upon this. She also tells him that he must not be rough with her. She asks him whether he knows what he must say to his wife later on and whether he knows what to answer when she asks him something. She tells him what questions he can expect and what his answers should be to them. They do not like to talk about this. I could only obtain a single example of this. "Where do you place me?" (Keremaë nupatinro) was given as an example of such a question, and the answer was supposed to be: "I place you above me" (Irateangkuko) (2).

2. It is possible that the only informant who drew my attention to these questions

554/241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely de-
612 limited group and that the standing of relatives among each
684 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
689 found -- with one single exception: the karaëng and the
[562] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.

156 833 838 /242 cont./ Among the men who possess to a low degree the qualities established as a norm for them, there are to be found the "kawe kawe," the unmarried men, the married men who refuse to have sexual intercourse with their wives, and possibly the koro patients. It is impossible for me to indicate the boundary between a lack of the qualities demanded by the culture and a supposed lack.

156 [548] Among the women who possess the qualities ascribed to them to a small degree, one finds the prostitutes and also matrons and bride's mothers, and those who perform the ancestral ritual, all of whom owe their standing to their work, which serves to raise the standing of the community. Among these there are also the princesses, who in these countries frequently played a dominant role. Among females in this [562] position there is none of the docility left, which is expected in women.

/248/ Appendix

114 127 Figures drawn from registers constitute a welcome addition to the data that could not have been obtained otherwise, or only with great difficulty through verbal information. However, in making use of register material, there is a danger that the degree of its reliability will not be sufficiently realized.

Data based on registers always make a precise impression. The collector is inclined to believe in their reliability himself. But the reliability can only be judged through an acquaintance with the culture in which they are used. A number of "mistakes" in the registers can be immediately understood as a result of ideas present in that culture. They raise the demand for care in the comparison of figures with other regions.

124 Levij of the Voorlichtings Ministerie (Kementerian
Penerangan Indonesia Timoer) [Ministry of Information for
the State of East Indonesia] offered to do this providing I
would pay the expenses, using his office staff. I went with
361 Rahim and van Heekeren to Balombaru this morning.
491 Balombaru is in the adatgemeenschap [native community]
Karawisi, in which there are perhaps six other kampongs
(check). To get to Balombaru we went out [south] on the Goa
road for about six kilometers, then turned right on a side
road, and finally again on a dirt road. As the limits of the
municipality are reached the road at once appears to be full
of holes; and in the dry monsoon period there is terrible
dust. We were stopped by a police cordon and later found
out that the reason was that they expected to have a meeting
of the police school (I think) in the afternoon and wanted to
keep cars out so that there would be less dust! We went by a
side route, and first stopped at a stucco house with an office
which belonged to the district head, the Karaeng. He is an
important man in Goa. He was not in. His assistant im-
pressed me by his poise and by his quiet manner. We went
363 on, and got to the village [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] itself,
going around a plaza, a dusty kind of turnabout with the enter-
ing road coming in at right angles to the "main street" of the
kampong. Rahim said that there were side streets too. It ap-
peared that most of the houses were located along the roads.
I will see. We stopped (before this, and outside the kampong
proper) at the house of the Imam, near the mosque (I must
check the name of the main kampong where the Karaeng and
342 the Imam and the mosque are located). The Imam lives in a
very nice Makassar type house. We went upstairs to the
main room, which was large, and in which there was a bed
with a klambu [mosquito net]. There seemed to be several
other rooms in the rear. The floor was of wide planks not
placed too close together so that the air could come up into
the room. The house itself was of wood with atap thatch [i.e.,
of palm leaves or the like]. The Imam said he had seven chil-
● 156 dren. He married in 1929 in Mecca, and seemed very proud
562 of this. He brought it in at the very first chance. He is a
576 small, quite handsome man, perhaps forty years old. His
wife is pretty, has gold teeth, and looked as if she were
dressed in Javanese style. She is evidently modern in a
sense, as she came right up to us, and shook our hands.
Rahim said this was not the old style, as ordinarily women
would stay behind. She also broke into the conversation
from time to time. However, she did sit at another
table, listening. We sat at a table in the middle of

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 562
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197]
words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaëng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaëng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaeng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favorably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when [114]
in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

124 They are small and pretty. They came from time to time to
576 sit on his lap and looked at me. He was serene and his
855 children were wonderful in behavior. Rahim got to the point at once and the Kepala kampong said that this fellow was the man. He indicated a rather angular fellow perhaps twenty-five years old, the kind of Adam's appled type. However, he seemed keen enough. He attended school (lower school only)
463 with Rahim. Then he [i.e., assistant to author--Analyst] got
311 into a trade working with a gold and silver smith. This happens to be one of the main trades of the village. Rahim said there were some farmers in the village, but there was not much wet rice land in the area. However, many people have sawah in other kampongs. Other trades in the village involved commercial enterprises, and being a prau man. A river runs by here and it is mentioned in Friedericy as the one where Goa once levied a river mouth tax on all praus. I
124 later found out that the lad was willing to give up his trade
465 for a while and work for me. He was somewhat ashamed
156 when Rahim asked him about a salary. He said he would leave that matter up to me and Rahim said that this was acting as a typical Makassarese, that is malu [timid, shy, ashamed], although I wonder if he would be so malu when talking about pay with the Chinese who runs the gold and silver business. Later I talked with Rahim about the matter of salary for this man. He told me that things were expensive now, the man had to give up his work, and so forth. He added that he needed more than three to four guilders a day
[593] for his family. And he added that if he did not receive enough his wife would complain. Evidently he must keep his wife happy. So even among the Makassarese a wife nags. Rahim is very strong on the point of getting and keeping in the good graces of one's wife. This is a revelation to me, as I thought women in Mohammedan lands kept their mouths shut. But here, perhaps, is an indication of the underlying qualities of Malayo-Polynesian women. Rahim finally said that one hundred rupiah per month would be all right. I asked about the regular pay which a smith might receive. He said that it was very good, as much as f.10 or f.15 per day. I then said that maybe f.100 was too low, and that I would go up to f.150. He seemed pleased that I was not going to be a chiseler, and said that I could pay a reasonable salary and then if I wanted to, at the end, I could give a bonus. I asked if I had better not give some sort of advance, and he agreed. Hence I gave f. 30 to be given to the assistant (named Mohammed Saleh) who will call on Rahim Thursday after Hari Merdeka.

The previous discussion took place in the evening in the house of the Kepala kampong [of Balombaru--Analyst]. As we talked about various subjects I found that whenever I spoke about the United States I got a good reaction. The village head, a spirited individual, said that he wanted to go there. I said that in a few years perhaps he could. I found out later that one reason the Kepala kampong appeared to be so clever is that he once was a sailor and traveled a good deal. One source said that this was not true but that he had merely been a customs official. In any event he does act like a very special person. 521 156 842 829

I said that there were few children per family in the United States because of the long period of education and the great expense involved. They said that in Makassar everyone wanted lots of children. However, they volunteered nothing regarding education. Then the village head said jokingly that he was going to the United States to help the population problem there. He said that if he got there he would make lots of children! That is the spirit I notice here. The men are very jocular. They like good and rough conversation. In their talk they are quite direct. There is little refinement, halus, such as there is in Java. Nevertheless, they are remarkably polite. All goes very nicely. And there never seems to be an embarrassing or false step.

Later in the evening, I sat with a Dutchman. An acquaintance of his was drunk. He said that he was not interested in the United States when I talked about it. He was very rough indeed, and the other Dutchman was ashamed. Maybe it was a matter of the alcohol involved. 000

These folk are amazingly attractive. Maybe they are not so when just amongst themselves, and perhaps their appearance now is because of the presence of a visitor. I would like to know what goes on from day to day, and if they are on their best behavior now. 609 123

I talked Malay with them and this went over quite well. I told them about the United States and about Yale and about the shrinking world. Perhaps they are just polite, but they seemed interested. One thing went over especially well. I said that there was no pangkat [rank, class] in the United States. I gave the case of President Truman. His father was a tani [farmer] and he had no special rank. Nevertheless he worked himself up. But the thing which hit the Kepala kampong the hardest, and that which he told most eloquently to the people, was that every four years a man like Truman must stand up before the country for election. And if he is not

123 chosen to remain in office he then goes back to where he
609 came from. This evidently was quite something to them. I always added that this was neither better nor worse, but just a different way of doing things. I think I put the point across. I said that in the United States we had large houses and big buildings because the weather was so cold. But basically the principles were the same. I said that they used bamboo for struts and supports while we used steel. They used clay to work where we use cement. Then I brought up the point that they knew considerable about the United States as a result of having seen many moving pictures. On the other hand, we know nothing about Makassar.

272 At this point, without any pressing business, the Kepala kampong called for some coconut water. We had quite a time about the word coconut milk in English. Someone was told to strip a few coconuts and the coconut water was quite good, although I could see that it would spoil rapidly. It was served in glasses, though Rahim asked first if I preferred it from the
[833] nut directly. In Bontorio it is said that this coconut water causes impotence, but the men drank it.

563 The assistant showed me some silver filigree work. It
326 struck me as mediocre, but I said that it was fine. Later van
439 der Wetering, Secretary of the Centrum Cultureel Stichting [Cultural Foundation Center] in Makassar, said that it was poor and made for the tourist trade. They use a kind of tamarind acid to clean such silver work. It is actually quite banal. One fellow said that the Chinese brought the silver
435 from Hongkong and gave it to the smiths. Later they bought the finished article back and sold it. The fellow who was the constructor of the building said that there was much trouble nowadays. He needed a truck but could get one only by paying f.80 per day. But he could make only f.75 per day. When I commented: apa boleh buat [what can be done about it?] they laughed.

829 We talked about mobility and change from generation to generation. I said that in the United States a son seldom followed the trade of his father. Although this was not too clear they seemed to be surprised. They implied that if the father was a smith, his son would be one also.

609 After a hearty farewell, we went back to the Karaeng. He
● 156 was there, and there were still many people around. We went in and noted that the atmosphere was entirely different. He is a kind of United States business man in type. He is close mouthed and position-proud. Perhaps he was just embarrassed. However, I missed the give and take that was so

noticeable in the Kepala kampong's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim. M 156 609

I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs, a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampong had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampong's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better. M 565 342 554

At the Karaëng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa". I 192

I asked Rahim about the Karaëng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i.e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaëng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes. M 156 554

I went back to the Karaëng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaëng as well as to the Kepala kampong. Rahim said that the Karaëng was ana tino [i.e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i.e., the nine electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought. M 124 565

The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him. M 124

Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were M 541 533 177

176 with ingenious gears, and two spools. It also has a circular
401 shutter in front, and is fantastically clever. The Sulewatang
403 and Andi both said it was a great pity that he had no training.
874 He is a fine lad. He had three rolls of old newsreels and travel pictures and showed them after someone lent him a few batteries. One of the films was broken. Evidently he is called upon to show the same old films quite often and as a result they are wearing out. I was quite impressed with the Sulewatang's and Andi's strong statement regarding the lack of schools for such men here. Later I told Thierens, and he said he would see if he could not send the lad to Makassar for training. His machine really works well. He even has a wheel for a string arrangement if he gets a small motor. It reminded me of the old man in Balombaru who had made a match head cap pistol for his son and also a model Makassarese prau, with a propeller, with an auxiliary motor rigged up from an alarm clock. It could run over a hundred meters. There is certainly technical skill here that could be developed.

565 We left the party and the Sulewatang came with us to stay
574 at the local Sulewatang's house (Kepala wanua Tumurun,
431 which he was formerly). This lad, a young and quite bright
156 fellow, is his nephew. He was going to visit the Aru Tau in Watumpone, where his wife had recently given birth to a child. They evidently visit around with fellow nobles a lot, and this takes up much of their time. I tried to bring the Kepala kampong into the conversation at the Sulewatang Tumurun's house, where he was sitting to one side. However, the two uppers would not let me. They were uninterested in the Kepala kampong. This peculiar disregard for any human qualities in preference to rank is a pain to me. The old Sulewatang asked me to show him United States currency. I was sure he would want some for a souvenir. He asked me to get him a nylon shirt from the United States. I think it is because he has always been used to asking for what he could get for nothing from the poor people here. These nobles have only to ask for things from the masses and the latter dare not refuse (honor?).

696 Incidental: The Sulewatang said that the kampong where the feast is being held was not a former fugitive kampong, as Andi had told me. But at any rate they evidently had such kampongs at one time as both of them knew about the matter.

1:Chabot--188 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

Chapter III

Sex

593 In the chapter concerning kinship, the relationships of the members of the family among each other were treated separately. The relationship of brother to sister occupied a special place in this connection.

Their separation implies that their interests lie in different areas, that is to say, that both their activities as well as the places where they reside are different. These differences also form the pattern for the relationship between men and women in general.

562 The vertical tendency described in the previous chapter demands of the men that they be in a constant relation of opposition to other men. The violent actions and responses [831] that are expected of them go hand in hand with ideas about great sexual potency, which is ascribed to them. The high demands made of men coincide with anxieties about not being [157] able to fulfill these demands. A sense of inadequacy can be observed repeatedly.

157 In the first part of this chapter, modes of conduct, attitudes, and personality norms of the two sexes will be 562 described. After that, a number of inadequacy phenomena will be discussed. Prostitution as an expression of maladjustment on the part of women, and polygamy as an actualization of the vertical tendency by a man with exceptional personal qualities, will be briefly mentioned at the end.

581 In the previous chapter we referred to the central position which marriage occupies in Makassarese society. In the choice of marriage partners, the older people apply standards of selection based upon kinship, status, and personal qualities. They intend to bring about a normal sexual union between man and wife. The description of the marriage

584 /151 cont./ But an atmosphere of intimacy is created pre-
834 cisely because it is forbidden and dangerous. The desire to get married seems to be strengthened by it.

584 The examples described are a number of ways in which young people try to bring about a marriage with a marriage partner chosen by themselves by means of forbidden contacts.

Personality Norms

157 Norms for the personality of men are different from
562 those for women.

A man must be combative and courageous, always ready to challenge someone or to answer a challenge. He must be skillful in debate and a good teller of tall tales. In these stories the emphasis must always be placed on the fact that he, his group, or his prince, did something better than another group or a neighboring prince. In these stories he must also have great success with women and be capable of great sexual achievements. One likes to compare a man to a cock, proud and always ready to do battle. A man is sometimes conceived of as rough. He is always wandering.

562 Man is devoted to woman; he praises her in vague,
539 idealizing terms.

157

Nampa' ri udjung Borinu,	When I had come to the farthest point of your land,
riappa pa'rasangannu	to the remotest point of your land,
nanailalang	then my soul was already in you,
sumangakku, makkaraëng	worshipping you.

157 /152/ The woman must be delicate and tender, shy
562 and withdrawn. She is more devoted to herself. She tries, but as passively as possible, to draw his attention to herself.

157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku — My implanted, straight flowers,

539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku — My blooming tjampaga flowers.

Natjiniku ianu — When N. N. sees me

Nadjandjangku mole mole. — He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that
157 a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in
182 men are at the same time those which they need for success in striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.

554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

[177
192]

1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het," /"an 'it' person." -- Ed./.

159 are plenty of people in his house including the two very pretty young girls who do the fine weaving. Saleh said that they both had learned gold work too, and that during a rush the, are able to help him and his cousin helper. When there is not so much rush, they weave. The old man said he was also a carpenter in the old days, and pointed out the houses he had built in the leprosarium. He said he was born in Laikang, where there is much salt making from sea water.

774 Saleh uses the word dewata for spirit in the animistic sense, and also understands the term sumangat.

000 Most of the day was spent in looking around. Tomorrow I will go through my notes for questions and further discussion.

871 Balombaru, September 2, 1949: This third day I thought
157 I would go through my notes, but I got sidetracked onto
326 Saleh's answers to the schedule. This is all right, al-
159 though the going is very slow. One thing is very dramatic. Saleh told me about his personal tragedy as far as education is concerned. He said that he wanted to go to normal school, but that the fee was f.65. Neither he nor his father could afford this. They tried to sell portions of their rice fields, but times were bad then and there were no buyers. Saleh said that he then went to the teacher (I gather it was the superintendent) of the normal school and asked why he must pay f.65. The answer was that that was the price of board and room. At this Saleh offered to bring a mat and sleep on the floor and to get his own food. However, the superintendent said no. As Saleh told me the story, much affect could be noted. And he added that plenty of other boys have had the same trouble. He is truly an ambitious man and would have justified any help given him. He said that he had trained lots of young goldsmiths and that they were now scattered all over. He said that he had trained so many that often one found villages around here where there were formerly no goldsmiths at all and which now consisted of a good number of goldsmiths.

[535] One thing before the schedule: I talked about the dancing
584 girls. They told me that the Makassarese are very strict
834 regarding all girls. One might not approach a girl directly but only through relatives and always in a respectable fashion. In regard to the go-between in marriage, they said that many of the girls in school today are scorning the old practice. However, an old man, cackling, said that the padjoge in the Buginese country were different. He said

the others did not. They said that relatively few, except 203
school children (they are always mentioned as exceptions) 186
could draw a map of Celebes, Indonesia, and the world. But 829
some of them have seen maps in the schools.

As for the population of Indonesia, the Kepala kampong could tell me nothing, but Andi and the teacher knew something about this. This was also true with most of the others, except for a few school children; that is, they do not know even approximate figures for Indonesia at large. As for the population of the world no one had any ideas. However, Andi knew that China was largest, and India next largest. They were impressed that Indonesia is the seventh largest country in population in the world. Later I found out that the Sulewatang has quite an extensive knowledge of international relations and of the world. And Andi knew the capitols of Ireland, Finland and other countries. As for local patriotism, Andi said there was no real 186
pride in Bone. They are not sombong [arrogant, conceited, 181
presumptuous], but have hormat [honor, respect, distinction]. And adat is everything. I asked about the big speeches of loyalty formerly made by chiefs going to war. I also asked, in this connection, about the jumping and kris waving. Andi said that this was just adat. He keeps on saying that there is nothing here except adat and that the people are backward. He seems disgusted at times. He said they simply do not progress, and seems to doubt that they ever will. As for rela- 578
tions with other villages and neighborhoods or areas, there is 721
exceedingly little. Formerly something along this line could be said about friendly or warlike relationships with Wadjo, Goa, and so forth. Nothing, however, is left of this. As for war, they can not carry on their former practices because the Dutch took their weapons.

Bukaka, September 8, 1949. Second day: The people here 157 ●
know very little even about local historical events. This re- 114
minds me of Abdul Radjab, the Minangkabau, who is gathering local tales in Makale for Balai Pustaka. He was here once and said that he thought that he could get plenty of material in Wadjo, but after long talks with the important people who said it would be all right, he did not succeed in getting even one story. In the Toradja country, he got plenty, and even in Paloppo (but it is a part of Toradja). It is his idea, that the Buginese are helpless and hopeless. He said that a psychologist should study them. They are so bound up with fear and backwardness that there seems to be nothing here. He later took a bus for Tanette but it stopped at Balannipa which is twenty-five kilometers short. The driver said "all out", even though he and the others objected. However, the driver

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
563 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
161 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly
582 had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

574
166
591 /55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A
592 child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother
[855] or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity.
Experience teaches that in another environment such
[861] naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally, these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form
[602] a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time. Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

> 1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

158 To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations
865 can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however, another element of this culture must first be described; this is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

158
865 /55 cont./ he seems completely normal again. Such attacks were observed by me only with children. In both cases they were children spoiled by their environment. Everything they did was admired in an exaggerated fashion. They were allowed to do much more than other children; nobody forbade them anything. When the girl spilled a whole pile of paddy, the owner merely laughed good-naturedly. When the boy playfully broke a plate, this was excused and made out to be of absolutely no consequence. Only their own parents grumbled at them. But even this /56/ indulgence and interest came to an end. That is the moment when the child may have such a fit of temper (1).

[114]

1. Matthes (see Woordenboek, p. 420) translates adjallo' as "running amuck." Adjallo', in my opinion, is a designation for a certain mental condition which in effect does have a number of external characteristics in common with amuck, but so long as the internal impulses are not better known than at present, it seems to me incorrect to accept his translation. Matthes also gives as an example "tau andjalloki sarenna"; he translates this by "one who runs amuck with his lot" and makes this clear by adding, "that is, one who is always dissatisfied with his lot, for instance, he who demands today this, tomorrow that, position, and so on."

158 /56 cont./ According to reports, adults are also subject
626 to such attacks, however, I never witnessed this. To be sure, an adult sometimes uses it as a threat, for instance, when he (she) has set his (her) mind on something that seems unattainable. A woman from Macassar who had caused a drum (ganrang) to be played at a festival of her kin group in Goa was questioned about this by the kapalakampong /kampong
[533 head/ concerned, since playing the ganrang is a prerogative
565] of the nobility in Goa. She threatened with adjallo' if the use of the drum should be forbidden her, and finally a decision was made that the drum could be played because she did not live in Goa and at home in Macassar she was allowed to play the ganrang.

In Macassar a girl who was sixteen years old and still at school threatened adjallo' because she wanted to continue attending school in spite of obvious disapproval on the part of her mother and aunts. A man arranged his second marriage behind the back of his first wife because, as he said, he was afraid that she would adjallo' and in so doing might well prevent his second marriage if she heard about it beforehand.

The reaction of others to such fits of temper was one of aversion. People turned away; no one made an attempt to help, nor did anyone appear angry. It was believed that nothing could be done about it.

158 Both phenomena, mobility and adjallo', in my opinion
578 should be regarded as expressions of a conflict for which the individual sees no other solution, a conflict which is based on personality structure. It was impossible for me to do any further investigation along these lines. The fact that both sexes participate in mobility to the same extent might suggest the /57/ necessity for an analysis of the "basic personality structure" /cited in English/ (1) of the Makassarese.

1. For this term see A. Kardiner, most recently in The Psychological Frontiers of Society, New York, 1945.

156 /164 cont./ inadequate in their social relations with other
589 men, could be the reason for their refusal to marry. The fact that the older people do not consider these individuals capable of contributing to the standing of the group could be the reason why they are satisfied with their refusal.

[584] No initiative toward marriage of any kind may ever proceed from a woman. The docile, withdrawn girls are set up as an example. I believe, but would like to see this confirmed by further investigation, that among the unmarried women these docile types are still the most frequent. The more aggressive personalities who possess to a lesser degree the qualities most valued in this society seem to marry sooner. An old woman explained why a particular girl had been allowed to marry by reasoning that otherwise one might have difficulties with her later. By this, the old woman most probably was thinking of the possibility of siri' problems arising. The fact that these characters marry, while docile individuals frequently remain unmarried, points to the fact that the older people in their selections follow the path of least resistance. The types from whom the most difficulties are to be expected have a better chance of marrying.

[581] The men with the personal qualities that are most /165/ appreciated and the women with the personal qualities that are least appreciated have the best chances of marrying.

565 It is believed that the karaeng always possess a high de-
156 gree of the personal qualities appreciated in a man. Their
581 opportunities to marry are greater than those of an ordinary man; a marriage to a lower woman is a frequent phenomenon. Figures dealing with the unmarried in this group are not available, however.

The Koro Phenomenon

826 Koro is the Makassarese name for the disease symptom in
158 which a man believes that his penis is shrinking and will turn

826 /165 cont./ inward, while he is convinced that he will die if
158 this should really happen (1). Koro literally means "to shrink."

1. The signs reported with respect to women are: the breasts become flatter, the nipples shrink, and the labia have a tendency to recede. Only women help the female patient. The phenomenon is less frequent with women than with men.

Van Wulfften Palthe and Slot regarded the phenomena as expressions of an anxiety neurosis (2).

2. See Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, 1935, Vol. 75, pp. 836 ff. and 811 ff. respectively.

The description of one certain case, as it was reported
[595] by an informant, ran as follows. A man of around forty-five years of age, married and with children, had taken a second wife. He had kept this fact a secret from his first wife because he was afraid of her jealousy. After a certain length of time had elapsed, however, his second marriage nevertheless became known. One evening when he had come home
158 826 755 tired and sleepy, he was overcome with tremors and broke out in a cold sweat of fear. He had the feeling that his penis was becoming smaller and smaller and that it was suddenly going to turn inward. Upon his shouts for help, neighbors came running in to him. One of them held the penis tightly in order to prevent it from receding, and another man went

158 /165 cont./ to fetch a sanro (Makassarese physician). After
826 some time had elapsed, and the sanro had performed a number
755 of rituals, the feelings of anxiety disappeared. For this day, the attack was past.

Women are kept away from a male koro patient. It is believed that their presence would cause the dreaded event, the receding /166/ of the penis, to take place, and it is believed
[764] that in that event the patient would die. People mention without much trouble a number of instances of individuals who supposedly died of koro.

Slot reports that koro occurs among adult Makassarese and
158 Buginese of each social class and both sexes. The phenomenon
755 may appear in groups. It is not the consequence of a modified libido. The Makassarese combat it by using influences regarded as positive, for instance, by using the flowering cluster of the male lontar palm as medicine and through the avoidance of negative influences, among which the turtle is mentioned (1).

1. The thought of the disappearance of this animal's head under its shell gives the patient an unpleasant association according to one informant.

158 Finally, Slot explains that the cause of koro may be a sense of guilt, but that this cause is ethnologically determined because the admissable and the inadmissable are here differently interwoven than in western Europe. He speaks of feelings of guilt while van Wulfften Palthe believes that it is anxiety feelings that lie at the base of the koro phenomenon.

Now that the koro phenomenon has been described from
158 the psychological point of view as an expression of anxiety,
181 one may attempt to indicate from the ethnological point of view how this anxiety can have its genesis. To this end I

958 /166 cont./ should like to mention the vertical tendency
181 which demands of the Makassarese a constant striving to surpass other men and to be a great conqueror of women. The anxiety about losing the ability for this, or else of falling short in this aspiration, could very well form the basis for the koro phenomenon.

Prostitution

548 Prostitutes are unknown in Makassarese kampongs. There
626 are no women under thirty-five to forty years of age who live
558 alone without kinsmen, and if a woman lives with others in a house, it is impossible for her, for reasons discussed at length above, to receive men more or less regularly, or to have contact with them outside the house. So long as she lives in a house with others, even a single contact situation would cause the young male house mates or neighbors to become siri'. The older women who do not wish to risk any difficulties on behalf of this stranger in such a case will try to send her away in time -- for instance, to a head who lets her marry -- before a brawl could come about through her /167/. Once she is out of the house, there is no reason for the young men who, after all, are not related to her, to be siri' because of her behavior.

Her conduct impairs the social standing of her group, and for that reason she is unacceptable in the rural kampongs. There is little evidence of moral disapproval.

548 Prostitution is an urban phenomenon. Prostitutes live in
[369] Macassar as well as in the larger pasar places such as Parepare, Watampone, and others.

The pasar place of Bontomanai, the center of trade for Borongloë, did not seem large enough yet to accommodate permanent prostitution. It was said of one of the daughters of a prominent man in Borongloë, who had gone to live in Bontomanai with a distant relative, that she received men who

generally agree in this matter. She said that there could not 164
have been a law compelling colonization as there is not enough 743
room to care for all the lepers here, who number in the thou- 758
sands (though India and Africa are worse off). So, many
lepers are still at large. Generally, those who enter are those [753]
who either fear infection spreading to their relatives, or those
whose relatives won't have them around, or those whom the
kampong compels to leave their local community. But they
have a happy life in a way, and this impresses the native mind,
because they get free and good food, good houses, etc. The [461]
nurse said that there is some trouble in getting them to work
as they will not do so unless they have to. Nevertheless, they
do all the work needed and the place is well cared for, in fact,
spotless. She said that psychologically there was little trouble
with the native lepers but that Europeans almost went crazy.
I saw only one Eurasian little girl. They weave their own [286]
clothes. I saw a backbar loom here [in the leper asylum at
Bolombaru--Analyst] and another in the old man's house. All
girls can weave, and practically all sarongs are homemade. I
saw some beauties. And now I know how the weaving is done.
The colors are really amazing. They weave a long narrow
strip, perhaps thirty inches, and cut and sew to make a sarong.
This takes from three to seven days. One military doctor
comes here three times a week. The rest of the work is done
entirely by the patients. The nurse said she liked her work and
seemed to be in excellent spirits. I told her that I would give
them old detective books. An old man [a patient in the leper 159
asylum, Balombaru--Analyst] (photograph) said that he had
formerly been captain of a prau. He had made a fine model of
one like his for his son, and was quite proud to show it off. He
said that he had sailed wherever there was trade, and that
formerly he might be away from three to four years. He said
that he had gone to Surabaja, Cheribon, Semarang, Batavia,
Padang, Singapore, Siam, Penang, and even China. He had
once had a chance to go to the United States (how?) but did not
go. He showed me a picture of himself when he was in Java in
the old days. It showed him, his former wife, and another
couple. All were wearing horn rimmed glasses (property
of the photographer?). He was dressed in a dark coat,
wide "slicker" pants of the twenties and a necktie. He was
not at all hesitant about talking of his former wife. He
said that this one was still in Java with one child. He said
he had only one male child by his present wife, but that he
had many other children by others. He even seems un-
certain as to how many wives, exactly, he has had. There

159 are plenty of people in his house including the two very pretty young girls who do the fine weaving. Saleh said that they both had learned gold work too, and that during a rush the, are able to help him and his cousin helper. When there is not so much rush, they weave. The old man said he was also a carpenter in the old days, and pointed out the houses he had built in the leprosarium. He said he was born in Laikang, where there is much salt making from sea water.

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121 /3 cont./ of an investigation into the driving forces of Makassarese-Buginese culture was always present as a companion motivation for the work on adat law, because, as it was then formulated, the law cannot be understood without a knowledge of the society in which it operates.

After the war, in 1948, when the problem of how the latent knowledge of this culture could be made productive was considered, the decision was made to give a description of its structure. To this end an investigation of an area already [114] familiar to me from before the war was carried out for six weeks during June and July of both 1948 and 1949.

If the presentation of a structural description is regarded as the task /4/ of the investigator, then it is necessary to give his theoretical schooling. The latter was determined by the lectures of de Josselin de Jong at Leiden and was later developed further by studying Linton's work.

121 It appears impossible to treat as a separate factor the third 114 aspect, namely the investigator's personal attitude. This would amount to an analysis of his personality. However, the disadvantage that personal attitude inevitably entails so long as just one investigator is describing a community was always strongly felt by me. I gladly give support to Wagley when he agrees with the Chinese sociologist Li An-Che, who declares that an area study of China "must be executed with the cooperation of Western and Chinese scholars, and that for an understanding of American society we should call upon non-American -- even non-Western -- students as well as upon our own" (1) /cited in

1. Pamphlet No. 6 published by the Social Science Research Council, New York, 1948, p. 7.

English/.

● 161 The Makassarese and the Buginese at the present time number almost four million people. For hundreds of years they have

621 /15 cont./ Kampong Bontoramba has approximately
[161] 800 residents. There one finds one of the two public schools
[368] which the entire adat community of more than 14,000 individuals boasts. Along the large road a bicycle repair shop has arisen, and there are more coffee warong /shops/ than in many other places. A large group of Buginese, attracted by a
166 great deal of fallow land and good transportation facilities, has built its houses there in the course of the last 20 years. The Makassarese who live there at present arrived no more than 60 years ago. Coming and going never takes place en masse in Makassarese country. In successive stages a pioneer receives more members of his kin group in his house; by successive stages other people move away.

[554 A certain period of settlement by a large group is /16/
565] noted mostly when a man of high nobility moves and many follow him. Formerly, in periods of insecurity for the individual, this was probably a more usual manner of migration, but today it no longer is. Thus, around 1900, a large number of kinsmen coming from kampong Pakatto, situated eight kilo-
[621] meters further up the road, settled in Bontoramba. As kinsmen /familiele den/ constituting a part of the same related group /ver wantengroep/ they organized themselves anew in Bontoramba and adjusted to the new circumstances, at the same time striving for the realization of the usual Makassarese ideals. To this end, they followed the old Makassarese adat.

The Bilateral Related Group

612 The Makassarese related group /ver wantengroep/ should
621 be described as a bilateral endogamous group of relatives (1)

> 1. Kin relationship is indicated by the term sibidja or sipamanakkang.

whose members worship their ancestors (pattautoaang) at the places and times designated, and at the same time as a group

/254 cont. / Registration Register

114 217 161 [65]

The Registration Register is, in view of its makeup, probably designed to give a picture of the number of able-bodied men and the tax to be rendered by them in each kampong territory.

Next to the column in which the name of the man is recorded, there is one showing the number of his wives, his children, buffaloes, and horses; his profession, his age, the amount he must pay in income tax, and so forth. Unmarried and able-bodied young men have their own place in the register. The youngest of these was nineteen years old.

This register cannot serve to indicate the total number of residents because houses in which a widow lives with children are not recorded. If a young man is around nineteen years of age, he receives a place in the register, but not his mother and younger brothers and sisters. Houses without a male head of the family are therefore not included in it.

The register apparently was not kept up regularly. Some newborn children were not entered, and some deceased were not written off. I was told by the administration that the total number of those entered increased by 10 per cent after the distribution of kain was done on the basis of this register. This 10 per cent appeared to consist mainly of unmarried women and girls.

Compared to my own card system of the residents of /255/ Bontoramba, 17 men (or boys) and 104 women (or girls) were not registered, altogether 121, or around 15 percent, for a total of 803 residents. The increase of 10 per cent just mentioned had already taken place then.

The estimated age is recorded only for the men entered in the register. The observation made in the 1930 Census Report, that age estimates are unreliable was here confirmed. A man of 47 years appeared to have a son of 38. Several men would have been fathers in their twelfth year. The oldest man of the kampong was estimated at 66 years of age. In these

114 /255 cont./ estimates there appeared to be a clear preference
217 for certain numbers which, in my opinion, make it risky to
161 draw further conclusions from this. Eleven men were estimated as 40 years of age, 10 as 50, and 9 as 52; but according to this estimate, only 2 men were 39 years old, only one 41 or 42 years old, while there were supposedly no men of 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, and 59 years of age residing in the kampong.

School Registers

114 The school registers, which are kept very accurately by the
217 head of the school and checked by inspectors of the Department,
871 are in very good condition.

Each child is entered in the register according to name, sex, name of the father, and name of the person paying the tuition; date of entrance, grade promotions, date of leaving school, and reason for leaving school. The children's place of residence is not entered in the register.

Up to 1945 the public school in Bontomanai was the only school in the adat community of Borongloë with its more than 14,000 inhabitants. This school was established in 1923 but led a rather precarious existence until 1936. The number of pupils was small. In the second half of 1935 a new director of the school was appointed, and the number of pupils immediately soared steeply. The number of newly enrolled pupils numbered:

1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
12	70	37	78	64	17

Altogether, therefore, 278 children were enrolled, of whom 197 (72 per cent) were boys, and 81 (28 per cent) girls. The decrease in 1940 is due to the circumstance that the Inspector believed /256/ that there were too many pupils at the school and that the instruction was suffering from this.

For the instruction at this three-year public school there was, in addition to the school director mentioned, a single assistant instructor. The two men divided up the three classes in such a way that one class in turn was free or else worked by itself.

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one family. They said that they had a very small house and were very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true
●161 fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small
592 houses have many more. The population has risen some despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk about it, but they have no money so they have to remain. When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in. I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies. They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world, but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar,
207 and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay. There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst] put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
563 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
161 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly
582 had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

592 /29 cont./ The Household; Composition

A household is formed by people who live together in one house. The investigation in 1948, which covered 129 houses and which attempted to obtain an insight into the composition of the household, produced the following results.

1. With one single exception members of a household were always kinsmen. 2. In the majority of cases a house was inhabited by from one to two families, and in the latter case this was almost always a parental couple with a married child living with them. 3. In most cases where other kinsmen lived in the same house as this family (or these families), they were very close kinsmen (first, second, or third degree). 4. Among such additional members of the household who are not members of the family, a /30/ certain preference was to be observed for living with a female relative. Finally, it was noted that one avoids bringing together potential spouses in one house.

Since here the occupants of the registered houses were subject of this investigation, the data did not have to be confined to houses occupied by members of the Kapala group.

The 129 houses of kampong Bontoramba comprised 787 [162] persons: 382 men and 405 women on July 1, 1948. This is therefore an average of 6.1 persons per house.

In 127 of the 129 houses, there lived only people who were related to each other. The two exceptions merely prove the [572] rule. The first concerns a friend of one of the sons of the house who had been lodging for a few months with the last named. The second concerns a childless married couple who had settled in Bontoramba after a marriage by flight and who had temporarily been taken into the house by another married couple coming from the same district as they and living under similar circumstances. Three weeks after the date of registration, this couple appeared to have moved elsewhere. The reason given for this was a quarrel that had arisen because this married couple was very lazy and gave practically no help in keeping house.

476 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened
602 by this. A household that is apart from the others can request
476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency,
558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever
609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior.
592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower
361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 Differences are thus observable between a household which
612 lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in
621 the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of
592 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30
592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

612 /39 cont./ living is more comfortable. The tendency toward
556 joining the Kapala group can be demonstrated. Integration is stronger there.

To be affiliated with a large related group seems to offer
612 only advantages. There is, however, another phenomenon which suggests the opposite. /40/ Members of the Kapala
[166] group appear to move away repeatedly. This fact cannot be discussed, however, until the relationship of the related group to the land has first been described.

The Relationship to the Land

612 The relationship of the related group to the land was
423 characterized as that of a group whose members live together in the same territory and work the land. This characterization will now be elaborated upon. The majority of kampong residents do seem to have land in the kampong where they reside, but a number of them in addition have land in other kampongs.

Some figures will be presented at this point to illustrate the relationship of people to land. The average landownership of Bontoramba residents within their territory amounts to 23 ares of sawah land and 56 ares of dry land per house. In addition to land in Bontoramba, some Bontoramba residents also own land in other kampongs. If one adds these figures to the first, then it appears that the average landownership per house in Bontoramba amounts to 54 ares of sawah land and 69 ares
[162] of dry land. The average number of persons per house is 6.04 (1).

1. Figures concerning land date from 1949. The average number of residents per house that year amounted to 6.04 as against 6.1 in 1948.

166 /50 cont./ thirdly, colonizations. The latter refers to the movements of Makassarese to Buginese districts. /51/

162 621 166 1. The Relationship of Place of Residence to Place of Birth

Of the 803 residents of kampong Bontoramba on July 1, 1949, 207 were born outside the kampong. Almost 75 per cent of the total therefore lived in their native kampong (1).

1. Sorokin, in his work Social Mobility (pp. 381 ff.) compares the territorial circulation of individuals in societies of western Europe with that in India. His book was published in 1927, and his figures are a quarter of a century old. From these figures it appears that in West Europe of that time, specifically in France, 57.2 per cent of the rural population was born in the district where it resided at the moment of registration. For India, on the other hand, according to the census of 1901, this percentage was more than 90 per cent. Sorokin draws the conclusion, which moreover was established upon the basis of numerous other data, that western Europe displayed a much greater territorial mobility than India.

Of the 207, 119 were born outside Bontoramba but within the adat community of Borongloë; the rest, 88, or approximately

162 /51 cont./ 9 per cent of the total number of residents,
166 were born outside; 30 individuals (approximately 3.5 per
621 cent) were born outside Goa Province.

The percentage of those born in Bontoramba appears to
162 be greater in the Kapala group, the most settled one, than
166 in the other two groups, namely 82 per cent as against 54
612 per cent in the Mangenre and 52 per cent in the Rest group.
621 The following table makes these percentages clear.

	Total Number of Individuals	Born Outside Bontoramba	Born Outside Bontoramba but Within Borongloe	Born Outside Borongloe but Within Goa	Born Outside Goa
Kapala Group	536	81	51	28	2
Mangenre "	94	42	17	5	20
Rest "	173	84	51	25	8
Residents of Kampong Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949	803	207	119	58	30

/52/ The large number of people in the Mangenre group
born outside Goa, namely 20 of the 42, is striking. In the
Kapala and the Rest group these numbers are 2 and 8
respectively of the 51. An explanation for this is to be found
162 in the fact that their land of origin lies outside Goa; many
166 of them were born there. This trend continues longer than
612 one would expect because people prefer children to be born
621 in the house, or at least in the land, where the mother was
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/52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

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2. Migrations

It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

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I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949).

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Births and deaths were not registered because they were not relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81

I:Chabot--80 E-5 (1940-1949) kassar OG6

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	Total Number of Registered Houses	Total Number of Individuals	Men	Women	Festive Marriages	Silariang Marriages	Married Couple Related to Each Other	Married Couple Not Related to Each Other	Average Number of Individuals per House	Place of Origin	
										Galesong	7
Kape	25	133	80	53	27	1	19	9	5 1/3	Lebakkang	10
										Pangkadjene	4
										Maros	4
Langa	28	165	85	80	22	7	26	3	5.9	Galesong	28
										Lebakkang	[illegible]
										Segeri	2
Paria	15	80	34	46	16	1	8	9	5 1/3	Pangkadjene	1
										Maros	2
										Djeneponto	1
Total 1949	68	378	199	179	65	9	53	21	5.56		
Bontoramba 1948	129	787	382	405	105	27	104	28	6.1		

589 /160 cont./ The total number of men in kampong Bontoramba
[162] at that time amounted to 382, as against 405 women. Therefore, the total number of "unmarried people" amounts to 5 per cent of the total population, and the percentage of "unmarried" women is a little higher than that of the men. This fact requires an explanation. A number of general remarks will precede this.

589 Among the 15 men there were four deaf-mutes unsuited
732 for normal work. Among the 24 women there were three deaf-mutes (1) in addition to one blind and one albino woman.

1. The large number of deaf-mutes, seven in all, is too striking to pass without comment. The nose-, throat-, and ear-doctor at Macassar, J.C. Engelen, had the kindness to examine these individuals at my request. He reported that all suffered from a form of perception deafness, a kind of nervous deafness, and that the affliction must have begun at an early age or else must have been congenital. He regarded an infectious disease suffered in childhood (mumps or measles) as a possible cause if the affliction could be supposed to have begun at a youthful age. He

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435 /162 cont./ such a group did not like to admit this toward
583 the outside world, however. It is true, therefore, that during
585 this time it repeatedly happened that a marriage did not take place, on account of the amounts which in their own opinion should be spent on the wedding feast.

But this state of affairs did not last long. Initially, it was still agreed among kinsmen that the old amount would be maintained outwardly, but that in reality they would be satisfied with less. Outwardly, the social standing of the group of relatives thereby remained on the same level. But gradually the amounts were adjusted to the new conditions, though little or nothing was thereby changed in the intent of the feast or in the entertainment of the guests.

/163/ By the same token, scarcely any difference could be observed between a wedding feast in 1940 and one celebrated in 1949 in the same group, even though in that period the valuation of sawahs and buffaloes increased by about tenfold. While in 1940 one buffalo and one goat were killed for the feast, in 1949 one buffalo and two goats were killed for the occasion. In 1949 one naturally never heard the complaint, either, that a marriage could not come about because of the excessive expenses of the wedding. In its striking frequency, this complaint remained confined to the beginning of the 1930's. The high expenses are nevertheless still named today as an excuse whenever other reasons which one does not like to mention make a certain marriage undesirable (1).

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1. Kampong Bontorambo numbered 22 widows and 13 widowers who had not remarried, that is, fully 4 percent of the total of 787 residents. Only two married men and two married women appeared

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to be remarried widowers and widows respectively. It is possible that these latter figures are in reality somewhat larger. For the investigation of this problem was made difficult by the fact that generally one finds it unpleasant to be reminded of an earlier marriage. At present, this result proves no more than that few widows and widowers remarry. The possibility is taken into account that the decease of the marriage partner is a consequence of a bad personal quality on the part of the survivor, without the latter having to be conscious of it. One is afraid that this quality will stay with him, and for that reason one regards a marriage to a widow or to a widower as a less desirable marriage. In the rare cases that such a marriage was contracted, a special ritual was performed. By this it is hoped that the bad qualities will disappear, but the chance of this happening is not considered very good.

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The census report of 1930 (Part 5, p. 58) gives as the reason for the infrequent remarriage of widowers the high bride price and wedding expenses. This argument is even less valid since the widower can, if he wants to, be satisfied with a "small feast" (nikka' tja'di).

548 /167 cont./ gave her little presents. Her father declared her dead, but her brothers did not follow his example. Consequently, there remained the threat of danger. After a few months she fled to Macassar with a man. An ordinary marriage by flight was therefore the end of the adventure of this woman who broke the ties with her parental house in order to gain greater freedom in Bontomanai than would have been possible in the midst of her own relatives.

156 548 It should not be expected that among prostitutes in the large city one will meet the modest, withdrawn types who, in the country, are held up as the ideal to the young girls. Rather one can expect among them those who submit with difficulty to the many restrictions imposed upon them. Further research would have to take place here.

I would venture to suggest that while in western Europe the innocent, misled, middle-class girl is found as well as the girl who becomes a prostitute for economic reasons, in South Celebes where no economic coercion leads to prostitution, women with aggressive characteristics, probably the adventurous type, practice prostitution.

Polygamous Marriage

162 595 As of April, 1940, there were 34 polygamous men among more than 13,000 inhabitants (1) in the adat community of

1. There is no sense in giving figures for polygamous marriages in the kampong Bontoramba. In 1940 there were none, and in 1949 new figures could not be collected after the war for lack of time.

162 /167 cont./ Borongloë. In the 1930 Census Report (2)
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2. Part 5, pp. 70-71.

figures for polygamous men in the province of /168/ Goa are not mentioned separately. With respect to the Macassar subdivision outside the community, it is stated that the percentage of "adult polygamously married men" is low, in this case below 2. Now, if we estimate the number of men in Borongloë at 6, 400, and the number of married men at a quarter of this, 1, 600, then the percentage for Borongloë would be more than 2. This could still be reduced further. For among the 34 polygamously married men there are 7 foreigners, to wit, 3 Indochinese, each married to two Makassarese women, 3 Buginese, and 1 Sajjid /sayid?/. The latter, who came from a kampong situated along the southern coast outside Goa, returned there as early as 1941. Of the remaining 27, it can be said that they were natives of Borongloë.

595 For four of these 27 polygamous marriages, the second marriage was carried out in the festive way. In the other 23 cases it took place after silariang. Of these four one involved the exceptional case that an approximately sixty-year-old, comparatively poor man married, with the assent of his first wife, a young girl, who subsequently came to live in the same house with them. The other three were "normal" [556] cases in which a well-to-do man with a certain personal authority contracted a second marriage against the wishes of his first wife and had a separate house built for this second wife.

In three of the 34 cases, a man was married to three women. Two of these men, the Sajjid and a Makassarese, had been able to carry out their second, as well as their third, marriages, only by means of silariang. The third, the adat community head, had himself arranged his second and third marriage.

593 /203 cont./ phenomenon can likewise be caused by either
833 the wife or the husband. People frequently give some unim-
portant incident as the reason. One man stated that he no
586 longer wanted to have sexual relations with his wife because
593 she had become angry at him when the lombok /red pepper/
833 that he had brought for her splashed into her eye as she was
grinding it. Since then, man and wife no longer lived to-
gether. The latter would, however, at times get what she
593 needed for her /204/ daily sustenance from his warong
586 /shop/. Now and then they would speak to each other, and
sometimes she would ask him whether he would not come
and look at their child. They did not quarrel, and no
repudiation took place. When their child, who had stayed
with the woman, was about to marry, she let her husband
know, but he told her that he was leaving the consent and
arrangement of the festivities to her. Neither of them re-
married. This situation lasted until the death of the man.

In another case where a married couple had been living separated for years, the reason given was the fact that the wife wanted to continue living with her own kin group and did not want to go with the husband to his. "They live separated" (sisala pamantanganna), it is said in such cases.

A few figures may make the relationships here described a little clearer.

586 On July 1, 1948, the number of persons residing in
kampong Bontoramba who were divorced according to Moslem
[162] law and had not remarried was three, two men and one
woman. The latter had been married to one of these two
men. The wife of the other man lived elsewhere.

In addition, the number of people living in separation
586 but not (yet) divorced according to the law, amounted to
593 six, five women and one man. The latter was married to
[162] one of the five women. The husbands of the other four
women lived elsewhere. Two of these four women had been
married through silariang and were later deserted by their
husbands.

586 /204 cont./ Of the total of seven marriages in which the
593 partners did not live together, though they were not divorced
162 according to Moslem rites, four were childless.

Four of these seven married couples belonged to the Kapala group (525 persons) and three to the Mangenre group (90 individuals).

The number of divorces among people residing in the adat community of Borongloe (around 14, 000 persons) who were recorded in the registers designed for this purpose from July 1, 1948 to July 1, 1949 amounted to seven. The percentage of divorced adult women was, according to the 1930 Census Report 1.7 per cent for the whole of Goa (1). My

1. Verslag van de Volkstelling, 1930, Part V, p. 69.

figures are too small to be expressed in percentages./205/ However, they show clearly that even in comparison with other districts, the number of divorces in this region is small.

Selection of Marriage Partners on the Basis of Kinship

582 We have already pointed out that marriages between members of the same family /nuclear family/ are forbidden.

Marriages between housemates are regarded as unfavorable (1). The marriage of a widow's son to the daughter of a

1. Unfavorable in this section is a translation of the Makassarese word, bambang, which means "warm."

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the dis-
tance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west
coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain land
between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country.
There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast
and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of
●162 Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which
is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of
people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I
noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo
belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and
the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts
were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A
thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law]
stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with
great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and
lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggra-
han, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-
night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous
nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some
and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de
Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see
him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There
I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a
talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high
class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

before going into battle. It is said that the water rises in it whenever Goa goes to war. Thus it rises no more. From then on, it was quite a walk to another well and to a fenced-in area where there were three stones in a row. They were also low and flat. It was on the center one that the real Tumanurung, a beautiful girl, suddenly appeared. It was the population of this kampong who discovered and talked with and received her. 773 .778

Then I went back to the car and went off to Bone. I find these Makassarese here very cooperative and polite. The atmosphere in the kampong is good. I got the results of the kampong census typed up by Nunuhitu, and later made up a preliminary reckoning. It is only for three of the kampongs, or rather three of the small kampongs. These are (1) Balombaru proper, (2) Bontotangnga, and (3) Sappabulo. The results are as follows: 609 162

	M	F	Total	
1.	144	143	287	(99+)
2.	32	28	60	(114)
3.	121	134	255	(90-)
Total	297	305	602	(98)

AVERAGE NUMBER PERSONS PER HOUSE [592]

1.	5.6	Houses:	1.	51
2.	4.6		2.	13
3.	5.2		3.	49
Total	5.1			113

NUMBER CHILDREN PER ADULTS

	Adults	Children	Child per Adult
1.	141	146	1.04
2.	36	24	.67
3.	105	150	1.43
Total	282	320	1.14

TRADES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS 162 463

[data for three kampongs, Balombaru, Bontotangnga and Sappabulo--Analyst]

	1	2	3	Total
Goldsmith	32	1	2	36 [sic]
Leather-worker	2	6	7	15
Farmer	-	-	13	13
Shop-keeper	6	2	1	9
Smith	-	1	7	8
Salesman (peddler)	1		6	7

M
162
463

TRADES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (cont'd)

	1	2	3	Total
Manufacturing worker	-	1	1	2
Cycle repairer	-	1	1	2
Fish seller	1	-	-	1
Bamboo dealer	1	-	-	1
Atap roofer	-	-	1	1
Weaver	-	-	1	1
Coachman	-	-	1	1
Dyer	-	-	1	1
Kalker [i.e., chalkers--Analyst]	-	-	1	1
Not given	7	1	4	12
Total	51	13	49	113 [sic]

[565]

TITLE DAENG

	Daeng	Not Daeng	Total
1.	54	233	287 (20%)
2.	-	60	60 (0%)
3.	21	234	255 (9%)
Total	75	527	602 (12%)

Of Goldsmiths, Daeng are:

	Goldsmiths	Daeng
1.	34	24
2.	1	-
3.	2	1
Total	37	25 (70%)

	Non-Goldsmiths	Daeng
1.	17	3
2.	12	-
3.	47	13
Total	76	16 (21%)

C
366

I left for Bone on Monday, September 5, 1949. However, I had to stay at Pampanua for one night as there was no room in Watampone. It is a small place with a large alunalun. There is a big market here which is held five days a week. It is also the place where the radjas of Bone, Wadjo and Soppeng meet for conferences. In addition it is the place where the assistant resident used to stay. I got the idea as I walked in the evening that this place shows mostly still life. I noticed mainly men walking and standing in the stores. The next day I went to Bone, where I had a conference with Andi. There was nothing to do until the next day.

797 for himself. Could this be a case of railroading? My
831 guess is that this kind of behavior would not be noticed if he were not a Christian leader. I must ask Rahim.

162 [for author's comments on these census figures see
621 p. 198; category 116--Analyst]

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STATISTICS FOR BUKAKA

A. Bukaka, a Buginese Kampong Adjoining Watampone

Total population	1960
Total households	270
Per household	7.26
Males	959
Females	1001
Sex ratio	96.0
Total children	1089 (male 548, female 541)
Minor children	792 (male 408, female 384)
Ratio of children to adult	1.25
Minor children to adult	0.68
Children per household	4.02
Minor children per household	3.34

B. Class of Household Heads

To Detjeng (lower nobles)	46
To Samar (commoners) (included are 14 entered as "unknown," but Andi says they are very probably all commoners)	194
Slave	1
Chinese	10
Arab	14
Javanese	5
Total	270

162 C. Polygyny of Household Heads
565

Number of wives	Class	Trade
3 (2)	1 Arab	1 merchant
	1 noble	1 tailor
2 (8)	2 noble	2 smith
	2 Arab	1 merchant
	4 commoner	1 trader
		1 goldsmith
		1 chauffeur
		1 government employee (messenger)
		1 toothmaker
Totals 10	10	10

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D. Women Living Alone

	Noble	Commoner	Arab	Children	Others in House	Trade
	2			3	11	2 tailor
			1	1	2	nil
		1			3	"
	1			3	2	"
			1	2		"
		1		1		"
	1			5	2	"
	1			2	3	"
		1		2	4	"
	1			1		potter
		1		2		nil
		1		4		"
Totals	6	5	2	26	27	

Total number of women living alone: 13.

Andi says most of them work at weaving, sewing, and other home trades. Some have sawah and let them out to share-croppers.

E. Complete Listing of Trades by Classes

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
Chief	1						1
Subchief		2	xl				3
Merchant	1	1		6		6	14
Tailor	5	5		1			11
Farmer	15	91					106
Cycle repairman		1				1	2
Shoemaker		1				1	2
Restauranteur						1	1
Government employee	3	14					17
Small trader	4	10		2			16
Watchmaker		1					1
Bus worker		3					3
Semi-skilled		1			1		2
Peddler	2	13			2		17
Poolroom				1			1
Coolie		9			1		10
Teacher	1	2					3
Police	2	2					4
Kampong judge	1						1
Toothmaker	1					1	2
Chauffeur	3	10		1			14

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E. Complete Listing of Trades by Classes (cont.)

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
No occupation (all except 1 are women)	2	8		2			12
Bus owner	1						1
Laundryman		2					2
Goldsmith	1	2					3
Priest	1	1					2
Mosque officer		1					1
Storeclerk		2					2
Smith		1		1	1		3
Baker		1					1
Domestic servant		2					2
Barber		3					3
Tinsmith		1					1
Mason (stone)		1					1
Bikeshawman	1						1
Pensioner (soldier)		1					1
Potter	1						1
Carpenter		1					1
Hatter		1					1
Total							270

F. Combining Above

Farmer	106	Priest	2
Government employee	17	Store clerk	2
Peddler	17	Domestic servant	2
Small trader	16	Chief	1
Chauffeur	14	Restauranteur	1
Merchant	14	Poolroom owner	1
Tailor	11	Kampong judge	1
Coolie	10	Bus owner	1
Police	4	Mosque officer	1
Subchief	3	Baker	1
Bus worker	3	Tinsmith	1
Teacher	3	Stone mason	1
Goldsmith	3	Bikeshawman	1
Smith	3	Pensioner	1
Barber	3	Potter	1
Cycle repairer	2	Carpenter	1
		Hatter	1

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F. Combining Above (cont.)

Shoemaker	2	Watch repairman	1
Semi-skilled	2	No occupation	12
Toothmaker	2		
Laundryman	2		
			270

G. Final Combining of Trade and Class (Household Heads)

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
Farmer	15	91	-	-	-	-	106
Trader	7	23	-	2	2	-	34
Skilled	8	19	-	2	1	3	33
Government	6	18	-	-	-	-	24
Merchant	2	1	-	7	-	7	17
Laborer	-	15	-	-	2	-	17
Chauffeur	3	10	-	1	-	-	14
Kampong officer	3	4	1	-	-	-	8
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
None	2	9	-	2	-	-	13
Totals	46	194	1	14	5	10	270

H. Percentages of Above

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
Farmer	33	47	-	-	-	-	39
Trader	15	12	-	14**	40	-	13
Skilled	17	10	-	14**	20	30	12
Government	13	9	-	-	-	-	9
Merchant	4	1*	-	50	-	70	6
Laborer	-	8	-	-	40	-	6
Chauffeur	7	5	-	7	-	-	5
Kampong officer	7	2	(100)	-	-	-	3
Clerk	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
None	4	5	-	14**	-	-	5
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 1 per cent

** Slightly more than 14 per cent.

I. Size of Household and Class

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
20 or more	2	-	-	1	-	-	3
15-19	4	2	-	1	-	-	7
10-14	11	31	-	6	-	2	50
9 or less	29	161	1	6	5	8	210
Totals	46	194	1	14	5	10	270

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8
Celebes OG1

M 162 565

J. Percentages of Above

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
20 or more	4	-	-	7	-	-	1
15-19	8	1	-	7	-	-	2
10-14	24	16	-	43	-	20	19
9 or less	64	83	100	43	100	80	78
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

K. Final Combining of Size of Household and Class

10 or more	17	33	0	8	0	2	60
9 or less	29	161	1	6	5	8	210

Percentages of Above

10 or more	37	17	0	57	0	20	22
9 or less	63	83	100	43	100	80	78
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

C 162 Then I tried to compare the three kampongs, Balombaru in the Makassarese area, Marante in the north, and Bukaka here. Much of the data, however, is not comparable.

L. Comparison of the Three Villages:

	Population	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Per House
Balombaru	602	297	305	98	5.3
Marante	1262	628	634	99	5.1
Bukaka	1960	959	1001	96	7.3

	Child to Adult	Minor Child to Adult	Child to House	Minor Child to House
Balombaru	1.14	-	2.8	-
Marante	1.02	0.59	2.59	1.70
Bukaka	1.25	0.68	4.02	3.34

Main Trades

Balombaru	Craftsman, trader, farmer.
Marante	Farmer, village officer (and nothing else)
Bukaka	Farmer, trader, craftsman, government employee, merchant, laborer, chauffeur.

In the foregoing sections and the above comparison, the Buginese kampong can be seen to have a much wider range and more variety, in regard to occupation especially. Bukaka, however, is very close to a large town. Balombaru, the Makassarese kampong, is much farther from the city, and in addition is a kind of center for goldsmiths. It is a craftsmen's town par excellence. The Sadang kampong is what it looks like, purely agricultural.

S [115] 197 Sadang: I had a long talk with the Controleur (Meendersma) of Mamasa, who had been also in Mamudju and Masamba. Thus he is acquainted with Mamasa, Mamudju, Rongkong, Seko, Seko Pada, and Galumpang. He said there are two Seko

000 style of 200 years ago. This must be an amazing place and I should go there some time.

I got the final data except for the class of the kampong officials on Balombaru, and the reckoned statistics are as follows:

● 162 565

A. Balombaru

	Balombaru	Bontotangnga	Sappabulo	Kalukuang	Balombaru Utara	Total
Males	145	32	120	132	134	563
Females	142	28	132	157	127	586
Totals	287	60	252	289	261	1,149
Sex ratio	102.1	114.3	90.9	84.1	105.5	96.1
Houses	51	13	49	60	48	221
Per house	5.6	4.6	5.1	4.8	5.4	5.2
All children	157	27	150	140	134	608
Children per adult	1.21	0.82	1.47	0.94	1.06	1.12
Children per house	3.08	2.07	3.06	2.33	2.79	2.73
Children under 15	73	23	93	108	105	402
Children under 15 per adult	0.34	0.62	0.58	0.60	0.67	0.54
Children under 15 per house	1.43	1.76	1.90	1.80	2.19	1.82
Nobles	160	13	79	64	32	348
Commoners	110	37	173	205	181	706
Slaves	17	7	0	13	2	39
Javanese	0	3	0	7	0	10
Chinese	0	0	0	0	45	45
Toradja	0	0	0	0	1	1

B. Percentage of Population by Class [The numbers underlined appeared thus in the original notes--Analyst]

Nobles	56	22	31	22	12	30
Commoners	38	61	69	71	69	61
Slaves	6	12	0	5	1	3
Javanese	0	5	0	2	0	1
Chinese	0	0	0	0	17	4
Toradja	0	0	0	0	1*	1*
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Less than 1 per cent.

Note that the Chinese may not buy land. All of them live in the stone (cement) houses beside the leveled market place. This is known as rumah sewa and is shown on the map. It is rented out by the radja. 563 425 342

The one Toradja is a woman married to a Chinaman.

Saleh pointed out that there are many cases of commoners using the title of daeng now. However, he has ignored them in this list of names because he knows that this is merely a pretension on their part. 162 565

C. Trade and Class

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Javanese	Chinese	Total
Goldsmith	30	19	1	-	-	50
Peddler-small trader	9	32	3	-	3	47
Merchant	2	2	-	-	-	13
Leather-worker	4	39	1	4	-	48
Smith	5	3	-	-	-	8
Industry	1	2	-	-	-	3
Carpenter	1	4	-	-	-	5
Farmer	2	13	-	-	-	15
Roofer-thatcher	1	5	-	-	-	6
Coolie	-	-	-	-	-	2
Cycle-repair	2	-	-	-	-	2
Weaver	-	2	-	-	-	2
Coach-bike-shaw	1	1	-	-	-	2
Dyer	-	1	-	-	-	1
Kalker	-	1	-	-	-	1
Government	1	1	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	1
Bamboo dealer	1	-	-	-	-	1
Military	1	-	-	-	-	1
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Sailor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Sandman	1	3	-	-	-	4
Teacher	-	2	-	-	-	2
Barber	-	1	-	-	-	1
Teamster	-	1	-	-	-	1
Laundryman	-	1	-	-	-	1
Unknown	2	9	-	1	-	12
None	4	11	1	-	-	16

•162
565

D. Trade and Class Combinations

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Javanese	Chinese	Total
Skilled	44	75	2	4	-	125
Goldsmith	(30)	(19)	(1)	-	-	(50)
Leather	(4)	(39)	(1)	(4)	-	(48)
Other	(10)	(17)	-	-	-	(27)
Peddler	9	32	3	-	3	47
Farmer	2	13	-	-	-	15
Merchant	2	2	-	-	9	13
Unskilled	1	7	-	-	-	8
Sailor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Industry	1	2	-	-	-	3
Government	2	1	-	-	-	3
Coach-bike-shaw	1	1	-	-	-	2
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Teacher	-	2	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	1
None	4	11	1	-	-	16
Unknown	2	9	-	1	-	12
Totals	68	162	6	5	12	253

[595] Marriage Cases

8 cases of polygyny. All extra wives live outside the kampong. [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst]

7 cases involve noble men.

1 case is the case of a rich commoner, Liyu, the brick-tile-cement tycoon. He has made money, and now has a second wife.

E. Interclass Marriages: Aberrant (13)

M - Man
W - Woman
N - Noble
C - Commoner
S - Slave

	Ages	Trade	Number of case
NM-CW (11)	80-60	None	D 51
	70-60	Leather	E 17
	70-55	Goldsmith	A 9
	60-60	None	A 23
	60-57	Cycle repair	C 7
	60-40	Goldsmith	A 37
	60-24	Thatcher	E 13
	50-40	Leather	D 16
	35-30	Unknown	E 35
	30-25	Sandman	E-19
	25-18	Goldsmith	D-21

E. Interclass Marriages: Aberrant (13) (cont.) 162 565

	Ages	Trade	Number of case
NM-SW (2)	60-50	None	E 1
	30-30	Unknown	D 2
CM-SW (None)			

F. Interclass Marriages: Taboo Cases (3)

NW-CM (2)	40-45	Peddler	C 6
	20-25	Goldsmith	A 21
NW-SM (None)			
CW-SM (1)	70-85	None	D 4

G. Class of Children of Aberrant and Taboo Marriages

NM-CW	N	But before, commoner.
NM-SW	C	Before, same.
CM-SW		No cases.
NW-CM	C	Taboo before.
NW-SM		No cases.
CW-SM	C	But before, slave.

Formerly, in allowing a higher man to marry a lower woman, the rule was that children would be dropped one class. Now the same is done for a noble man marrying a slave woman, although the child of a noble man-common woman marriage is a commoner. There are no cases of a common man marrying a slave woman. 565 851 582

Formerly marriage between a lower man and a higher woman was taboo. Now such marriages result in the lowering by one class of the status of children resulting from such a marriage, if the man is a commoner and the woman a noble. However, the class of the children follows that of the higher parent if the man is a slave and the woman a commoner. The marriage of a slave man to a noble woman is evidently still taboo.

H. Sailors 162

Former	10
Still	4
Total	14

I. Moved into Kampong

From other Makassarese areas	61
From Buginese areas	2
From Java	5
Total	68

J. Working or Have Worked outside Kampong

In other Makassarese areas	7 (except sailors)
In other Celebes areas	0 (except in-migrants)
In Java	2
In Borneo	3
In Ambon	1
In other Moluccas	1
Total	14

584 /227 cont./ things difficult for the people around her. There
588 always seems to be a sufficient number of unmarried men who
848 would like to get married.

It rarely happens that a child is born without the mother
848 being married. This may happen by way of exception, for instance, if a woman is pregnant by her sister's husband. According to Moslem law, which in this point is strictly followed in Goa, she may not marry this man before her sister is divorced from him and the iddat period is past. Children born outside wedlock are, therefore, a rarity. At the same time they usually die soon. Only once a girl of about eight years of age was pointed out to me in Borongloë as a child who had never had a father. Figures concerning this matter
[163] cannot be given because these births, or the subsequent death of the children, are not recorded in the respective registers. Makassarese fail to see what interests would be served in doing so. They prefer to forget such cases as soon as possible.

A man who marries a woman who was impregnated by
588 another man is called pattongko' siri' ("coverer of the disgrace").
672 Such a marriage is regarded entirely like a silariang marriage.
684 No further festivities take place when it occurs. The fine is paid, and the man is tumannjala with respect to his wife's kinsmen until the reconciliation, even though he only attained this status by virtue of the fact that he married her. It is usually a widower or a man of over thirty years who wants to contract such a marriage. Sometimes he is a kinsman of the woman, but in that case always a cousin of the sixth degree (sampopinruang) or further removed, for her closest kinsmen are, in the first instance, tumasiri'.

His action is appreciated. It makes the woman /228/
[848] happy, so it is said, because he saves her and her kinsmen from an even greater disgrace, giving birth to a child without being married. This appreciation is expressed, in the first place, by an early reconciliation, often as soon as a month after the marriage has been contracted. Furthermore, although

127 /248 cont./ At this point we shall examine a number of registers to see for what purposes it is possible to use figures taken from them and for what purposes they cannot be used; if possible we shall at the same time give the reasons for our opinion.

The following registers were found in the adat community:

1. birth registers
2. death registers
3. marriage registers
4. divorce registers
5. land-tax registers
6. Indonesian notary registers
7. registers of reported misdemeanors
8. sentences handed down by courts of law
9. community labor registers
10. overnight registers
11. registration registers
12. school registers

Birth Registers

[793] 217 163 114 The imam of the adat community maintains the birth registers according to instructions passed on to him by the Kali of Goa. In the columns appear next to each other the names of the father, the mother, and the child; the kampong where the birth took place; a record of the fact whether the birth took place at night or during the day, the date of birth, and the sex of the child.

/249/ Notification is made when the child is a few weeks old. If the child dies before registration, the latter ordinarily does not take place, therefore. During a stay of six weeks I observed two such cases. These registers therefore cannot supply any reliable figures concerning infant mortality.

114 /249 cont./ There is no punishment for failure to register.
163 The reason that people do not like to register a child that has
217 just been born is the belief that this would bring about misfortune
because it is conceived as an expression of arrogance or pride.
[777 For the same reason a newborn child is wrapped in old rags.
751] There is no certainty that the births recorded in a year represent
the correct number.

A woman by preference has her first child in the house of her
[844] parents, especially if she herself was also born there. Many
children are therefore registered in a kampong where their parents
no longer live and from which it again "moves" a few months
after birth.

A child does not receive a name directly at birth for the
[553] same reason that a child's birth is not directly reported. All boys
are referred to as Baso or Batjo, all girls as Basse or Batje. In
this semianonymity the child is considered safe. Only years
later does it receive a name of its own, which, however, is not
recorded in the register. A certificate of birth is not submitted.

Death Registers

114
217 In the death registers that are likewise maintained by the
165 imam for the entire adat community (around 14, 000 inhabitants),
the following data are found reported in parallel columns: the
[793] name of the deceased, his sex, his age; the kampong in which
he died, whether he died during the night or during the day, the
date of his death, the final illness, and sometimes a few remarks
concerning heirs and estate.

The reasons indicated for the death are very much those of
[961] a layman; the imam bases them upon complaints uttered during
the final illness; stomach-ache, coughing, sometimes old age,
are found recorded in this category. /250/

Thus, these registers must also be handled with care.
Neither age nor reason for death can be regarded as reliable.

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese 535
in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and 181
there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead- 152
pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the sim- 832
ple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the 292
local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have
much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light
banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was
when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected
because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face to-
ward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward
prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The
high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And
the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under
them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in
festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and 124
finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Moham-
medan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living 163
children per woman was three, but that the average number
of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average
number who die to each woman is two. They say there has
been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not
much if any difference according to class. This I do notice,
that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is 861
the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. 828
I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that
they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says
there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a
child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex]
(and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted
that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary
people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. 562
They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, 584
women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women 883
never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) 181
If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or some-
one else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not
usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders
doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change
noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional
pair coming from school together, but this is carried out
for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

Ng 164 515 J Ml Bt MK 164

[488 cont.]
and the bad quality of the food, and on the other hand, extreme uncleanliness. Among the peoples who are more civilized, the Javanese, the Malays, the Batak, the Makassarese, and the Buginese, the disease[1] is not as prevalent and it is less widespread (1).

1. Wallace, Malay Archipelago, II, p. 252. See further: Willer, Tijdschrift v. Nederl. Indië, 1847, p. 399. Waitz, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 95. Von Rosenberg, Engano, p. 213. Tijdschr. Aardr. Gen., Vol. III, p. 128. Van der Aa, Reizen, pp. 36 and 75. Nieuw Guinea in 1858, p. 160. Goudswaard, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 69-70. Schwaner, Borneo, Vol. I, p. 121. Geneesk. Tijdschrift v. Nederl. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 602 and 803. Van Hoëvell, Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XXXIII, p. 172. Riedel, de kroes- en sluikharige rassen, Index, see ziekten.

I 164

Another skin-disease, one with more horrible consequences than ichthyosis, is leprosy. One can hardly imagine a worse affliction than this. It affects the skin in particular, forming nodules on it, which appear especially on the face and later are followed by ulcers on the nose, lips, and eyes, so that often they are wholly eaten away. In other cases it particularly affects the joints of the fingers and toes, which then shrink in the most peculiar and most monstrous way, wither, and fall off. Not infrequently one sees lepers who have hardly any hands or feet. Otherwise, the disease manifests itself in numerous ways, not [489] least in the swelling of hands and feet, which become gnarled lumps. In this form it is called elephantiasis = elephant's disease.

Leprosy seems to cause only slight pain; at least those who are afflicted by it are usually cheerful and in high spirits.

[[1] ichthyosis.—Analyst]

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
764 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photograph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photograph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
782 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
412 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers, etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This belonged to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a student of the old bearded fellow.

● 164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
743 leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map) [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss
758 Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows. These dwelling places are much better than native houses. There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the children especially get leprosy, and that when children are born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

generally agree in this matter. She said that there could not have been a law compelling colonization as there is not enough room to care for all the lepers here, who number in the thousands (though India and Africa are worse off). So, many lepers are still at large. Generally, those who enter are those who either fear infection spreading to their relatives, or those whose relatives won't have them around, or those whom the kampong compels to leave their local community. But they have a happy life in a way, and this impresses the native mind, because they get free and good food, good houses, etc. The nurse said that there is some trouble in getting them to work as they will not do so unless they have to. Nevertheless, they do all the work needed and the place is well cared for, in fact, spotless. She said that psychologically there was little trouble with the native lepers but that Europeans almost went crazy. I saw only one Eurasian little girl. They weave their own clothes. I saw a backbar loom here [in the leper asylum at Bolombaru--Analyst] and another in the old man's house. All girls can weave, and practically all sarongs are homemade. I saw some beauties. And now I know how the weaving is done. The colors are really amazing. They weave a long narrow strip, perhaps thirty inches, and cut and sew to make a sarong. This takes from three to seven days. One military doctor comes here three times a week. The rest of the work is done entirely by the patients. The nurse said she liked her work and seemed to be in excellent spirits. I told her that I would give them old detective books. An old man [a patient in the leper asylum, Balombaru--Analyst] (photograph) said that he had formerly been captain of a prau. He had made a fine model of one like his for his son, and was quite proud to show it off. He said that he had sailed wherever there was trade, and that formerly he might be away from three to four years. He said that he had gone to Surabaja, Cheribon, Semarang, Batavia, Padang, Singapore, Siam, Penang, and even China. He had once had a chance to go to the United States (how?) but did not go. He showed me a picture of himself when he was in Java in the old days. It showed him, his former wife, and another couple. All were wearing horn rimmed glasses (property of the photographer?). He was dressed in a dark coat, wide "slicker" pants of the twenties and a necktie. He was not at all hesitant about talking of his former wife. He said that this one was still in Java with one child. He said he had only one male child by his present wife, but that he had many other children by others. He even seems uncertain as to how many wives, exactly, he has had. There

164 743 758 [753] [461] [286] 159

114 /249 cont./ There is no punishment for failure to register.
163 The reason that people do not like to register a child that has
217 just been born is the belief that this would bring about misfortune
because it is conceived as an expression of arrogance or pride.
[777 For the same reason a newborn child is wrapped in old rags.
751] There is no certainty that the births recorded in a year represent
the correct number.

A woman by preference has her first child in the house of her
[844] parents, especially if she herself was also born there. Many
children are therefore registered in a kampong where their parents
no longer live and from which it again "moves" a few months
after birth.

A child does not receive a name directly at birth for the
[553] same reason that a child's birth is not directly reported. All boys
are referred to as Baso or Batjo, all girls as Basse or Batje. In
this semianonymity the child is considered safe. Only years
later does it receive a name of its own, which, however, is not
recorded in the register. A certificate of birth is not submitted.

Death Registers

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217 In the death registers that are likewise maintained by the
165 imam for the entire adat community (around 14, 000 inhabitants),
the following data are found reported in parallel columns: the
[793] name of the deceased, his sex, his age; the kampong in which
he died, whether he died during the night or during the day, the
date of his death, the final illness, and sometimes a few remarks
concerning heirs and estate.

The reasons indicated for the death are very much those of
[961] a layman; the imam bases them upon complaints uttered during
the final illness; stomach-ache, coughing, sometimes old age,
are found recorded in this category. /250/

Thus, these registers must also be handled with care.
Neither age nor reason for death can be regarded as reliable.

125 /7 cont./ of the kampong. In case someone was not related to the Kapala or his wife, it was established whether he was related to a certain Mangenre, who, as soon became evident to me, occupied a central position in a group of relatives of around 100 Buginese. If this did not appear to be the case either, I looked for kinship connections with neighboring houses. In this way a first general view of the size of the groups of relatives in one kampong territory came into focus.

July 1, 1948 was chosen as the date for the survey.

125 In further analysis of the data it appeared that the mobility which had already been noted for the adat community head
●166 and which actually was regarded as a troublesome quality by him personally was a trait occurring generally in Makassarese society. This mobility, however, was not reflected in the original figures. For this reason a second survey was carried out a year after the first one. At this time the names of the occupants of the houses were noted down again, and, in cases where there was a divergence from the compilation of the previous year, the reason that led to migration was ascertained and the place where the immigrant had come from and to which the emigrant had gone were noted down.

In so doing, I considered as immigrants those who entered the kampong, and as emigrants those who /8/ left it. Finally, those who changed houses within the kampong in the course of the year were registered as transmigrants.

121 The investigation of the related group thus led to a further investigation into a particular quality of the group: its mobility. This mobility ultimately led to an investigation into the migration of the Makassarese into Buginese country and on some aspects concerning the life of such colonists.

[36] Living Conditions

[621] Kampong Bontoramba is an hour from Macassar by bicycle across an asphalt motor road. A stay in the kampong therefore
123 can neither be compared with one on a remote island nor with

576 /11/ A stranger is first stared at quietly, "in order to get used to him," as it is said; one looks at his face and judges whether he is "good" or not. Once established, this judgment, whose criteria have not become clear to me, is not subject to much modification.

123 576 Nobody seemed to find it strange that I participated at a festive meal in long trousers and not, like the others, in a sarong; but it was regarded as impolite that I kept my shoes on, and it was found odd when, at a subsequent time, the sarong fit was "wrong." I am left-handed and therefore ate with that [264 514] hand, but the touching of food with the left hand was observed with disgust, because it is considered that one uses one's left hand in cleaning after defecating.

In themselves these are all small things, but they concern forms of social intercourse which are carried out as a matter of course and thereby furnish emotional security. The foreigner who takes no account of this is offensive, and it is impossible to say beforehand which offense will be felt as so troublesome that his work will suffer from it.

Informants

123 [576] The strict separation of the sexes in this society makes it difficult for a male investigator to work regularly with a female informant. The great mobility of the men also makes regular [166] work with a man difficult. For instance, it was impossible for me to have daily contact with a number of individuals over a long period of time in order to give an account of their life.

[115] The men who functioned best as daily informants were not those who were of the highest standing in their community, but precisely those who, afflicted with a "clerical" mentality in the good sense of the word, were in a position to work regularly and possessed a sense of actuality and detail. Since my stay in Borongloë after the war lasted for only six weeks both times, it was possible for me to adapt myself to this typical mobility by not residing longer than six days in a row with one and the

621 /15 cont./ Kampong Bontoramba has approximately
[161] 800 residents. There one finds one of the two public schools
[368] which the entire adat community of more than 14,000 individuals boasts. Along the large road a bicycle repair shop has arisen, and there are more coffee warong /shops/ than in many other places. A large group of Buginese, attracted by a
● 166 great deal of fallow land and good transportation facilities, has built its houses there in the course of the last 20 years. The Makassarese who live there at present arrived no more than 60 years ago. Coming and going never takes place en masse in Makassarese country. In successive stages a pioneer receives more members of his kin group in his house; by successive stages other people move away.

[554 A certain period of settlement by a large group is /16/
565] noted mostly when a man of high nobility moves and many follow him. Formerly, in periods of insecurity for the individual, this was probably a more usual manner of migration, but today it no longer is. Thus, around 1900, a large number of kinsmen coming from kampong Pakatto, situated eight kilo-
[621] meters further up the road, settled in Bontoramba. As kinsmen /familiele den/ constituting a part of the same related group /ver wantengroep/ they organized themselves anew in Bontoramba and adjusted to the new circumstances, at the same time striving for the realization of the usual Makassarese ideals. To this end, they followed the old Makassarese adat.

The Bilateral Related Group

612 The Makassarese related group /ver wantengroep/ should
621 be described as a bilateral endogamous group of relatives (1)

> 1. Kin relationship is indicated by the term sibidja or sipamanakkang.

whose members worship their ancestors (pattautoaang) at the places and times designated, and at the same time as a group

612 19 cont. groups in one territory, and, secondly, it appears
621 that a genealogical group lives scattered over several territories. Both deviations from the initially advanced principle demand closer elaboration.

●166 In the first place, certain historical factors which contributed
178 to the development of this situation should be pointed out.
621 These are increase in population, greater security since the year 1905, and irrigation by which sawah cultivation became possible in districts hitherto unsuited for this, with the result that migration of small groups took place with much greater frequency than was previously necessary or possible. To an increasing degree, strangers requested permission to settle in a certain kampong territory (2).

> 2. Such, at least, is the official decree; in practice permission is not asked until the house has already been built and the sawah has already been broken.

621 In the second place, the difference in meaning of the term "kampong territory" at the present time and half a century ago should be pointed out. At that time the boundary of a territory coincided with the boundary of the power exercised by the related group residing in that region. The boundary changed in proportion to the power exercised by this group segment. This applied in the first place to /20/ the boundaries of the present-day kampongs. It also applied to a lesser degree to the boundaries of the present-day adat communities and provinces. After the arrival of the Dutch East Indies Government
621 in the region of the principalities in 1905, maps were made
648 in the course of the first few decades, and the boundaries
631 were indicated on them. The situation at that time was essentially fixed. Within the established boundaries, displacements of power subsequently took place. Territorial and power boundaries, therefore, no longer coincided at that time.

612 /39 cont./ living is more comfortable. The tendency toward
556 joining the Kapala group can be demonstrated. Integration is stronger there.

To be affiliated with a large related group seems to offer
612 only advantages. There is, however, another phenomenon which suggests the opposite. /40/ Members of the Kapala
[166] group appear to move away repeatedly. This fact cannot be discussed, however, until the relationship of the related group to the land has first been described.

The Relationship to the Land

612 The relationship of the related group to the land was
423 characterized as that of a group whose members live together in the same territory and work the land. This characterization will now be elaborated upon. The majority of kampong residents do seem to have land in the kampong where they reside, but a number of them in addition have land in other kampongs.

Some figures will be presented at this point to illustrate the relationship of people to land. The average landownership of Bontoramba residents within their territory amounts to 23 ares of sawah land and 56 ares of dry land per house. In addition to land in Bontoramba, some Bontoramba residents also own land in other kampongs. If one adds these figures to the first, then it appears that the average landownership per house in Bontoramba amounts to 54 ares of sawah land and 69 ares
[162] of dry land. The average number of persons per house is 6.04 (1).

1. Figures concerning land date from 1949. The average number of residents per house that year amounted to 6.04 as against 6.1 in 1948.

241 /50 cont./ number of bowls for themselves. They ate in small
796 groups seated around the bowls without any special order
264 according to standing being observed in so doing.
554 Some pinati at the ritual take a few fingers of rice plus the extreme end of a chicken leg (only the bone) from each bowl and place this by the parappo. In this manner something
[769] has been put aside for the ancestors from each house.

Men now let their cocks fight again as they did in the
[541] morning. Meanwhile the Pinati goes around and touches
241 everybody who wants it with a mixture of oil, earth, and finely
796 rubbed rice, as well as something else which is his special secret. The parts of the body suited for this are the forehead, the neck, and the navel. The purpose is to cause these persons
[769] to share in the prosperity (pitjuru') of this ancestor through the earth with which he came in contact (nibarakkakki) (1).

1. It is good practice to take for this purpose earth from as close to the stone as possible and as soon after the conclusion of the ritual as possible (see photograph).

After the meal many stay to watch the cocks for a while. Only gradually do they return home. Only a few pisang and betel leaves, some pieces of areca and rice kernels remain by the stone under the tree and in the saukang next to the looped-off center post. The wind easily drives the dried-up leaves asunder; ants and birds make off with the rest. The oil spots alone remain visible as a sign that the ancestors were honored.

Horizontal Mobility

● 166 Three aspects of horizontal mobility will be described here. First of all, the relationship of place of residence to place of birth; secondly, the migrations which take place during a unit of time in one certain kampong territory; and

[see End Plate 7.-Analyst]

166 /50 cont./ thirdly, colonizations. The latter refers to the movements of Makassarese to Buginese districts. /51/

162 621 166 1. The Relationship of Place of Residence to Place of Birth

Of the 803 residents of kampong Bontoramba on July 1, 1949, 207 were born outside the kampong. Almost 75 per cent of the total therefore lived in their native kampong (1).

1. Sorokin, in his work Social Mobility (pp. 381 ff.) compares the territorial circulation of individuals in societies of western Europe with that in India. His book was published in 1927, and his figures are a quarter of a century old. From these figures it appears that in West Europe of that time, specifically in France, 57.2 per cent of the rural population was born in the district where it resided at the moment of registration. For India, on the other hand, according to the census of 1901, this percentage was more than 90 per cent. Sorokin draws the conclusion, which moreover was established upon the basis of numerous other data, that western Europe displayed a much greater territorial mobility than India.

Of the 207, 119 were born outside Bontoramba but within the adat community of Borongloë; the rest, 88, or approximately

162 /51 cont./ 9 per cent of the total number of residents,
166 were born outside; 30 individuals (approximately 3.5 per
621 cent) were born outside Goa Province.

The percentage of those born in Bontoramba appears to
162 be greater in the Kapala group, the most settled one, than
166 in the other two groups, namely 82 per cent as against 54
612 per cent in the Mangenre and 52 per cent in the Rest group.
621 The following table makes these percentages clear.

	Total Number of Individuals	Born Outside Bontoramba	Born Outside Bontoramba but Within Borongloe	Born Outside Borongloe but Within Goa	Born Outside Goa
Kapala Group	536	81	51	28	2
Mangenre "	94	42	17	5	20
Rest "	173	84	51	25	8
Residents of Kampong Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949	803	207	119	58	30

/52/ The large number of people in the Mangenre group born outside Goa, namely 20 of the 42, is striking. In the Kapala and the Rest group these numbers are 2 and 8 respectively of the 51. An explanation for this is to be found
162 in the fact that their land of origin lies outside Goa; many
166 of them were born there. This trend continues longer than
612 one would expect because people prefer children to be born
621 in the house, or at least in the land, where the mother was
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/52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

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2. Migrations

It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

[125]

I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949). Births and deaths were not registered because they were not relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81

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/53 cont./ Kapala-group houses had remained unchanged in their composition, as well as 4 of the 19 belonging to the Mangenre group, and 14 of the 33 belonging to the Rest group.

Those who had been registered as residents of Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949 and who did not live there a year ago were registered as immigrants, and those who lived there on July 1, 1948 but who were no longer present on July 1, 1949 were registered as emigrants. Persons who in the course of the year had gone to live in another house in the kampong were registered as transmigrants (1). Distributed over the three

1. Transmigrants are counted once as individuals, but they bring about a change in the composition of two house /holds/s.

groups (Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest), one obtains the following picture of the mobility of individuals.

	Immigrants	Emigrants	Trans-migrants	Total Number of Individuals Who Changed Houses
Kapala	26	18	34	78 of a total of 536 members of the Kapala group
Mangenre	6	23	12	41 of a total of 94 members of the Mangenre group
Rest	10	12	4	26 of a total of 173 members of the Rest group
Total	42	53	50	145 of a total of 803 kampong residents as of July 1, 1949

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/53 cont./ This means, therefore, that over a period of one year, two-elevenths of all kampong residents changed houses.

The subdivision into Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest group shows that the largest migration took place in the Mangenre group, where almost /sic/ two-fifths of the group members moved, while in the Kapala and Rest groups approximately one-seventh of the members changed domicile. As a reason for this we could cite the fact that the Mangenre group most closely approximates what is called below a group of colonists. The members of such a group seem to form little attachment to their place of residence. Many of the Mangenre group moved away to Macassar, where, according to reports, they were able to earn more money than in Bontoramba.

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According to these figures, migration is just about equal among men and women. /54/ For 72 migrating men there are 73 migrating women.

The difference in migration between married and unmarried people does not seem to be great. Here one should differentiate the cases where only a married man or woman changes houses from the migration of a complete family unit.

In one year, 22 families with 35 children moved in Bontoramba, a total of 79 persons. In 8 of these 22 cases, a young couple moved away from the parental house. A two-family house in this way became a one-family house. This reflects the striving of each family to have its own house (1).

[125]

1. A young man or woman who moved to his (her) spouse's family after marriage, thus changing a one-family dwelling into a two-family dwelling, was registered as a transmigrant.

Three families who wanted to live closer to their sawahs

166 /54 cont./ located in another kampong emigrated there.
591 In two cases a marriage by flight was the reason for a family
592 migration, and in two others the fact that the house became severely damaged and run down. In one case a quarrel was given as the reason, but this concerns two families in one house who were not related to each other. In another case a married couple from a neighboring adat community came to live in Bontoramba in order to work for an employer. In the remaining five cases, the motives did not become apparent (2).

2. The small number of children (35) in these 22 families is due to the fact that some of these are young families who moved into a house of their own for the first time. Two recently married silariang couples likewise had (as yet) only a few children.

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While 79 persons migrated as a family unit, 66 individuals moved to other houses. The reasons given for these changes vary a great deal. An old widower lives alternately with one of his children. An orphan goes from one uncle and aunt to the other. An old deaf-mute man lives in turn with his many -- and distant -- nephews and nieces, who prefer to see him go rather than come. The contracting of a marriage, the committing of silariang, are further reasons for changing houses. A Javanese and a poverty-stricken orphan who came to live and work with people in Bontoramba raised the number of immigrants. A sickly little boy goes to stay with his grandfather for a few weeks or months./55/ The grandfather's house, incidentally, is one minute's walk away from the boy's

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591 /55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A
592 child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother
[855] or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity.
Experience teaches that in another environment such
[861] naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally, these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form
[602] a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time. Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

> 1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations
158 can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however,
865 another element of this culture must first be described; this is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and 584
if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment 834
you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to
him.

Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions 125
as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of
his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing.
The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for
immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary
he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration.
He followed this, and gave information only on people from
outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans.

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such 565
class designations as bangsa hamba [slaves] and others as 558
turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The com-
moners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually
below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great
cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were 567
plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50
per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if
there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the
usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There
are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear
that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could
see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone.
With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any
given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there
was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half
slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen].
They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is
Rahim's.

Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell 855
plenty in order to send him to school.

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went 567
to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general 558
exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are
of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may 166●
be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stop- 152
ped, and this is so throughout Europe.) As slavery went the
wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no
longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the de-
cline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went
away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census.
As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry
if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 000

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Evidently, few people leave per year and the population is relatively stable though seemingly on the increase numerically to a slight degree. Those who leave are mainly unmarried men. When they leave they go mostly to other places on Celebes. From this place there are no contract coolies and few sailors (compare this with Makassar and the kampongs near Makassar). Many of those who go away return as they say it is pleasanter and more pleasing to live in the kampong. They complain of the crowds of people outside. Also they can always get food here. (But this information is derived from the returnees, and perhaps those who have not returned would tell quite a different story.) Those who have returned to the village say that they have no trouble refitting into the kampong life. As for property and so forth, those who had it mostly had families and had left property with them while they were away. There is no noticeable resistance to anyone leaving the village. 166

The section on migration was really quite unsatisfactory. 167

As for immigration and information on visitors it appears that even fewer individuals have come into the kampong in the last fifty years. There are a few Chinese, Arabs, Toradja, as well as a very few Makassarese. There are also a few Javans. Family relations seem to be important in this respect. Very few people go away regularly, just as very few people visit regularly. Immigrants fit in easily if they are Mohammedan, but it takes a while. But the Toradja stay apart, as do the Chinese. Several Toradja work for Chinese. And 563

/121 cont./

173 These foreigners became related by marriage to the people of
[622] Wotoe, and they called into being the rulers of the miniature states which made up the realm of Loewoe', the most important
[166] of whom are the Chiefs of Wotoe and Walboenta. From Lampenai the people moved to Bibilassa, not far from the present-day Wotoe, to which they finally went because the water at Bibilassa was brackish.

173 One group of the immigrants, which had dominance over
643 the others, kept going west until they settled at Malangke. The
[167] chiefs of this group are reported to be descended directly from Sawerigading. They became Datoe of Loewoe'. The first Datoe is said to have been Sawerigading; after him his son La Galigo, and after him his son La Mapanganro. These three Datoes are said to have returned to the sky at the end of their lives. This is said to have happened in the following way, according to our above-mentioned informant: when these datoes felt that they had reached the end of their life, their corpses were exposed to the wind outside the ridge of their palace, and then they disappeared. The bodies of those who were Datoe of Loewoe' after La Mapanganro were cremated at Malangke. Ashes and bones were buried in an earthen pot in the ground (L. van Vuuren, "Lijkverbranding op Celebes /Cremation on Celebes/," [174] Not. Bat. Gen., 51, 1913). This is clear proof that these im-
[177] migrants, among whom were the Datoes, were under Hindu influence. They are still known in Loewoe' by a name which is derived from the kind of wood upon which their bodies were cremated. Thus people speak of Datoe maningo ri badjo, "Datoe who sleeps on badjo wood"; Maningo ri djampoee, "he who sleeps on djamboe wood (Psidium guajava)," etc.

The last Datoe who lived at Malangke and who is known by the name of Petta (poewang) Malangke, "master of Malangke," was married in Wotoe. He was the last Heathen among the Datoes. According to our informant /122/ this ruler is reported to have

167 /57 cont./ The Makassarese and Buginese proclivity for colonizing as well as their call to the sea can probably be explained by the same conflict.

3. Colonizations

The move of a man of high nobility with a large number of followers to a remote region, such as could be observed half a century ago, might in a few cases be explained by difficulties with very close relatives.

In the case of recent migrations of Makassarese to Buginese country, an economic motive is always reported. However, it seems more correct to say that changes in the economic structure stimulated the tendency toward mobility.

In several kampongs situated to the north of Parepare, large groups speaking Makassarese have been found. I undertook an investigation in three kampongs, Kape, Langa, and Paria. The aim was to explore the integration of Makassarese colonists, living among the Buginese. To make a distinction from the migrations discussed above, we shall here refer to colonizations.

124 125 167 The "Makassarese" living in a certain kampong were in each case called together for a brief survey. This usually resulted in a number of adult men appearing. They were questioned on several points: their name and the names of their housemates; who of these were married; whether this married couple was related to each other and if so to what degree; whether this marriage had taken place in the festive manner or by way of silariang; which region they regarded as their homeland; for how long they had resided here; the reasons that had led them to leave their homeland and come here.

The results showed few differences between the three kampongs. /58/ Everywhere the tie with the homeland turned out to be a very close one. During harvest time, kinsmen came to help. After the harvest, individuals of the colonists'

167 /58 cont./ group regularly went back to the homeland, albeit only temporarily. Everywhere people gave as a reason for colonization the fact that it was easier to earn one's livelihood here than in the homeland. In two of the three kampongs, there were more men than women, a phenomenon which is to be regarded as normal (1) in the regions of colonization, where

1. See the table on p. 80 for figures.

the heavy work falls to the men.

Only a general tendency was observable for the period when most of the colonists had come. Men of approximately fifty years stated that they had come here first as young men, thus about 25 years before, initially often as seasonal workers, and that they had stayed to live here only later. Others gave their arrival as from 20 years to a year ago. My impression is that after a few pioneers had first arrived, large numbers of Makassarese began to migrate to the north around 1935. From the statements of a number of informants it appeared that their present-day place of residence was not their first, but that they had originally settled elsewhere after their departure from the homeland. It can be stated that, once people make one move, further migrations frequently follow.

167 563 The migrants did not possess an ornament: "That remained in Galesong," as they once put it. I did not see any saukang on the sawahs. People denied having little ancestral houses or offering bowls (2) in their houses. They gave as the reason

2. See pp. 86, 87.

for this the fact that the Buginese among whom they lived here were strict Moslems who did not care for such old-fashioned affairs.

167 423 466 /58 cont./ With a few exceptions these colonists owned no land in Buginese country (3). They worked fields that

> 3. The group in Paria was primarily making a living from a number of fishponds situated along the seacoast. They had found these in a deplorable state but had restored them completely. They lived on the ponds where they bred and marketed fish under very favorable conditions at the time of the study.

belonged to large landowners, who here are both members of the nobility as well as merchants who have become wealthy during the last 10 to 15 years. Since 1939 the leadership of the Sadang irrigation project has been turning extensive /59/ dry-land regions into potentially fertile sawah areas. The shortage of manpower, however, is extreme. As long as this continues, the colonists can demand very good working conditions. Their bargaining position is strong. For example, one group demanded of a certain large landowner that he let no others cut rice in his sawahs.

167 423 There is little expression of a need for securing a more solid economic position by buying land in the new region of residence. Some even considered a sawah at such a distance from the homeland an unsafe possession. Several colonists seemed to have redeemed sawahs which they had earlier mortgaged in their homeland with money they earned in Buginese country, and even to have given mortgages on new sawahs there. At this point, therefore, the tie with the homeland seemed to be very strong.

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	Total Number of Registered Houses	Total Number of Individuals	Men	Women	Festive Marriages	Silariang Marriages	Married Couple Related to Each Other	Married Couple Not Related to Each Other	Average Number of Individuals per House	Place of Origin	
Kape	25	133	80	53	27	1	19	9	5 1/3	Galesong	7
										Lebakkang	10
										Pangkadjene	4
										Maros	4
Langa	28	165	85	80	22	7	26	3	5.9	Galesong	28
										Lebakkang	9
										Segeri	2
Paria	15	80	34	46	16	1	8	9	5 1/3	Pangkadjene	1
										Maros	2
										Djeneponto	1
Total 1949	68	378	199	179	65	9	53	21	5.56		
Bontoramba 1948	129	787	382	405	105	27	104	28	6.1		

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one family. They said that they had a very small house and were very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true
161 fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants
592 whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small houses have many more. The population has risen some despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with the United States.

● 167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk about it, but they have no money so they have to remain. When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in. I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies. They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world, but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar,
207 and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay. There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst] put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

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Evidently, few people leave per year and the population is 166
relatively stable though seemingly on the increase numerically to a slight degree. Those who leave are mainly unmarried men. When they leave they go mostly to other places on Celebes. From this place there are no contract coolies and few sailors (compare this with Makassar and the kampongs near Makassar). Many of those who go away return as they say it is pleasanter and more pleasing to live in the kampong. They complain of the crowds of people outside. Also they can always get food here. (But this information is derived from the returnees, and perhaps those who have not returned would tell quite a different story.) Those who have returned to the village say that they have no trouble refitting into the kampong life. As for property and so forth, those who had it mostly had families and had left property with them while they were away. There is no noticeable resistance to anyone leaving the village.

The section on migration was really quite unsatisfactory. 167

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167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there
203 are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The
205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoe on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I 517
got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The 181
Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did 167 ●
not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if 186
he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is 178
general and there is not much to say. The death punishment 681
is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the 796
common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even 805
included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They [241]
knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: 574
I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and 852
two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of [562]
men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear
part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much 176
new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus 874
chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third 401
grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from 403
bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

/121 cont./

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present-day Wotoe, to which they finally went because the
water at Bibilassa was brackish.

173 One group of the immigrants, which had dominance over
643 the others, kept going west until they settled at Malangke. The
[167] chiefs of this group are reported to be descended directly from
Sawerigading. They became Datoe of Loewoe'. The first Datoe
is said to have been Sawerigading; after him his son La Galigo,
and after him his son La Mapanganro. These three Datoes are
said to have returned to the sky at the end of their lives. This
is said to have happened in the following way, according to our
above-mentioned informant: when these datoes felt that they
had reached the end of their life, their corpses were exposed
to the wind outside the ridge of their palace, and then they
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The last Datoe who lived at Malangke and who is known by
the name of Petta (poewang) Malangke, "master of Malangke,"
was married in Wotoe. He was the last Heathen among the Datoes.
According to our informant /122/ this ruler is reported to have

423 /40 cont./ Some variations should be introduced into
612 these figures. Broken down by the Kapala, Mangenre, and
556 Rest groups they are:

Kapala group:	77 ares sawah land
	88 ares dry land
Mangenre group:	6 ares sawah land
	6[illegible] ares dry land
Rest group:	23 ares sawah land
	22 ares dry land

These figures thus indicate the average per house for these three groups, which consist of 81, 19, and 33 houses respectively (2).

• [171]

2. In the Indish Verslag /(Dutch East) Indies Report/ of 1941, Part 2, p. 264, the average area of arable land of the native population for Java and Madura (in 1940) is given as: 0.072 hectare of sawah land and 0.096 hectare of dry land per capita. This is a little less than was found in Bontoramba (0.088 hectare of sawah land and 0.113 hectare of dry land per capita).

/41/ The noticeably low figure for the sawah land in the Mangenre group is not directly explainable. We shall return to this point below.

[592] Not all houses have landowners. In the Kapala group, landowners live in 73 of the 81 houses; in the Mangenre group, in 7 of the 19 houses; and in the Rest group they live in 14 of the 33 houses.

The members of the Kapala group are thus clearly rich in land compared with those of the two other groups. Among

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/47 cont./

8. Mingka antu sallang batua alolokintu timboranna pa'rasanganga ri poko taipaja;	But this stone will later move to the south of the country, to the mango tree. /48/
9. Punna andjoremmondjo batua papparekang tomma' balla', nasalloa' andjoremma' antu lammantang.	When the storm arrives there erect a house for me so that I will be able to live there.
10. Le'baki appasang allannja' tommi.	When he had said this, he ascended to the sky.

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The story appears to be a short edition of the tomanurung stories familiar all over South Celebes. These are stories concerning people descended from the sky (1). In this case

1. See Friedericy's discussion, pp. 469ff and 506 ff.

the narrator has also given an explanation of the name Besenga in the same story. This combination is customary.

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Now we shall try to give a description of this brief harvest ritual (2).

2. For a description of the essentials of the ritual, see pp. 81, 82.

Around half past twelve in the afternoon, the Pinati thinks that it is time to begin. He sits down under the mango tree next to the stone lying there, with his face turned to the south. About 40 bowls with offerings have been placed on top of this stone and next to it, as close together as possible. All of these contain glutinous rice with a hard-boiled egg pressed into

177 535 838 /156 cont./ sudden great popularity (1). The onlookers, men,

1. So great was the interest in this dance that teachers complained about the sleepiness of their pupils during the day in school (report by the ex-teacher Noeroeddin to Dr. A. A. Cense).

according to reports principally married men, showed their enthusiasm by stuffing money in large sums down the necks [648] of the little dancers. After some time the dance was prohibited by the administration. Only after the capitulation of the Dutch East Indies in 1942, have Masri representations been given again.

171 174 The name of the dance probably betrays the land of origin /157/ (1). Lane (2) first gives a description of a dance

1. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Dr. G. F. Pijper.

2. E. W. Lane, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London and New York, 1908, p. 389.

by women who at the same time are prostitutes, and then reports that the only thing which is really disapproved in it is the fact that women perform this dance. Consequently, men may also take the place of women as performers of this dance. They are usually young men, accompanied by the rabab. They represent women, but in order to prevent people from

171 /157 cont./ thinking that they are really women, they are
174 dressed half as man and half as woman. Their general exterior is more feminine than masculine. They imitate women in the use of make-up, they wear their hair like women, and veil themselves.

So much for the account given by Lane. The correspondence with the Masri dance described above seems clear. However, why this dance spread to South Celebes just around 1928 remains obscure.

121 The data given above invite a number of observations.
838 As a starting point, I want to take the conclusions of Kinsey and his associates concerning homosexuality. They call the "homosexual" an important subelement of sexual activity, "primarily because it is an expression of capacities that are basic in the human animal" (3).

3. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, Philadelphia and London, 1948, p. 666.

Furthermore, I want to make use of the proposition established by Margaret Mead (4). She speaks of the social

4. M. Mead, Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, London, 1935. See among others, pp. XX ff.

personalities of the two sexes, to which men and women in a certain culture are reared to conform, with more or less success. Among other things, she points to the fact that not all men possess to an equal degree the qualities which are

Enggano OD6
Gorontalo OG4
Javanese OE5
Sula OH15
Makassar OG6
Toradja OG4

M S J I 304 171 764 [236 cont.]

Concerning the age at which the teeth are filed, it should be noted that it commonly coincides with the onset of puberty or entering into wedlock. It is also worthy of note that sometimes the teeth are not filed until after the death of the nearest blood-relatives. For instance, this is the case among the Alfoer of the Minahasa, in the Kedoe Residency, in the environs of Benkulen, on the Sula Islands, and on Salayar, which indicates that tooth-filing was once a mourning custom, corresponding to the practice current in Polynesia of breaking out a couple of teeth as an act of mourning when a death occurs.

E T I 304 585

In the Malay Archipelago teeth are not broken out for that purpose, but as a necessary ceremony at the celebration of a marriage. For instance, this is done among the tribes of central Celebes and the people of Enggano. It therefore appears that tooth-filing and the tooth-breaking are parallel; in other words they are identical.

I 304 174

This is of great importance for an answer to the question of the original significance of the mutilation of teeth; although nowadays most of the peoples of the archipelago file the teeth only for beautification, it seems to me that a deeper meaning lies behind it.

I have just indicated that breaking out the teeth occurs in Polynesia as a mourning custom and is analogous to tooth-filing for the same reason among some tribes of the Malay Archipelago. This custom, however, does not stand alone, but is often linked with other self-mutilations which involve bloodshed, the blood of which should be considered a sacrifice to the dead, whereby, in giving part of the body, in this case blood, the principle pars pro toto is put into practice. The supposition that mutilation of the teeth was originally a similar [237] sacrificial act is, therefore, far from improbable.

I [585 302]

Likewise, breaking the teeth out or filing them on the occasion of marriage must originally have been a sacrificial act whose original religious significance was later lost and it survived only as a social institution analogous to the ritual

library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but 000
this was no longer the case. Thus few people read. There are
no newspapers here, and only a few, for example, the teachers, 212
read papers from Makassar or from places like Java. Very 204
few indeed ever write. (The Minangkabau man said that there 538
are no creative writers here at all, but that in Java and
Sumatra there are many. He is probably right.) They do not
even write letters here. They did not know that their script [171]
came from India originally, and they were surprised when I [123]
gave a talk on old Indic script. As for Chinese, they teach 871
their own language to their children and the latter also learn 868
Buginese, as adults do. Nevertheless, Chinese children al-
ways have a decided accent. They go mainly to their own
school. The Toradja in Tolangi speak Toradja when their
relatives visit them, but speak Buginese well in addition.

As for the radio, there are only a few in the area and only 207
radio owners and their families listen to broadcasts. During
the Japanese time there was a central loud speaker for propa-
ganda which was set up in the market place at Watumpone.
They agreed that if they had one set up now many would listen
to it.

As for movies, they say that everyone loves them. Never- 517
theless, many never go at all, especially the poor and the 434
farmers who live in remote places. Those near Watumpone 546
go a lot. The prices are: f.2 for the first [i.e., best seats--
Analyst], f.1 for the second, and f.0.25 for the third. Most
people want the latter. Most of the films are from the United
States and England. They talk constantly about war films.
Later I learned that these are the ones which came out during
the war in the United States and which are just now getting
into Indonesia. Also I found out later that newsreels which
are amazingly old are also shown. It takes years for films
to get out here. In addition, they have some very old Malay
films, evidently made in Singapore before the war. They had
seen many cowboy pictures. Later on the old Sulewatang
showed me that he had learned much about the United States
from the movies. He was especially impressed by the ice-
dancing Sonja Henie films. He could not understand why she
did not fall down. Children in particular love movies and [857]
Andi said they remember entire stories and tell them over
and over again. Later I heard a woman say that her maid
thinks movies are wonderful. People here talk about cowboy
(accent on the last syllable), chorus girl dancing, etc. Andi
said they liked the war films a lot and also the ones with fist
fighting.

M 665 521 conservative PNI [PartaiNasional Indonesia, i.e.,Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic l life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside

M 602 565 212 601 of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large

M 602 171 families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over

M T 582 563 771 Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ěppa, lima, ěneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 784 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the [791]
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that 554
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 782
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 796
They said that women have two stones, and men only one!
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

Gorontalo OG4
Malays AN5
Javanese OE5
Batak OD5
Makassar OG6

I 172 [85 cont.]

(Palembang and Benkulen). These objects are often stone wedges, which were probably used for cleaving wood or as cutting or chopping tools and as axes and similar tools. The raw materials from which these axes and chisels were made are basalt and trachyte for the roughest tools, while for the finer and hardest tools finely polished silicates, such as jasper, flint, agate, etc., were used.

I 172 174 It is well known that a number of similar stone objects has been found in different places in Europe, stemming from the time when in our part of the world, too, the working of metals was still unknown.

When the origin of the stone tools was less well understood than it is now, they were regarded as products of atmospheric fire and thus were called thunderstones and thunderbolts (1),

MK Bt J M G I 172 821

1. Lubbock, Pre-historic times, p. 427.

names that are still generally found among the peoples of the Malay Archipelago who still regard them as products of thunderstorms. A few examples will not be amiss here. Objects such as chisels, axes, wedges, etc. are called thunder or lightning stones, watu-ing-kilat by the Alfoer of the Minahasa, gigi-guntur in Malay, huntu-gĕlap in Javanese, sait-ni-porhas in Batak, isi-gutu in Buginese, gigi-gunturu in Makassarese, and batu-lintar among the Malays of Malacca.

G I 779 821 These stones, regarded as of supernatural origin by the natives, are treated with superstitious respect. On north Celebes, for example, these stones are used for conjuring rain. In times of prolonged drought, the stones are wrapped in special leaves and put in a pot with water, which is left standing in the yard during the night in the hope that it will cause rain. In conformity with this conception concerning the origin of these stones from prehistoric times, the natives pretend that such objects [86] are always found in or in the vicinity of trees that have been struck

MK [187 cont.]
538 but it is highly regarded by the Buginese because of its antiquity and its content. They even attribute supernatural power to it, and parts of it are read to the sick as a kind of remedy.

With this we conclude our discussion of poetry and shall turn to prose, limiting ourselves exclusively to the Batak, Buginese, and Makassarese.

B
538 Almost all the prose pieces of the Batak known to us consist [188] of stories that are often very indelicate, but give us important information for a knowledge of the people. These stories have two names, turi-turijan and habar-habaran. The former are rendered in a singsong tone; the latter are spoken. The first-named are often interlarded with andung words (1).

1. Niemann, "Letterkunde der Bataks [Literature of the Batak]," Bijdrage T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind., 1866, pp. 245 ff.

MK
538 Makassarese and Buginese prose has more variety. In the first place, there are various historical writings, which give
173 the history of various kingdoms, such as Gowa, Tanette, etc., and also chronicles and journals of sovereigns, sure bilang (which are always very long-winded and therefore unenjoyable). Then there are the stories particularly in Buginese, called pau-pau (2)

2. Matthes, "Boegineesche en Makassaarsche legenden," Bijdrage T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind., 4th series, Vol. X, pp. 431 ff.

and the so-called rapang (Makassarese) or latowa (Buginese) (3).

3. Niemann, "de Latowa," Bijdragen, 4th series, Vol. VIII, pp. 198 ff.

[188 cont.]

MK 538 [173] The rapang and latowa contain the pronouncements and communications of former sovereigns and scholars on all kinds of subjects concerning the art of government, law, morals, etc. The word rapang means "image, likeness." According to Dr. Matthes, the collection may owe its name to the metaphors that often appear in it. It is also possible that it was so-named because it praises the example set by the ancestors, which is to be followed. The word latowa is derived from towa = old, and la, the defining prefix; hence, latowa = the old, because it has come down from the ancestors.

The writings referred to above are all originals. In addition a number of pieces have been taken from the Malay, especially the romantic writings. The Makassarese and Buginese have a prose adaptation of the Sjair Bidasari, for example. The religious writings, too, are mostly translations and as a rule are from Arabic works. In general, however, there is more original Buginese literature than Makassarese.

B 538 The situation is different with regard to Batak literature. A characteristic [189] of it is that actual translations of foreign works do not appear in it. The few that are present have a very Batak character so that only the name betrays the foreign origin.

I 538 Now a few words about the peoples who do not possess alphabetic writing. These peoples, too, have some literary products, those that have been transmitted orally and so preserved. There are no prose works, to use this term for the sake of brevity, but, on the other hand, there are poetical works. This is in the nature of things. Among all peoples song and singing must have been the first forms man used to unburden his feelings and to express the thoughts that he wanted to be saved for posterity. The only evidence of literary theory among people who have no script is the poems, which are transmitted from parent to child and which are sung on various

A 538 occasions, at feasts and at play. Let us elucidate this with some examples taken from the vernacular of the Ambonese.

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
● 173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo killings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been
771 at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
184 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God]and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

House status marks: little is known about the rules con- 342
cerned with the number of piles, but much is known about 114
the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written 554
in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me 565
say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some
of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it
was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the
commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with
the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is
a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social
indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In
regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now
too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew 773
most of the names and events in the legends of origin, includ- 591
ing the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding
marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a
while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they
may go where they choose.

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline 177
in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the paka- 535
rena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices 527
came in. For example, one of the men said that they were 574
having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the
Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they
are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between 186
Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite 173●
ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one,
Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name
of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is 778
only about three kilometers from here. I will go there to-
morrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It
is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite
serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for in-
vulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there
is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language 197
spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was
really a different language. They imitated it and laughed.
They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much 241
of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and 262.
it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs. M 304 881 852

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heaven ones. This explains a difficult point. M 565 173● 793

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace. M 778 793

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former. M 562 609

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime. C 669 643

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to this, then the Karadja had a sword and a spear brought to Wotoe, and then the Datoe of Loewoe' stepped in (this is not likely).

The Karadjas whom Ta Mantaha knew were: Ta Raeli, Raeli, Ta Lanto, Ta Landano, Ta ngKalendjae, Ta mBojagi, Ta ngKolabada, Ta nTelingka and Ta Modapi (two brothers who were Karadja together), Ta ngKonte'e, Ta Baliē, Ta nTigi (Kontjo). When Ta ngKaledjae died and left no son, his daughter Ranta-loda (Indo i Dai) became Karadja. Matoa-bawa-lipoe left her in office, but installed Tambojagi, a brother-in-law of Ta ngKalendjae, as Karadja beside her.

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9. The rulers of the country. The Datoe of Loewoe'.

Now we come to the dominion of the rulers of Loewoe' (Palopo) over the Toradja. That is, the East Toradja recognized a few rulers as lords of the land. Most tribes named as such the ruler (datoe) of Loewoe'. The tribes in the northeast of the country had their own master in the ruler (djena) of Todjo; and the tribes in the east, in the plain of the Laa River, paid tribute to the ruler (datoe ri tana) of Mori. The first named, the Datoe of Loewoe', undoubtedly had the oldest rights, a supremacy which certainly dates from times immemorial.

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According to existing traditions this situation came about in the following way. In olden days the inhabitants of Wotoe on the north shore of the Gulf of Bone lived at the mouth of the Tjerekang; some give Malio as the name of their settlement. From here the people moved to Lampenai, a hill located between the Kalaena and present-day Wotoe. A little river, the Laaosa (called Laakarai by the people of Angkona), which in turn empties into the Pewoeso'i, /120/ "washing place," flows along there.

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At the time when the people in this area still made their clothes out of foeja /beaten tree bark/, they fetched from this hill the stones from which were made the little hammers (ike) with which the tree bark was flattened. The headman under whose leadership the move had taken place bore the name of Samba-langi, "covering the sky." The village was strong because it was surrounded by three earthen walls. Samba-langi continued to be invoked for a long time by people from Wotoe who brought buffaloes to Lake Poso: "Samba-langi, give us health, and do not let the buffaloes die on the way."

Now the story goes that the son of Samba-langi, once when he was bathing in the Kalaena, saw maize leaves and other refuse floating in it. This convinced him that there must be people living upstream. He followed the river upstream and came to the country now known as Saloe-maoge. There he saw a bamboo container hanging on a sugar palm, in which palm wine was collected. The people of Lampenai drank some of the liquid and then placed salt and sugar at the foot of the tree as the price for the enjoyment. After that they returned home.

When Samba-langi learned of the vicissitudes of his son, he ordered him to go back to the land upstream and to try to contact the inhabitants of Saloe-maoge. After they had again placed salt and sugar at the foot of a tree, they hid in the bushes in order to see who came to get these delicacies. Before long there appeared a man who was totally naked and who fled immediately when the coastal inhabitants showed themselves. Nevertheless eventually they managed to establish contact with the man and his fellow tribesmen. Coastal and mountain inhabitants made friends with each other. When the question came up as to who was the younger (inferior) and who the older (superior), the mountain people said to the people from the coast: "Of course you are our superiors, and we shall show you honor, because you wear trousers and a jacket, while we wear only a loincloth."

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This story, which must serve to explain how Wotoe achieved ascendancy over the Toradja, and why they call the Toradja who live between the Takolekadjoe mountain range and the Gulf of Bone the To Lampoe, i.e., "wild," lacks any sign of being history. For that matter, the same is also told about other areas of Celebes in order to explain how mountain dwellers and people of the lowlands came in contact with each other. We may rather assume that the Toradja and Wotoeërs are kinsmen, and that the latter have had ascendancy over the former from the beginning, because, as coastal dwellers, they had learned about cotton and all sorts of useful things that were unknown to the mountain people. Any rule of one over the other must have been out of the question at that time.

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In the same region of the Tjerekang the events that are described in the Loewoe' epic poem La Galigo also took place. /121/ An eminent man of the realm at Palopo told us that the spot where the Lord of the Sky (Batara Goeroe) came down from the sky was Lengkong on the Tjewana. From here he went to Lampenai (in Palopo they say Lapenai); from there to Walo; then again back to the Tjerekang, from where he returned to the sky. Batara Goeroe's grandchildren lived in the same area. They were Sawerigading and his twin sister, We Tĕnriyabeng Daeng Manotĕ. Here Sawerigading chopped down the welĕnreng tree in order to make a boat out of it, with which he went to distant lands in search of a girl who had to be as charming as his twin sister, with whom he was in love.

According to the same Hadat member at Palopo, Sawerigading is said to have left one of his 17 brothers as ruler in each place that he visited on his expeditions across and around Celebes.

The Tjerekang region with Lampenai was thus the first to take in the strangers who were said to be descended from the sky god, Batara Goeroe, and the goddess of the earth, We Njilitimo. These were immigrants who were probably under Hindu influence and who came to bring a new culture to the simple Toradja.

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173 These foreigners became related by marriage to the people of
[622] Wotoe, and they called into being the rulers of the miniature
states which made up the realm of Loewoe', the most important
[166] of whom are the Chiefs of Wotoe and Waiboenta. From
Lampenai the people moved to Bibilassa, not far from the
present-day Wotoe, to which they finally went because the
water at Bibilassa was brackish.

173 One group of the immigrants, which had dominance over
643 the others, kept going west until they settled at Malangke. The
[167] chiefs of this group are reported to be descended directly from
Sawerigading. They became Datoe of Loewoe'. The first Datoe
is said to have been Sawerigading; after him his son La Galigo,
and after him his son La Mapanganro. These three Datoes are
said to have returned to the sky at the end of their lives. This
is said to have happened in the following way, according to our
above-mentioned informant: when these datoes felt that they
had reached the end of their life, their corpses were exposed
to the wind outside the ridge of their palace, and then they
disappeared. The bodies of those who were Datoe of Loewoe'
after La Mapanganro were cremated at Malangke. Ashes and
bones were buried in an earthen pot in the ground (L. van
Vuuren, "Lijkverbranding op Celebes /Cremation on Celebes/,"
[174] Not. Bat. Gen., 51, 1913). This is clear proof that these im-
[177] migrants, among whom were the Datoes, were under Hindu in-
fluence. They are still known in Loewoe' by a name which is
derived from the kind of wood upon which their bodies were
cremated. Thus people speak of Datoe maningo ri badjo, "Datoe
who sleeps on badjo wood"; Maningo ri djampoee, "he who
sleeps on djamboe wood (Psidium guajava)," etc.

The last Datoe who lived at Malangke and who is known by
the name of Pětta (poewang) Malangke, "master of Malangke,"
was married in Wotoe. He was the last Heathen among the Datoes.
According to our informant /122/ this ruler is reported to have

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173 said: "I shall become Mohammedan as soon as my pigs are
643 gone." He (Matinroë ri Malangke) died before he achieved this
M through his livestock. A ceremonial jacket of his, of black
[292] cotton with long sleeves, is still kept by his grave at Pao, not
far from Malangke. His son, Matinroë ri Goa, "he who rests
in Goa," converted to Islam and moved to Palopo. This move
is said to have been inspired by the wish to live under more
pleasant circumstances and to be able to cultivate sawahs and
to erect a masjid. Malangke, however, was also suitable ground
for this. The move is probably connected with the wish to
break completely with the heathenish past. Our informant
M named for us the following Datoes of Loewoe': After Matinroë
[551] ri Goa, Tompotika came to power. After him: Matinroë ri langkanae
(palace), Matinroë ri Kaloekoe-bodo, M. ri Sambamparoe, M.
ri tangana Loewoe' (in the middle of Loewoe'), M. ri
Kamomberoe, M. ri Limpo-madjang, and Datoe Kambo Daeng
T ri Sompa, a woman who died in her thirties.
173 Among the East Toradja the name Sawerigading is little
T known. The memory of the contact with the Hinduized immi-
[177] grants lives on in the traditions concerning Lasaeo, a mythical
hero who for a short time founded a little realm at Pamona on
Lake Poso, but finally went to Waiboenta in Loewoe'.

10. The rights of Wotoe over the Toradja. The tribute to Loewoe'.

T From the above it appears that Wotoe had the oldest rights
648 over the East Toradja, and that these rights were passed on to the
643 Datoe. Yet the Toradja have always considered the Chief of Wotoe
T their immediate head. Homage for the Datoe was brought to
648 this Chief, and he took care of its delivery. Whenever the Datoe
631 sent an envoy to the East Toradja to convey one order or another,
this envoy always traveled by way of Wotoe, from where the Chief
sent someone along as his deputy, because otherwise the Toradja
would not recognize the envoy as such. At the end of the last

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631 carries the villages," answers for them. Before the tribute
648 came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe, it was first brought to a chief
T who bore the title of Ampoe lemba, literally "tribal chief,"
648 the equivalent of mayor of Wotoe. From him the people went to the Paramata, after that to the Matoa-bintoe'a, and then they came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe. To the question which we posed repeatedly, whether the tribute that was left with the Matoa-bawa-lipoe actually reached the Datoe at Palopo, the answer was always: "We do not know that" (3).

> 3. There were also other Chiefs at Wotoe, whose function has not been clearly described. Thus there was the Topalatoea, a worthy of whom nothing was known but that he would have to die when a daughter was born to him. Another respected man was Palemba-ragi, a high chief of the Toradja tribes, recognized by Loewoe'.

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648 Exceptions to the above rule were the tribes of the To Lage
631 and To Onda'e, who had to bring a slave to Loewoe' every nine
T years. The To Lage brought the slave to Lamoesa, whereupon
648 Lamoesa accompanied the Lage envoys to Wotoe, where they
567 paid their respects to the Chiefs named. The To Onda'e, however, needed no intermediary, but brought their slave directly to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe at Wotoe and from there to Palopo. This manner of bringing tribute (mepoee) is called monangoe boeadja, "to swim like a crocodile (straight to the goal)."

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173 The following tradition is connected with the mepoee of the
648 To Onda'e. The To Onda'e had risen up against the Datoe. The
728 war that resulted from this threatened to end with the downfall
T of the To Onda'e. Then an old man stood up and addressed the
173 assembled Chiefs as follows: "Brothers, the only way by which
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we can escape destruction is that some of us go directly to the Datoe without stopping anywhere, just as a crocodile swims straight to his goal /124/ (monangoe boeadja). They must offer a slave to the Datoe and surrender themselves to him for life or death." This advice was followed. The Chiefs Tamoina, Jamoenta, and Roemampoe set out; the slave Moloeëdi was taken along as a gift. From Boeraoe on, Ambe Kando accompanied them to Palopo. The Datoe of Palopo received the envoys favorably on condition that the To Onda'e should provide a slave as tribute every nine years (4).

4. According to another version, Roemampoe took with him: a chicken, a basket (kapipi) of rice, a packet of pinang nuts, a packet of sirih fruits, a bamboo container of palm wine, and a piece of beaten tree bark. Having arrived at Palopo, he offered all this to the Datoe and surrendered himself for his mercy or displeasure. Mercy was granted to the To Onda'e under the above-named condition. Roemampoe took along from Palopo: a bata manoeroe, "the flag descended from the sky," which the ruler of Loewoe' planted near a village that he wished to punish with sickness; a taripa djandji, a mango tree which appears only in stories; and two types of yellow bamboo.

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11. The sphere of influence of Walboenta.

It was the Toradja tribes that lived in the so-called Poso depression (the basin of the Poso) who recognized the Datoe of Loewoe' as lord and used the Chief of Wotoe as intermediary. In this latter respect two small tribes were an exception, the To Bantjea and the To Palande, the first on the west shore of the

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Lake, the second on the east shore. These two tribes rendered honor to the Datoe of Palopo through the ruler, Makole, of Waiboenta. People were not able to explain to us the reason for this: it had always been thus. The traditions, however, point to circumstances that are connected with the departure of the ruler of Pamona to Waiboenta (I, 18, 27).

The story goes that the Toradja ruler and his entourage, after their departure from Pamona, stayed for some time in Bantjea, and that, when they moved on, a member of the kin group (an aunt?) of the ruler stayed in Bantjea with her party. Thus the tribe of the To Bantjea did not yet exist when Wotoe already ruled over the Toradja. Palande must have been populated from Bantjea; To Bantjea must in any case have mixed with the To Palande. This circumstance would then explain satisfactorily why these two small tribes brought their homage to the Datoe by way of Waiboenta. That this always annoyed Wotoe appears from the fact that the Wotoeers, whenever they stayed at the Lake, were always eager to mulct and oppress (motengkoe batoe) the people of Bantjea.

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In a war that Waiboenta fought with Bada', in which it was completely beaten by these mountain Toradja (see West-toradjas, I, p. 308), Waiboenta offered its subjects in Bantjea, Palande, and Rato as war tribute to Bada'. After this time the To Bada' came to Lake Poso continually and exacted tribute from the small tribes named and oppressed them in all sorts of ways; they treated them completely as their slaves. /125/ The Lake dwellers now decided to buy themselves free of their new masters. The To Bantjea and To Palande gave nine slaves, and inhabitants of Rato and sago-washing basket (jikasi) with locally forged chopping knives. A man of Bantjea, named Lae-bagi or Ngkai-djanggo, who had married in Bada', led the negotiations on this occasion. This must have taken place in the first quarter of the last century.

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A considerable time after Bantjea and Rato had bought themselves free, a delegation from Waiboenta came to Bantjea to ask why tribute was no longer brought (mepoee) to Waiboenta. The answer ran: "Because you sold us to the To Bada', from whom we have again liberated ourselves." Then the envoys from Waiboenta concluded a treaty of friendship with Bantjea. On the side of Bantjea it was Talintoe who concluded the treaty; on the part of Waiboenta, La Bada appeared. Both ran some distance into the Lake. Then La Bada plunged his kris into the water and said to Talintoe: "Open your mouth." When the latter had done this, La Bada let the water drip from his kris into the mouth, while he said: "If you, To Bantjea, forget our agreement, your bodies will pass away just like this water which flows into your body" (ane ndisaja posintoewoe pai Waiboenta, da marege koromi ewa karege noe oee, anoe moili ri ra ngkoromi). Talintoe did the same to La Bada with his sword. Having reached dry land again, La Bada set up a stone at the foot of the hill on which the village lay. Both parties then took an egg in their hands and La Bada said: "If you, To Bantjea, break our treaty, your bodies shall pass away like this egg." At the same moment he dashed the egg to pieces against the stone. Talintoe did the same. -- This stone is still found in place; no honors are paid to it and no sacrifices are brought to it. All that happens is that now and then the weeds are removed a few meters around the stone.

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Since this time the relations between Bantjea and Waiboenta have always been good. Gradually the To Bantjea began to go along with the other Toradja in offering their tribute to the Datoe of Palopo by way of Wotoe. There was no special motive for this, unless it is to be sought in the expectation that in this way the harassments of Wotoe might come to an end.

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16. The relationship of the Datoe-ri-tana to the Datoe of Loewoe'.

There is no longer anything known about the time when Mori was still a vassal state of Loewoe'. The fact that the Datoe-ri-tana /131/ had to deliver slaves as tribute indicates that Mori was formerly dependent on Loewoe'. All sorts of stories making the rounds in Toradja lands make it appear that the Datoe-ri-tana was at least equal in rank to the Datoe of Loewoe'. Thus the following is also told:

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The Datoe of Petasia, hearing that there was a mighty ruler at Palopo, decided to put his power and glory to the test. He sent him an iron rod which was bent into a loop (in the southern part of this area much iron is found). With this gift went the task of bending the rod straight. The Datoe of Loewoe' had a slave make the rod red-hot and bend it straight. In turn the ruler of Loewoe' sent to the Datoe-ri-tana a bar of baked sago, which, when still warm, had been bent into a loop, with the task of bending the sago straight. The Datoe-ri-tana did not succeed in doing this, because when he tried to do it dry, the sago threatened to break; if he put it in water, then the sago dissolved; and if he warmed it, then it stuck together. With this the Datoe-ri-tana acknowledged himself as the inferior of the Datoe of Loewoe'.

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Shortly after this event the Datoe of Loewoe' came to visit the Datoe-ri-tana. They stayed up until late in the night talking with each other by the light of a resin torch, until all the occupants of the house were asleep. When the resin torch threatened to go out, the Datoe-ri-tana took a stick to poke up the resin, a task that otherwise was done by a slave or a younger member of the company. Then the Datoe of Loewoe' said: "Because you have poked up the resin of the torch, you declare yourself the lesser of us two and you must therefore pay me tribute." The other found this just and agreed.

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M-L /131 cont./
173 Another story which apparently has come from the Mori side
643 tells: In order to put the Datoe-ri-tana to the test, the ruler
648 of Loewoe' sent him a piece of cotton with the message to take the threads out of this piece. The Datoe-ri-tana did this. In turn he sent the other a piece of beaten tree-bark with the request to take the threads out of it. Seeing that the ruler of Loewoe' was not successful in this, he had to acknowledge that the Datoe-ri-tana was at least his equal.

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M-L 17. The tribute to the Datoe-ri-tana.
174 That the rule of the Datoe-ri-tana is of more recent date
643 than that of the Datoe of Palopo is evident from the fact that his
648 subjects did not entertain the same superstitious fear of him as
T the subjects of Loewoe' had for their lord. He always received the
648 messengers from his subjects himself, and the tone in which the Toradja spoke of him was not as respectful as when it was a
T matter of the Datoe of Loewoe'. The Datoe-ri-tana, too, had
648 his representative among the To Pakambia, who bore the title
[631] of tongko. At the time when the Government came into this
T region, the Chief of Bentji held this office.
M-L The Bare'e-speaking vassal states of Mori showed their de-
648 pendence on the Datoe-ri-tana by providing buffaloes whenever /132/ a member of the ruling house died or whenever their lord celebrated a great sacrificial feast. If a prince of the blood died, the To Poe'oe-mbana and the To Pakambia contributed 75 bars of wax, and the To Pada two buffaloes; if someone of lesser origin, but still related to the ruling house died, the contributions were 35 bars of wax and one buffalo, respectively. Only the To Pada are able to raise buffaloes on a large scale, because of the extensive grassy plain on which they live. Now and then the tall grass is burned off, and the young shoots then make excellent fodder for the buffaloes.

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Their last expedition took place in March of 1894. One of our people was already settled in Poso at the time. On a certain day there appeared a large fleet of proas, with which the whole shore of Poso Bay was filled. Some 800 Parigiers and other people who had joined them went ashore. The reason for this demonstration was to take revenge for the slaying of a Chief of the To Onda'e who was married to a member of the Parigi ruling house. The expedition failed, because the enemy forces were driven back by the Toradja. A prolonged war between To Pebato and To Parigi was the consequence of this, but because of the great distance they did not often seek each other out, with the result that this war caused few casualties. The influence of Parigi on the East Toradja has never been of great significance.

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20. The ruler (Djena) of Todjo.

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In the first chapter (I, 55 and 56) we saw how the tribes of the To Tora'oe, To Baoe, To Lalaeo, To Ampana, and To Wana were formed on the eastern peninsula during the spread of the Toradja over Central Celebes. They had moved so far from Wotoe and Palopo that there could no longer be any question of paying tribute to the Datoe of Loewoe'. One result of this was that these tribes were not protected against foreign enemies, from whom they suffered a great deal. Ternatans made repeated raids along the shores of Todjo and in doing so penetrated up to the To Baoe in the interior. The Toradja felt powerless against these gangs of robbers armed with guns. They heard how strong Parigi and the little realms in the Paloe valley were under their rulers, and this led them to seek a ruler of their own who could bring unity among them and protect them against the enemy.

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At that time (i.e., the second half of the eighteenth century), no ruler on Celebes was more powerful than the one of Bone, and therefore the people turned to him for support. The story tells that the Toradja tribes asked the Chief of Mowomba,

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whose name was Ta Lamoa, to present their case to the ruler of Bone. According to radja /raja/ Lariwoe, who died in 1902, Matinroë ri Malingongëng was ruler of Bone when Ta Lamoa arrived there. This ruler held sway from 1749-1775 (J. A. Bakkers, "Het Leenvorstendom Boni /The Feudal Principality of Boni/," T. B. G., Vol. 15, p. 165).

When Ta Lamoa and his companions arrived at the court of Bone and the ruler learned that they were envoys from a land far away, he wanted to see whether he was dealing with noblemen or with slaves. He therefore had the front veranda of the house in which the Toradja were staying covered with pisang leaves, and there the guests lay down at night to rest. The ruler had a few female slaves sleep in their immediate vicinity. The Toradja were afraid to even touch them. When on the following morning the ruler had the pisang leaves inspected to see whether they were undisturbed, and this was indeed the case, he knew that the envoys from Tomini Bay had not been with the female slaves, from which he concluded that he was dealing with noblemen. He now asked them why they had come. When he heard that they had come to ask him for a radja, he immediately designated one of his nephews /Dutch neven, nephews, cousins/, who bore the name of Pile-witi, "twisted foot," because of his clubfoot.

Pile-witi, however, was not in Bone; he was staying in Parigi where he had fled because of a matter involving a woman. He lived, unknown, in a little house in Pombalowo. Ta Lamoa was given 40 Boeginese /Buginese/ noblemen and a number of slaves by the ruler of Bone in order to found a new court. With these he traveled via Gorontalo to Parigi. At a number of places where the company called, some of the Boeginese retinue remained behind; the Boeginese colonies which are found here and there in Tomini Bay are said to be descended from them.

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Having arrived in Parigi, Ta Lamoa paid his respects to the ruler, Magaoe Djanggo, the same one who in the second half of the eighteenth century concluded a treaty with the East India Company, and informed him of the purpose of his trip. Magaoe Djanggo, however, had never heard of a Boeginese prince in his realm, but after a while Pile-witi was discovered. He at first denied being the one sought and refused to accept the honor offered to him. When the Boeginese who accompanied Ta Lamoa recognized him as the nephew of the ruler of Bone, he agreed to accompany Ta Lamoa. The latter asked the prince for proof of his divine origin. Pile-witi thereupon drew his sword, whereby a crack was heard, as if a gun had been shot. With the sword he cut through a roof beam of his little house, without getting up from his seat. When Magaoe Djanggo learned that the shabbily dressed man was a Boeginese prince, he offered his apologies for having let him live in destitute conditions.

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The company now started out in order to seek a suitable place to settle. The prince did not like the mouth of the Mapane, because mapane means "warm" (unhealthy). Poso made him think of the "stopping" of /136/ the breath (maposo inosa). In the names of the other rivers too he saw no good for the future; but when the name Todjo was mentioned to him, he decided to stay there, because he felt very fatigued (todjo) from the trip.

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The Toradja tribes on the eastern peninsula thus formed a separate society under the Djena of Todjo. This is to be understood in the sense that the Djena secluded himself in his place of residence and did not trouble himself with the internal affairs of his subjects. Only disputes between the tribes were settled by him. Otherwise the contacts of the Djena with his subjects were to serve only for getting from the people as much as there was to get. The Djena, in imitation of the Boeginese realms, maintained a court, which, however, was only a caricature of those found in South Celebes. He had around him various dignitaries who had nothing to do and who did not know what their tasks were.

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565 /80 cont./ to his group of relatives. In so doing, however,
554 nothing has as yet been said about the possibility of a future marriage. This depends further on his personal qualities and finally on the evaluation of his position at a certain moment. A person's /social/ class is no more than the possibility of contracting a certain marriage at a certain moment.

114 Friedericy has added an explanation of their origin to his
174 description of the social classes and their mutual relationships.
85 He thought that it was possible to indicate that the class organization arose from an exogamous fraternal grouping. His theory was first presented by de Josselin de Jong. The latter was able to indicate such a structural change among the
000 Natchez; classes there developed out of clans (2).

2. J.P.B. Josselin de Jong, "The Natchez Social System" /cited in English/, Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, September, 1928, pp. 553 ff.

Ideas concerning the origin of social classes have changed little since then./81/ Van Heek (1), as the last one, in

1. F. van Heek, Klassen- en standenstructuur als sociologische begrippen /Class and Status Structure as Sociological Concepts/, Inaugural Address, Leiden, 1948, p. 7.

1948 states concerning this: "To the extent that in primitive societies the groups increase in size, come into greater contact

000 /81 cont./ with each other, become more complicated in their organizational forms, and their accumulated stores of goods become larger, their internal hierarchic articulation begins to stand out more clearly."

Larger numbers in themselves do not necessarily bring about structural changes, however, and it is just these that interest us. The problem of the formation of a class structure in essence remains untouched here.

114 174 565 The arguments adopted by Friedericy for his theory from an analysis of Makassarese culture do not appear convincing to me. His theory and my objections to it will therefore be briefly taken up at this point (2).

2. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen, 1933, Vol. IV, p. 90.

On the basis of an analysis of the creation myth, Friedericy assumed that at an earlier stage in the development of society a fraternal division must have existed. Now, in order to make the idea of the origin of the present-day society from the mythical organization acceptable, he mentions a number of characteristics which both have in common: "A bipartite structure, superiority of one group over the other, patrilocality after marriage, the nonlocalized character of the groups -- all these things the two organizations have in common. Moreover, where initially we believed a great difference to exist, we have found upon closer examination clear indications in the present society of former exogamy of the two groups as well as of matrilineal descent" (3).

3. H. J. Friedericy, Ibid., p. 599.

114 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he
174 then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of
565 divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all
586 even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba, and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana
[567] (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." Before the war the government linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves. As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement loses its force.

114 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of
174 earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes.
565 Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that,
582 simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 Of the four common characteristics, the mention of
174 patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding.
565 My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).
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1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure, superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

114 /82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from
174 an exogamous kinship grouping.
565 The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articulation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came into existence, is not clear.

128 The connection established by Friedericy between class and
565 kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As
554 much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used

2. F. van Heek, op. cit., p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing" /aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be feasible.

182 It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes
554 signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage
582 is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment. Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two elements which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

554 The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's
[581] children because this establishes the standing gained by one personally, within the bounds set by descent.

177 /156 cont./ sudden great popularity (1). The onlookers, men,
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1. So great was the interest in this dance that teachers complained about the sleepiness of their pupils during the day in school (report by the ex-teacher Noeroeddin to Dr. A. A. Cense).

according to reports principally married men, showed their enthusiasm by stuffing money in large sums down the necks
[648] of the little dancers. After some time the dance was prohibited by the administration. Only after the capitulation of the Dutch East Indies in 1942, have Masri representations been given again.

The name of the dance probably betrays the land of
171 origin /157/ (1). Lane (2) first gives a description of a dance
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1. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Dr. G. F. Pijper.

2. E. W. Lane, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London and New York, 1908, p. 389.

by women who at the same time are prostitutes, and then reports that the only thing which is really disapproved in it is the fact that women perform this dance. Consequently, men may also take the place of women as performers of this dance. They are usually young men, accompanied by the rabab. They represent women, but in order to prevent people from

171 /157 cont./ thinking that they are really women, they are
174 dressed half as man and half as woman. Their general exterior is more feminine than masculine. They imitate women in the use of make-up, they wear their hair like women, and veil themselves.

So much for the account given by Lane. The correspondence with the Masri dance described above seems clear. However, why this dance spread to South Celebes just around 1928 remains obscure.

121 The data given above invite a number of observations.
838 As a starting point, I want to take the conclusions of Kinsey and his associates concerning homosexuality. They call the "homosexual" an important subelement of sexual activity, "primarily because it is an expression of capacities that are basic in the human animal" (3).

3. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, Philadelphia and London, 1948, p. 666.

Furthermore, I want to make use of the proposition established by Margaret Mead (4). She speaks of the social

4. M. Mead, Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, London, 1935. See among others, pp. XX ff.

personalities of the two sexes, to which men and women in a certain culture are reared to conform, with more or less success. Among other things, she points to the fact that not all men possess to an equal degree the qualities which are

[94 cont.]

A 583 marriage, the obligation was exclusively on the man to support his wife, and thus his influence might become too dominant. Another explanation might be that the so-called bride price served to identify ancestry not only in the male line but also in the female. That the bride price was ever regarded by the Atjehnese as a purchase price for the woman is difficult to assume when one considers the dominant matriarchal elements in connection with marriage.

A 562 In harmony with the marriage and kinship rules, the position of women in Atjeh is fairly high. This can be inferred A [586] from the fact, among others, that the ta'lik (1), a general

1. See Chap. 5, "Islam."

custom on Java, which strengthens the position of the woman A 428 in the case of divorce, is not necessary in Atjeh. The laws of inheritance are, in general, based on Mohammedan law, but there are some deviations based on the adat.

A 421 In Atjehnese marriage, goods are not held in common; the man and wife keep the possessions they brought into the 422 marriage strictly separated. Those possessions that are earned by their common efforts during the course of the marriage (for instance, work in the fields) are, however, regarded as common property in the lowlands. In the highlands, everything amassed during the marriage, whether through the efforts of both or of only one of them, is considered common property.

A 586 In the case of divorce the common property is divided in two; that brought into the marriage goes back to where it came from, but in some cases even what has been earned by the man alone is regarded as common property.

M 101 c. Buginese and Makassarese (South Celebes). These two 174 peoples, in many respects similar to each other and differing primarily only in language, long ago reached a stage of political development where clan division has no influence. Their M 631 society is based completely on territorial units, but the origin

[95 cont.]
793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These orna-
[293 ments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of
778] the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was
[74] the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his property. [96] His power was extended more and more because he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was prob-
[636 ably the only native jurisdictional community on southern
634] Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people, however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their position from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornament-
[631] ships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.

565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes, the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature
641 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treatment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng, sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became. The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary and could be severed by either side.

[614] Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the
582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy
583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

Borneo OC1
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

[53 cont.]

Br I 287 Many peoples of the Malay Archipelago make their clothing from tree bast treated this way, not only the tjawat, but also the badju [baju]. Even those who are acquainted with the loom still use clothing made of tree bark, at least for work in the fields. Such garments are most common among the less developed peoples, such as the Dajak [Dyak], the Alfoer of the eastern parts of the archipelago, and the still almost savage tribes.

I 286 294 291 177 Besides tree bark, all kinds of fabrics are used in the archipelago for making garments. The natives probably learned weaving from the Hindus. The least developed tribes use the fibers of various plants and also young bamboo for weaving; the most highly developed, however, use the fibers of the cotton plant exclusively.

In recent times, however, European linen is used more and more, but the native in any case prefers his own fabrics. Kain, sarongs, slendangs, and headcloths are generally of local manufacture, at least to the extent they are the only ones people can afford, however well European manufacturers have learned to imitate native designs. Besides European cotton textiles, woolen MK MI and silk materials are also used, at least by notables and the well-to-do.

J I 293 174 Before we leave clothing, we shall say [54] a few words about the use of the pajung or songsong, in many cases an indispensable part of the daily costume, although not actually a garment. The pajung or songsong is a parasol of native manufacture. The right to use it is usually held exclusively by the nobility or people of rank or respect, such as sovereigns, princes, and officials. The parasol, with a long handle, is held over the head of the one entitled to use it by a servant. The color or colors of the pajung, gold, red, green, blue, and yellow, the distribution of these colors in stripes and borders, and partly also the knob indicate the rank of the person it shades. The peoples of the Malay Archipelago undoubtedly adopted the pajung and its use as an indication of rank from the Hindus. The pajung, of course, is not found among the uncivilized tribes. It is used only

Javanese OE5
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

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[54 cont.]
among the Javanese, Malays, Makassarese, Buginese, etc. The Government, too, has adopted the use of the pajung as a mark of distinction. The Government has awarded the right to carry the pajung to the native chiefs and officials on Java, to the chiefs of the Ambon Residency, to the native chiefs among the Minahasa, etc.

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The highest in rank is the golden or yellow pajung, which on Java is carried by the sultans of Solo and Jogjakarta (1).

1. Veth, Java, Vol. I, pp. 613-614.

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Chapter 3. Houses and Household Equipment

a. Nomads, living in trees; b. Village settlement pattern, composition of villages; c. Houses on piles, their layout; d. Houses on the ground, their layout; e. Peculiar shapes of houses; f. Palaces, regents' houses; g. House decoration; h. Household equipment.

a. Nomads, Living in Trees

Before we discuss the dwelling in the narrower sense, the house, we want to deal first with the question as to whether there still are tribes in the Malay Archipelago who do not have residences and whom we should therefore call nomads. This question can be promptly answered in the affirmative. Naturally, only the least developed tribes spend their lives wandering from one place to another. It has been reported that most of these tribes only build wretched huts here and there, merely a lean-to made of branches and leaves. In most cases these huts are built between the heavy branches of high trees.

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Malays AN5
Makassar OG6 ●
Javanese OE5
Tenggerese OE8
Mentawi OD9

Borneo OC1
Batak OD5
Gorontolo OG4
Moluccas OH1
New Guinea OJ1

I Br [66 cont.]
342 average a man, woman, and two children, thus 600 persons, all
621 belonging to one family [familie] (1). Not only among the
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1. Bijdragen T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Indië, 4th series, 5th part, p. 305. Perelaer, Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks, p. 128.

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342 Dajak, but also among the other uncivilized tribes one finds a
621 number of family units living together in one great house, for
591 example, among the Batak, the Alfoer of north Celebes (2), in

2. Riedel, Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, pp. 486 and 493.

the Moluccas, among the Papuans, and even among the so much
T more highly developed Malays on central Sumatra (3). One can
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3. Verkerk Pistorius, op. cit., p. 40.

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●174 state that this way of living was formerly common. Among some
591 peoples this situation has already given way to another in which each dwelling is the residence of only one family unit and consequently the houses are smaller, as among the Javanese,
Bt Makassarese, Buginess, and others. On Java, too, however, a
T number of family units undoubtedly lived together in a single
Mt dwelling. As evidence for this, the living together custom is
Ml still found among the pagans of the Tengger Mountains.
Br
I As we have noted, the houses are very large. Two types
342 can be distinguished: in the first place, the houses that are built lengthways; and, secondly, those that have been built sideways. Generally, however, they have the first form and are very long, but comparatively narrow. Among the Dajak, they may be 250 ells long, but only 20 to 30 ells wide. Boyle saw a house that was 1,000 feet (380 ells) long. This is also found

J 785 [634 cont.]
themselves with disgusting food. They go without sleep as much as possible or sleep in a tree or in a cave where there is scarcely room to stretch their tired limbs. In this way they seek death of the self, life in death.

There are other ascetics, however, who do not seclude themselves in the mountains, but continue to live in society, surrounded by the stir of the world. For instance, Mr. Swaving saw one in 1859 at the market in Toeloeng Agoeng in Kediri in a little cubbyhole that was closed off by a muslin curtain. When he asked what it meant, he learned that a Sang tăpă lived there, old in years and famous for his wisdom and piety.

The name dĕpok distinguishes this kind of hermit from the others who retire from public life.

g. The Religion of the Buginese and Makassarese

MK 797 177 When the Portuguese arrived in the Malay Archipelago, the Buginese and Makassarese were still pagans; not until around the beginning of the seventeenth century was Islam introduced to the southern part of Celebes, by missionaries from Sumatra and Malaya in particular. It quickly took root here to such an extent that it soon became the popular religion and has remained so to this MK 771 day. Both knowledge of this doctrine and the observance of it, however, are very little known among the people [635] and are limited to the external ceremonies. Therefore many traces of MK 174 the former pagan worship remain, and among them there are a few ceremonies that hark back to the Hindu period. As we saw earlier, southern Celebes must also have been a dependency of the ruler of Modjopahit, and consequently Hinduism was intro- MK 771 duced there by Hindu-Javanese. We shall now briefly discuss this Hinduism, at least as it has been preserved up to the present in a few ceremonies, as well as the ancient Polynesian religion.

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.
842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

his status. The Kepala kampong repeated that there are M
many grades of slaves, and evidently the higher ones actual- 567
ly regard themselves as superior to ordinary commoners.
He said that formerly there were many more slaves here,
but that many went away when greater freedom of movement
was allowed. He added that in the kampongs near the towns
there are fewer slaves than in the more remote areas. At
one time a noble might have owned as many as a hundred or
more slaves.

I quizzed him about the to detjeng. He said this was hard M
to explain because there were so many kinds. He agreed that 565
the crucial point is that there is some noble blood involved. 851
However, he said that one might use the term detjeng in 582
reference to slaves; all this means literally is "good" (baik). 567

I asked about class intermarriage, and Andi said that
marriage of a matola with a slave woman means that the
child will be tjera tjitjing. Also, the marriage of a matola
man with a commoner means that the child will be tjera
tjitjing. He is not too clear about all this, and it certainly
could stand some case research.

In the kampong of Tolangi there are supposed to be a M
number of Toradja descendants. I saw this section of 563
Bukaka and noted that there were only about seven to eight T
houses. They are located near a mosque. The Kepala kam- 186
pong said that the Toradja there try hard to assimilate into 167
the Buginese group, and that they do not like to be called 191
"To Tolangi." They try to move out of this section so that 177
they can hide their Toradja origin. The older ones can still
speak Toradja, but the younger ones are forgetting it and
they try never to let it be heard (like immigrants in the
United States). Today they intermarry with the Buginese.
Andi said that there are plenty of Toradja people in Watam-
pone, lots of them living near his house. They come from
all over the Toradja country. By and large they are workers M
at rather poor jobs and do not mix in very much. 565

In talking about intermarriage I insisted that everyone has 582
to know whether a person has a slave background or not.
They agreed to this and said that marriages are watched
carefully.

We went to a cemetery where there were two beehive M
cement and brick tombs just like the Kale Goa. Inside were 764
the usual graves and on them were placed flowers. There 174 ●
was a smell of incense in the tomb. The Kepala kampong [563]
said that people make offerings and pray here. He said that
the Chinese come here too. These graves are about two

764 hundred years old and may show that Mohammedanism here
174 came in a little later than in Goa. These tombs seem to date from the period of conversion to Mohammedanism, judging from the dates, especially in Goa. In this cemetery there are also modern, ordinary graves.

The Kepala kampong said that before the war there were many fine urns on the tombs, but the Dutch controleur had taken them. Later on van Heekeren told me that the Japanese took a lot of these urns too.

346 We went to look at the old and the new mosques. Both have
174 urns on top, as in Goa. The one on the old mosque has blue and white figures on it; the one on the new mosque is brown, apparently of a solid color. I asked van Heekeren, and he said that all mosques have these urns, even in the Paloppo and Luwu areas. He says that these urns are of Chinese origin and were formerly used to hold the ashes and charred bones (i.e., some of the bones) of the cremated bodies, before Islam came in. Van Heekeren is sure that there is not very much Hindu influence here; the urn burial trait is not Hindu but merely pre-Islamic Makassarese and Buginese. I
[126] took some photographs and gave some polaroid prints to the Kepala kampong, of him and his wife in Hadji dress, with their little daughter (perhaps one and a half years old, who waves when you say dag [hello or good-bye--Analyst]).

000 While we were talking about slaves an old fellow came in and stood at the foot of the stairs mentioning something to the Kepala kampong. He was the slave of the assistant chief (seriang). They talked in a very low whisper.

838 Talking with Andi, I brought up the homosexual matter
793 again. He maintains that homosexuals are numerous here.
778 The official ones are attached to the aradjang and at the head of them is the puang matoa, chief of the bissu. When the aradjang is taken out, the bissu from many kampongs gather in Watampone and dance. I asked if every wanua has an aradjang. They do not. However, there are some kampongs that have them. The bissu handle and take out these lesser aradjang too. This also would bear research.

838 Andi went on and on about the scandalous behavior of the
548 ordinary homosexuals (tjalabai). They dress and act like women and are found everywhere. There are many in Watampone. They swish and flirt and stick rolled up handkerchiefs in their blouses to imitate breasts. Andi says that many men are crazy about them and spend lots of time and money to have sex with them. He was surprised that I had seen none. I do remember at the pasar malam that I had seen a "girl" in a bright red blouse (kabaya), and a well painted face. "She"

/121 cont./

173 These foreigners became related by marriage to the people of
[622] Wotoe, and they called into being the rulers of the miniature states which made up the realm of Loewoe', the most important
[166] of whom are the Chiefs of Wotoe and Waiboenta. From Lampenai the people moved to Bibilassa, not far from the present-day Wotoe, to which they finally went because the water at Bibilassa was brackish.

173 One group of the immigrants, which had dominance over
643 the others, kept going west until they settled at Malangke. The
[167] chiefs of this group are reported to be descended directly from Sawerigading. They became Datoe of Loewoe'. The first Datoe is said to have been Sawerigading; after him his son La Galigo, and after him his son La Mapanganro. These three Datoes are said to have returned to the sky at the end of their lives. This is said to have happened in the following way, according to our above-mentioned informant: when these datoes felt that they had reached the end of their life, their corpses were exposed to the wind outside the ridge of their palace, and then they disappeared. The bodies of those who were Datoe of Loewoe' after La Mapanganro were cremated at Malangke. Ashes and bones were buried in an earthen pot in the ground (L. van Vuuren, "Lijkverbranding op Celebes /Cremation on Celebes/," [174] Not. Bat. Gen., 51, 1913). This is clear proof that these im-
[177] migrants, among whom were the Datoes, were under Hindu influence. They are still known in Loewoe' by a name which is derived from the kind of wood upon which their bodies were cremated. Thus people speak of Datoe maningo ri badjo, "Datoe who sleeps on badjo wood"; Maningo ri djampoee, "he who sleeps on djamboe wood (Psidium guajava)," etc.

The last Datoe who lived at Malangke and who is known by the name of Petta (poewang) Malangke, "master of Malangke," was married in Wotoe. He was the last Heathen among the Datoes. According to our informant /122/ this ruler is reported to have

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Another story which apparently has come from the Mori side tells: In order to put the Datoe-ri-tana to the test, the ruler of Loewoe' sent him a piece of cotton with the message to take the threads out of this piece. The Datoe-ri-tana did this. In turn he sent the other a piece of beaten tree-bark with the request to take the threads out of it. Seeing that the ruler of Loewoe' was not successful in this, he had to acknowledge that the Datoe-ri-tana was at least his equal.

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17. The tribute to the Datoe-ri-tana.

That the rule of the Datoe-ri-tana is of more recent date than that of the Datoe of Palopo is evident from the fact that his subjects did not entertain the same superstitious fear of him as the subjects of Loewoe' had for their lord. He always received the messengers from his subjects himself, and the tone in which the Toradja spoke of him was not as respectful as when it was a matter of the Datoe of Loewoe'. The Datoe-ri-tana, too, had his representative among the To Pakambia, who bore the title of tongko. At the time when the Government came into this region, the Chief of Bentji held this office.

The Bare'e-speaking vassal states of Mori showed their dependence on the Datoe-ri-tana by providing buffaloes whenever /132/ a member of the ruling house died or whenever their lord celebrated a great sacrificial feast. If a prince of the blood died, the To Poe'oe-mbana and the To Pakambia contributed 75 bars of wax, and the To Pada two buffaloes; if someone of lesser origin, but still related to the ruling house died, the contributions were 35 bars of wax and one buffalo, respectively. Only the To Pada are able to raise buffaloes on a large scale, because of the extensive grassy plain on which they live. Now and then the tall grass is burned off, and the young shoots then make excellent fodder for the buffaloes.

643 669 /121 cont./ The prince is regarded as the person of purest blood and as the possessor, to the highest degree, of the personal qualities which the Makassarese expect from a leader. If a prince satisfies both these requirements, he would seem to be in a position to conduct a policy directed at increasing his territory and the number of his subjects.

If a prince does not satisfy these requirements, there frequently occurs a schism within the realm which begins in the royal family. The conflict between the person who formally is the rightful heir because he is the oldest son or because he is considered to be of the purest blood and, on the other hand, the person who possesses the best personal qualities is frequently already present at a succession to the throne. Such a schism constitutes a threat to the prince. The power that his kingdom can exert outwardly remains small. For in that case, his efforts are still merely directed at maintaining his position within his realm. A classic example of this is the fraternal war in Sidenreng in 1831 and the succeeding years.

Eerdmans (1) clearly indicates the reasons that led to the

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1. The quotation which follows here is taken from an important unpublished note concerning the history of the government of Celebes and the dependencies from the pen of the retired Assistant Resident, A. L. A. F. Eerdmans, who died shortly before the Japanese invasion. Other quotations from the same note, following below, will be indicated by "Eerdmans." It is hoped, that it will still be possible to publish the part of this work that was spared

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/121 cont./ in the war. Publication of the work had been decided upon before the war, but had not been carried out.

battle: "From the preceding it appears that La Pawawooi Mohamad Ali, Prince of Sidenreng, a very old man, had always faithfully upheld Dutch interests and had performed many and important services for the government. When his son, Petta Tjambange, married the Wadjo princess, Mapalakae Aroe Maenge, it was decreed that the son that might be born from this marriage would be successor to the throne of Sidenreng.

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"From this union was born La Patongai, Datoe Lampoele, who accordingly was presented to the administration at Macassar as successor to the throne, and recognized by decree. Datoe Lampoele, however, was a restless, adventurous person, whose actions and conduct caused offense in many respects. Moreover, he was greatly attached to Bone. /122/ One thing and another led to the fact that his grandfather, the old Prince of Sidenreng, became more and more estranged from him. The latter developed an increasing affection for a son of Petta Tjambange from a second marriage to We Nomba Daroe /sic/ Pamana, called the La Pangorisang, whom he decided upon as successor to the throne. Datoe Lampoele did not want to relinquish his claims to Sidenreng's throne and began to court the support of the Princess and prominent persons inside and outside of Sidenreng even during the final years of Mohamad Ali's life. Furthermore, he was able to count definitely upon the support of his father-in-law, Datoe Mario-ri-awa, and a number of prominent people from Wadjo and Bone. On the other hand, La Pangorisang had many followers of his cause among the great of Sidenreng, the Wadjo kinsmen of his mother, Datoe Pamana. Furthermore, he received support from the Prince of Barroe (Topatarai Soemagaroeka), his later father-in-law, as well as from the Princess of Sawitto and Rappang.

175 /122 cont./ When the old Prince of Sidenreng died on
643 November 7, 1831, and La Pangorisang made his appearance
669 as the new prince, a fraternal war soon broke out" (1). And

1. Eerdmans, pp. 515-516.

later:

"Through our intervention, La Pangorisang had been reinstated in 1835 in the districts taken away from him during the war. He had been reconciled with Datoe Lampoele, who was permitted to settle in Sidenreng. Quietly, however, he hoped for help from Bone in order to attain his goal sooner or later: Sidenreng's throne. Consequently, Sidenreng remained divided into two parties hostile to each other" (2).

2. Eerdmans, p. 520.

662 Signs of opposition are to be found on each level in a
557 multiplicity of forms. The system of followers strengthens
571 the position of the combatants. The striving is directed at beating a superior with the help of as many inferiors by way of followers and as many equals by way of confederates as possible. One tries constantly to become the highest among one's equals. A certain unity of territory is always maintained in the struggle; opponents and allies are found by preference among one's neighbors. In this way, the entire Makassarese-Buginese country, each kingdom, each adat community, each kampong, and even each group of relatives, as well as each family with more than one man, is potentially a theatre of battle.

/123/ In each of these groupings, several individuals strive for more power within the territorially limited opportunities existing for them. In so doing, they are always faced with the competitive efforts of their equals among each other. For if someone, in a certain situation, believes that

602
634 /128 cont./ other groups of relatives in their adat communities,
662 even though in this position they merely carried out the com-
557 mands of the karaëng.

The karaëng, on his part, constantly tried to break through this tie which was, as it were, placed on him, by seeking contact with the prominent members of the other groups. The latter saw in this a chance to occupy a prominent position in the adat community through the karaëng, a position which they had not enjoyed previously. On the other hand, they did not dare to place themselves too much in the foreground in relation to the kin groups of the former heads, taking into account what might happen if the Prince's influence, at present penetrating more deeply, should again diminish.

The adat community heads who had remained in power felt themselves threatened by the Prince's political successes. "We are becoming unimportant, " said one of them.

648 In a discussion of the relationship of the prince of Goa to his fellow princes, three different points must be kept in mind. First, territorially speaking we go beyond Goa in such a discussion. The entire Makassarese-Buginese region then becomes the field of investigation. Secondly, due to the fact that a number of events that took place at the courts of the princes were more or less regularly recorded during the last few centuries, we are able to use a number of historical data in this discussion which are unknown to the adat community heads and kampong heads. Thirdly, we must first indicate the position of the Netherlands East India Company and later the Government of the Dutch East Indies with respect to this opposition, which was ultimately intended to capture the hegemony of South Celebes.

● 175 If we look at what Eerdmans reports about this, we get
648 the impression that the conduct of the Netherlands East India Company repeatedly brought about a reversal in the power relations existing at that moment, but that this did not produce any alteration in the manner in which the princes

175 648 /128 cont./ conducted their policies. The princes saw in the Netherlands East India Company and, later, in the Government of the Dutch East Indies not the ruler who had to be driven out by the concentration of all forces /129/, but a new power center, which they drew upon in their mutual oppositions and which they utilized to realize their political aims.

The N.E.I. Company was attacked whenever its position was regarded as weak. As soon as the number of troops in Macassar was decreased, or a squadron had again departed from the Macassar roadstead, the tone of the opponent's letters changed (1). The N.E.I. Company was repeatedly defeated

1. E.g., in the conflict between the Queen of Bone, Bataritodja, and Governor Smout, around 1730. "The impudent conduct of Bataritodja was primarily caused by the decrease of our troop strength at Macassar. There was urgent need for military reinforcements on Java"; see Eerdmans, p. 291.

[183] but never destroyed. That fits in with the Makassarese habit of thought. It is regarded as sufficient if the defeated opponent is the weaker one in the ensuing discussions. Whenever the N.E.I. Company was attacked, it always found support from those who did not like to see an increase in the attacker's power.

This state of affairs lasted until 1905. At that time the whole of South Celebes was subjected to the authority of the Dutch East Indies Government. It was only then that the boundaries of kingdoms, adat communities, and kampongs were fixed. These boundaries have subsequently been adhered to as much as possible.

175 /129 cont./ It was only then that the government very
177 gradually began to place emphasis upon other personal
characteristics of the prince. The qualities which up to that
643 time had been regarded as very important for him by the
648 Makassarese now became less so. On the one hand, the
government deprived a forceful personality of the chance to
conduct a policy of expansionism, and, on the other hand, it
supported a weak personality whenever he was threatened
in his dignity by neighbors or kinsmen.

175 Only then did the opposition in the form described by
177 Kooreman disappear, as it existed between the Prince and one
of his most prominent relatives who, together with a large
643 number of followers, built up power within the realm without
669 the Prince's interference. In Kooreman's description, this
state of affairs seems to be a phenomenon inherent in
Makassarese society. At the same time, followers are described
as good fighters who have no objection against a sword fight.
Lower heads -- and with them all their subjects -- are also
to be found among these. The silent endurance of the kampong
residents who had to suffer from /130/ this counterforce is
explained by pointing to the high blood of their leader whereby
only a complaint registered with someone still higher, thus
the prince, could have success. This is quite aside from the
direct threat which is presented by such a group.

Finally, the prince himself did not act either in numerous
similar cases when complaints reached him. Rather than risk
a defeat through which he could lose his entire dignity, he
tolerated this power within his kingdom. The leader of such
a group made his appearance everywhere. As a close kinsman
of the prince he also appeared in the palace. No such power
groups existed when an active and forceful prince was the
ruler, one who could lead his closest kinsmen by his personal
qualities and who knew how to direct their energy for conquests
outside his own territory. A small local "terror" of an
otherwise dedicated follower of the prince was not held too
much against him.

175 /130 cont./ In the period after 1905, when complaints
177 registered with the officials of the Inland Administration were
648 acted upon, the leaders of such groups, even those of high
669 nobility, were increasingly restricted in their movements. It became apparent that they were not safe before the administration officials if someone had registered a complaint about them. Very slowly, often unconsciously, the realization must have dawned upon them, that they had to choose between submission to the rules of the new order, which the government upheld, and resistance against this same government.

175 The activities of those who chose resistance became
648 increasingly more distinct from those of the first mentioned.
669 Those who continued to resist were forced to withdraw gradually with their followers into districts beyond easy access until they were finally taken prisoner or killed, after having been forced completely into the defensive and having been labeled bandit chieftain or gang leader. Such was the end of men like daëng Pabarang in the western part of Bone around 1910, and like Tolo (1) in Polombangkeng /131/ in 1915.

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1. "In the second quarter of the year mentioned (1915), the number of robberies increased disquietingly through the appearance of a number of notorious gang leaders in the former province of Goa. Among these leaders there belong Tolo and his dreaded lieutenants, Basareng, Baso Patjiro Daëng Mapata, (constituting part of the Goa royal family) Radjamang,

175 177 579 565

/131 cont./ Djappa, Bakka (the two last mentioned had been armed police servants and instructors in the use of firearms), and Abbassa Daëng Manromo Karaëng Biladji, stepbrother of Goa's previous prince. In a comparatively small region, these persons committed no less than 130 lootings over a period of a few months. The brutalities frequently committed by them in broad daylight were indescribable since they were convinced that, even if they were recognized, nobody would dare betray them. The native heads, including many regents, paid them royal respects, presented them with horses, and organized feasts at their arrival for which buffaloes and horses were slaughtered. In many districts a system of contributions, a tax, was even introduced which safeguarded the payer against inconvenience." Eerdmans, p. 1078.

175 177 They had become figures who no longer fitted into a social system that was based on the ideas of peace and order, legal security, and personal safety, upheld by the government (1).

1. Through a series of special

175 /134 cont./ Shortly after the formation of the federated
648 state of East Indonesia, the Makassarese Nadjamuddin daëng
602 Malewa became prime minister. He belonged to a related group of officials living in Macassar and, aside from possessing a particularly keen intelligence and /135/ quick mind, he was endowed with those personal qualities which the Makassarese regard as indispensable for a leading figure.

Each individual with particularly good personal qualities creates a tension in his group of relatives. The tension which the Nadjamuddin aroused was simply of special dimensions.

The unity of this group of relatives was reinforced by the pressure from outside. After the formation of the new federated state, there developed in the ministries at Macassar a silent struggle between the various population groups -- Ambonese, Balinese, Makassarese, Menadonese -- for official positions. Under the pressure of the others, the Makassarese joined forces.

The new premier understandably found no Parliament that was able to comprehend the place ascribed to him in western Europe. The clearly defined rights and obligations, tied as they are in Europe to the ministers, could not be directly communicated here. As a result, the premier again resorted to the ancient Makassarese pattern of government.

Nadjamuddin ruled via his kinsmen and followers, who were active as officials in the ministries. In the Makassarese view, therefore, they constituted at the same time the highest social class.

The idea that this rule would be merely temporary, since, after all, it was dependent upon political conditions, was foreign to them.

The fall of Nadjamuddin as prime minister was conceived by the Makassarese as an impairment of his social standing and therefore also of theirs. The feelings of siri', (1) which came into being through this state of affairs

175 648 602 /135 cont./ 1. See Chapter 3, third part.

led them to turn away from the other population groups. The separatist tendencies of the time, which here assumed a political form, have their basis here.

Expectation of Salvation

668 In South Celebes expectations of salvation display a number of characteristics which in various points agree with the phenomena described above in this chapter. That is the reason for treating them here. The general traits are the following.

A man or a woman prophesies that the days of the exist-
[587] ing rule are numbered. All princes, Dutchmen, foreign Easterners /136/ will be killed or go away. Natural disasters and eclipses of the sun are close at hand; taxes will no longer have to be paid, and feudal services will no longer have to be performed (1). The person who makes these forecasts

1. There arose "a commotion because a certain Baso Oewa Taéna, who also called himself Baso Daëng Magassieng, predicted an eclipse of the sun, during which Battara Gowa (Sangkilang) would appear and would marry his daughter to him, Baso. After streams of blood had flowed and all Europeans and foreign Easterners had been removed, a mighty

Moluccas OH1
Makassar OG6
Java OE1
Batak OD5
Borneo OC1

I [243 cont.]
X 779 such as Padjang-Mataram, Tjirebon, Kediri, Semarang, and others. Of all these kingdoms, Mataram, which became independent around the year 1580, became the most powerful and before long the most important in all Java.

Mo 174 175 797 It is fairly certain that missions on behalf of Islam were also undertaken to the Moluccas from Toeban. According to the Portuguese historian Barros, the Moluccas, too, had come under the influence of Islam some 80 years before the arrival of the Portuguese there (1512). Valentijn relates that the prince of Ternate imported it into his land in 1510.

Ma 175 797 In the kingdom of Goa the prince was converted to Mohammedanism in the beginning of the seventeenth century; his example was speedily followed by the Makassarese and the Buginese; in Macassar in 1540 the Portuguese had found only a few foreigners who were Mohammedans.

J 77 161 At present, the number of Mohammedans in the Netherlands East Indies is about 40 million. The lion's share of them is on Java, and, keeping the few exceptions in mind, it can be called a Mohammedan country.

Ba 77 161 The same can be said of the greater part of Sumatra. An exception is the Batak country, where the majority of the population (about 200,000) was converted to the Christian religion, while only a small minority is still heathen.

Bo 77 161 On the whole, the Dajak [Dyak] on Borneo are animists; [244] only the colonists who came from other places and who live in the coastal regions are followers of Islam.

I X 779 The propagandists on behalf of Islam are still people of the same categories as formerly. In addition, however, today there is direct propagation of this religion, and there is quite definitely a polemic being carried on against other religions, in particular against Christianity.

The Government of the Netherlands East Indies also did its share, especially in the Outer Provinces, in advancing the cause of this religion by appointing followers of Islam as officials in non-Islamic districts. Among them, the Mohammedan teachers were frequently assiduous propagandists. Later the Government was more cautious in this respect.

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[302 cont.]
lasting success (1).

1. B.J.J. Visser, Onder Portugeesche vlag, de katholieke Missie van Indonesië (1511-1605), pp. 9 ff.

The two methods the Portuguese used, as we have already mentioned, were preaching and the use of force.

The man who did most to spread the Christian religion during the time the Portuguese were in control of the Moluccas was the Jesuit, Francis Xavier. After having been in various other places, especially Goa, he arrived in Malacca in 1545. There he set himself the task of learning the Malayan language. Three months later he thought he knew enough and set out for the Moluccas, where in Hitoe on the island of Ambon, in Ternate, and in Moro (Halmahera) he preached with great success. The method he used is not known, but in all probability it was the same as the one he used in Goa. With a bell in his hand he went through the streets and collected a crowd of people, whom he then invited to become Christians. He tried as best he could to express the Ten Commandments, the Creed, with an exposition of the articles of faith, the general confession of sin, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria in the Malayan tongue and so moved the people that they allowed themselves to be baptized (2).

2. Ibid., p. 41.

He did not stay very long in the Indies. In 1549 he left the Moluccas and, arriving in Malacca, found a number of priests there whom he set to work in the field he had just left.

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Around 1540 the Portuguese brought Christianity to Celebes where two Makassarese princes, who had been baptized on Ternate, wished to persuade their relatives to follow their example. In 1588 the Prince of Batjan was converted to Christianity.

Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imam of the latter is the 368
father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in
later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong [623]
council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone.

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in 622
legal cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after 692
the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he
couldn't the case went to the karaëng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village 623
is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of 203
an election when a great drum is beaten.

In addition to mosques, there are many surau, that is [346]
prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaëng is 565
not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is 368
only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaëng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank.

We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of 632
Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [run- 565
ning east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the terri- 114
tory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangan. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallarang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e.,literally, electoral college--Analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaëng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan.

Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred 1750
years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. 565
(See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the

M tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at
●175 large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the
565 people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]
[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and
793 their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession
838 of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst]
231 This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any
881 bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati.
304 But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there
574 for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the
182 Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I re-
771 minded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own
181 idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175● 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

000 Mission, Timor. He said that the Catholics have a great organization, and that they do not force Christianity. They do not try to change the habits and clothing of the people. They tell the natives to do as they wish, and change as they please. But the Protestants force changes in clothing, tell them that they are damned if they do not change, etc. On Flores, west of Endeh, the Jesuits have worked far up into the mountains. They had a printing press in Endeh. They also have model farms, including a dairy. They train and educate the young, for example, they have trained the best agricultural man in Timor. He is a native priest who was sent to Wageningen, and then on his return was put into the governmental service. He pays rich returns because he is in the intimate councils of the government and knows all about the radjas, etc. Thus, by clever work, the Catholics have gained much control. Timor is not so good, as it is more influenced by the Protestants. This, of course, is the opinion of van der Wetering (whose views I do not always trust, but he may have something here). He said the system of the Jesuits is that when they start a mission they get money for five years. After that it must be self-supporting. And according to him it usually is.

565 567 Balombaru: Classes existed (exist?) within the slave group too, and it is not the usual hereditary as against new slave idea, but rather that a slave of a noble feels superior to a slave of a commoner, and all grades in between. Thus, as I suppose is the case with servants in England, if you are a maid of a duchess you feel superior to the maid of a baroness. Thus the class idea ramifies, and pangkat is the essence of the whole social functioning.

175 743 Balombaru: September 3, 1949. Fourth day: First I went to the leprosarium to give my books to the nurse. She told me about some awful Javan atrocities after the Japanese defeat in Surabaja. They even shot into the hospital from trees. The idea seemed to her to be to kill all white people. 181 She [i.e., the head nurse at the Balombaru leper asylum--
621 Analyst] said that the natives have no initiative, though there is more evidence of some form of initiative here than in Java.
743 She divided the colony into three kampongs. Each with an elected kepala kampong. They come to her only if they cannot settle cases.

T W.T 648 175 /134 cont./

Their last expedition took place in March of 1894. One of our people was already settled in Poso at the time. On a certain day there appeared a large fleet of proas, with which the whole shore of Poso Bay was filled. Some 800 Parigiers and other people who had joined them went ashore. The reason for this demonstration was to take revenge for the slaying of a Chief of the To Onda'e who was married to a member of the Parigi ruling house. The expedition failed, because the enemy forces were driven back by the Toradja. A prolonged war between To Pebato and To Parigi was the consequence of this, but because of the great distance they did not often seek each other out, with the result that this war caused few casualties. The influence of Parigi on the East Toradja has never been of great significance.

T W.T [177]

20. The ruler (Djena) of Todjo.

T 648 [167] L [648] [167]

In the first chapter (I, 55 and 56) we saw how the tribes of the To Tora'oe, To Baoe, To Lalaeo, To Ampana, and To Wana were formed on the eastern peninsula during the spread of the Toradja over Central Celebes. They had moved so far from Wotoe and Palopo that there could no longer be any question of paying tribute to the Datoe of Loewoe'. One result of this was that these tribes were not protected against foreign enemies, from whom they suffered a great deal. Ternatans made repeated raids along the shores of Todjo and in doing so penetrated up to the To Baoe in the interior. The Toradja felt powerless against these gangs of robbers armed with guns. They heard how strong Parigi and the little realms in the Paloe valley were under their rulers, and this led them to seek a ruler of their own who could bring unity among them and protect them against the enemy.

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At that time (i.e., the second half of the eighteenth century), no ruler on Celebes was more powerful than the one of Bone, and therefore the people turned to him for support. The story tells that the Toradja tribes asked the Chief of Mowomba,

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/135/

whose name was Ta Lamoa, to present their case to the ruler of Bone. According to radja /raja/ Lariwoe, who died in 1902, Matinroë ri Malingongëng was ruler of Bone when Ta Lamoa arrived there. This ruler held sway from 1749-1775 (J. A. Bakkers, "Het Leenvorstendom Boni /The Feudal Principality of Boni/," T. B. G., Vol. 15, p. 165).

When Ta Lamoa and his companions arrived at the court of Bone and the ruler learned that they were envoys from a land far away, he wanted to see whether he was dealing with noblemen or with slaves. He therefore had the front veranda of the house in which the Toradja were staying covered with pisang leaves, and there the guests lay down at night to rest. The ruler had a few female slaves sleep in their immediate vicinity. The Toradja were afraid to even touch them. When on the following morning the ruler had the pisang leaves inspected to see whether they were undisturbed, and this was indeed the case, he knew that the envoys from Tomini Bay had not been with the female slaves, from which he concluded that he was dealing with noblemen. He now asked them why they had come. When he heard that they had come to ask him for a radja, he immediately designated one of his nephews /Dutch neven, nephews, cousins/, who bore the name of Pile-witi, "twisted foot," because of his clubfoot.

Pile-witi, however, was not in Bone; he was staying in Parigi where he had fled because of a matter involving a woman. He lived, unknown, in a little house in Pombalowo. Ta Lamoa was given 40 Boeginese /Buginese/ noblemen and a number of slaves by the ruler of Bone in order to found a new court. With these he traveled via Gorontalo to Parigi. At a number of places where the company called, some of the Boeginese retinue remained behind; the Boeginese colonies which are found here and there in Tomini Bay are said to be descended from them.

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[636]

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I 517
got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The 181
Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amuse-
ments of New York City to Andi he said that he would die
there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old
Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for
example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big
attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did 167
not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if
he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens 186
said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc.
If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world,
and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is 178
general and there is not much to say. The death punishment 681
is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the
common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even 796
included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric 805
systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and
Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are
birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation,
marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They
knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts [241]
that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for
the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways,
there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find
some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is
no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead any-
way.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: 574
I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and 852
two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kam-
pong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of
the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three
buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of
women were working at the preparation of different kinds of
food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said
the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any de-
mand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of [562]
men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear
part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much 176
new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus 874
chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third 401
grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from 403
bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25
and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing
he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

176 with ingenious gears, and two spools. It also has a circular
401 shutter in front, and is fantastically clever. The Sulewatang
403 and Andi both said it was a great pity that he had no training.
874 He is a fine lad. He had three rolls of old newsreels and travel pictures and showed them after someone lent him a few batteries. One of the films was broken. Evidently he is called upon to show the same old films quite often and as a result they are wearing out. I was quite impressed with the Sulewatang's and Andi's strong statement regarding the lack of schools for such men here. Later I told Thierens, and he said he would see if he could not send the lad to Makassar for training. His machine really works well. He even has a wheel for a string arrangement if he gets a small motor. It reminded me of the old man in Balombaru who had made a match head cap pistol for his son and also a model Makassarese prau, with a propeller, with an auxiliary motor rigged up from an alarm clock. It could run over a hundred meters. There is certainly technical skill here that could be developed.

565 We left the party and the Sulewatang came with us to stay
574 at the local Sulewatang's house (Kepala wanua Tumurun,
431 which he was formerly). This lad, a young and quite bright
156 fellow, is his nephew. He was going to visit the Aru Tau in Watumpone, where his wife had recently given birth to a child. They evidently visit around with fellow nobles a lot, and this takes up much of their time. I tried to bring the Kepala kampong into the conversation at the Sulewatang Tumurun's house, where he was sitting to one side. However, the two uppers would not let me. They were uninterested in the Kepala kampong. This peculiar disregard for any human qualities in preference to rank is a pain to me. The old Sulewatang asked me to show him United States currency. I was sure he would want some for a souvenir. He asked me to get him a nylon shirt from the United States. I think it is because he has always been used to asking for what he could get for nothing from the poor people here. These nobles have only to ask for things from the masses and the latter dare not refuse (honor?).

696 Incidental: The Sulewatang said that the kampong where the feast is being held was not a former fugitive kampong, as Andi had told me. But at any rate they evidently had such kampongs at one time as both of them knew about the matter.

565 /99 cont./ of Borongloë in 1939 and 1947 respectively.
634 There the ritual was performed on them, and they received
643 the vows of faithfulness from prominent kinsmen and kapala-kampong. But while the princes of Goa have stood upon their rock for hundreds of years for their inauguration, this was not the case in Borongloë.

The inauguration of the father of the present-day head, which took place in 1916, /100/ was performed with ritual (adinging dinging) at the "Flat Rock," but he did not insist upon it, and vows of faithfulness were not made. However, when this head abdicated in 1938, he himself arranged the inaugural festival for his son, and on this occasion standing on the rock was presented as old adat. It is characteristic that
565 this adoption of a ritual element belonging to the karaëng
626 group was not repudiated by members of this group, but by a
634 few members of one of the other prominent groups of relatives of Borongloë. As an old man said: "You, Gallarrang (1),

1. Title of the adat community head of Borongloë.

did not stand on it (the stone), and now you let your son stand on it."

This way of striving to rise was therefore criticized by a member of one of the adat community's kin groups foremost in opposition. The person against whom the remark was directed, the old adat community head, later reported that shortly thereafter the old man had fallen sick and since then had never really recovered again. In his opinion this signified that what he had done was correct and that the criticism had been unjust. He believed that the ancestors would have turned against him, had they considered the ritual performed by him to be incorrect. This indicates that a prominent
[177] figure may interfere consciously in ritual matters and bring about changes.

621 /125 cont./ by interesting a member of the high nobility in
622 the case. Their help is of importance because (although this
66L is not based upon the election regulation) sometimes they de-
clare the ballot invalid, or else report afterward that only a
test ballot had been held, in case the result did not agree with
their wishes (1).

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1. The 1927 regulation of the election of headmen is therefore not applied as was intended by the European administration which introduced it. Majority of votes is, according to Makassarese feelings, not sufficient in itself to capture the kapalaship. To this end, the consent of their own head is also required. This regulation, therefore, does not preclude arbitrary actions on the part of the higher people, but it does limit them.

622 The kapala can strengthen his position by establishing
662 a link with other kapala. The proved means of doing this is
634 to contract a marriage. But this action would immediately
result in a power formation within the adat community, which
the adat community head does not like to see. To an even
greater degree this is the case if a kapala were to seek contact
with a neighboring adat community head. Such an act would
suggest a certain enmity toward the kapala's own /adat com-
munity/ head, for it is an immediate threat of defection from
177 his own head to the neighboring head. Insofar as is known,
634 the latter situation rarely occurred, because after 1905 these
648 defections were no longer left to the free interplay of

177 /125 cont./ Makassarese forces, but had to be approved by
634 the officials of the Inland Administration. This administration
648 in practice only rarely permitted boundary alterations. It preferred to hold fast to the boundaries fixed in the years after 1905.

622 The kapala can also seek to establish contact with the kin
662 group of the /126/ adat community head. A marriage between members of the two groups of relatives seems to be possible (1).

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1. In this connection one can remark that it is always a man from the adat community head's group who marries a girl of the kapala group. Some difference in standing is always considered to exist between adat community head and kampong head, and therefore between their groups of relatives. Through the marriage, the implication is avoided that a man is marrying a woman from a group of relatives with higher standing than his own. A cousin (samposikali) of the adat community head was thus joined in marriage with a daughter of the kapala of Bontoramba.

622 In the succession to the kapalaship, a clear preference for the son, at least for a close

175 /129 cont./ It was only then that the government very
177 gradually began to place emphasis upon other personal
643 characteristics of the prince. The qualities which up to that
648 time had been regarded as very important for him by the Makassarese now became less so. On the one hand, the government deprived a forceful personality of the chance to conduct a policy of expansionism, and, on the other hand, it supported a weak personality whenever he was threatened in his dignity by neighbors or kinsmen.

175 Only then did the opposition in the form described by
177 Kooreman disappear, as it existed between the Prince and one
643 of his most prominent relatives who, together with a large
669 number of followers, built up power within the realm without the Prince's interference. In Kooreman's description, this state of affairs seems to be a phenomenon inherent in Makassarese society. At the same time, followers are described as good fighters who have no objection against a sword fight. Lower heads -- and with them all their subjects -- are also to be found among these. The silent endurance of the kampong residents who had to suffer from /130/ this counterforce is explained by pointing to the high blood of their leader whereby only a complaint registered with someone still higher, thus the prince, could have success. This is quite aside from the direct threat which is presented by such a group.

Finally, the prince himself did not act either in numerous similar cases when complaints reached him. Rather than risk a defeat through which he could lose his entire dignity, he tolerated this power within his kingdom. The leader of such a group made his appearance everywhere. As a close kinsman of the prince he also appeared in the palace. No such power groups existed when an active and forceful prince was the ruler, one who could lead his closest kinsmen by his personal qualities and who knew how to direct their energy for conquests outside his own territory. A small local "terror" of an otherwise dedicated follower of the prince was not held too much against him.

175 /130 cont./ In the period after 1905, when complaints
177 registered with the officials of the Inland Administration were
648 acted upon, the leaders of such groups, even those of high
669 nobility, were increasingly restricted in their movements. It became apparent that they were not safe before the administration officials if someone had registered a complaint about them. Very slowly, often unconsciously, the realization must have dawned upon them, that they had to choose between submission to the rules of the new order, which the government upheld, and resistance against this same government.

175 The activities of those who chose resistance became
648 increasingly more distinct from those of the first mentioned.
669 Those who continued to resist were forced to withdraw gradually with their followers into districts beyond easy access until they were finally taken prisoner or killed, after having been forced completely into the defensive and having been labeled bandit chieftain or gang leader. Such was the end of men like daëng Pabarang in the western part of Bone around 1910, and like Tolo (1) in Bolombangkeng /131/ in 1915.

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1. "In the second quarter of the year mentioned (1915), the number of robberies increased disquietingly through the appearance of a number of notorious gang leaders in the former province of Goa. Among these leaders there belong Tolo and his dreaded lieutenants, Basareng, Baso Patjiro Daëng Mapata, (constituting part of the Goa royal family) Radjamang,

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/131 cont./ Djappa, Bakka (the two last mentioned had been armed police servants and instructors in the use of firearms), and Abbassa Daëng Manromo Karaëng Biladji, stepbrother of Goa's previous prince. In a comparatively small region, these persons committed no less than 130 lootings over a period of a few months. The brutalities frequently committed by them in broad daylight were indescribable since they were convinced that, even if they were recognized, nobody would dare betray them. The native heads, including many regents, paid them royal respects, presented them with horses, and organized feasts at their arrival for which buffaloes and horses were slaughtered. In many districts a system of contributions, a tax, was even introduced which safeguarded the payer against inconvenience." Eerdmans, p. 1078.

175 177 They had become figures who no longer fitted into a social system that was based on the ideas of peace and order, legal security, and personal safety, upheld by the government (1).

1. Through a series of special

000 /131 cont./ circumstances the appearance of daëng Mangemba became temporarily possible in 1927. For this, see Z(entgraaff), Celebesproblemen, pp. 5 ff.

177 643 602 662 With the disappearance of these figures, however, the opposition within the circle of the prince and his closest relatives did not disappear. After all, this opposition has its basis within the family in the relationship between the brothers. What disappeared was merely the form of opposition described by Kooreman in 1883, a power within the realm under the leadership of a man of high nobility, based upon force directed against the prince.

The opposition itself remained dormant. In the years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War, it emerged principally in a number of questions concerning hereditary succession.

In 1949 it again became apparent, this time in parliamentary form. It appeared that relatives of the various princes and Self-government members had seats in the representative councils which at that time were set up both for the daërah (the South Celebes Council), as well as for a number of kingdoms (among others the Bone Council). Compared to their ruling kinsmen, these men of the nobility are progressive individuals, but in a number of cases their endeavors merely seem aimed at eliminating the ruling prince and at one of them becoming the prince himself. They conduct the traditional South Celebes policy merely under new names and in new forms.

177 648 In November, 1948, the High Hadat (Hadat Tinggi) for the entire region of the daërah of South Celebes was set up. It was intended as an administrative body in which the various princes should have a seat. Unity was thereby created which

177 /132/ corresponded completely to the line of developments.
648 The struggle for the hegemony of South Celebes herewith entered into a subsequent stage.

The princes of Bone and Goa became, respectively, chairman and vice-chairman of this body (1). It is to be expected

1. Concluded as of December, 1949.

that Goa will continue its struggle for the hegemony by endeavoring to capture the chairmanship of the Hadat Tinggi, an attempt that, if Goa should ever succeed in doing so, will subsequently be conducted in the same manner and with the same means by the kingdom which will then occupy the second position of power.

648 The people of South Celebes, and most of all the princes, know that they are part of a larger whole. Each power center situated outside South Celebes which wants to exercise influence in this area is regarded by the princes as a possible aid in attaining their ideal, hegemony. They are constantly striving for a single large kingdom encompassing the whole of South Celebes, where there will be peace. They think that this is possible to attain only for a prince of ideally pure extraction, one who possesses to the highest degree the ideal personal qualities.

Opposition is therefore conducted on the highest imaginable plane -- for South Celebes. The prince who has the leadership of the High Hadat will continue to strive toward the collapse of power of the other realms in order to strengthen his own position as well as that of his group of relatives, and in order to give them a greater durability. The possibility of conducting opposition will, however, always continue to be present with one of the other groups, if only for the reason that no prince can be of ideally pure extraction or can possess the ideal personal qualities.

/132 cont./
Acculturation Phenomena

177 Cultural elements derived from western Europe and based upon the principle of equality cause difficulties when they are introduced into South Celebes. Only a few of these elements will be mentioned briefly to illustrate their conflict with the class structure. The most important of these are the public auction, soccer games /voetbalspel/, and the parliamentary form of government. Here we shall only indicate one aspect of this matter.

For colleagues to consult each other on a basis of equality, 177 /133/ independent of status, cannot be reconciled with the 554 idea that it is impolite to tell a higher person that one does 576 not agree with him. A school inspector is higher than a teacher and so he knows better, such is the train of thought. At a conference convened around 1940 on behalf of the Department of Education, a Makassarese school inspector introduced a topic. The answer to the question whether there was agreement with what had been said consisted merely of a general "jo karaëng" (yes, sir). None of the teachers present dared to voice a different opinion for fear of being regarded as impolite.

The presence of two persons, one higher and one lower, who had been invited for the same meal by a Dutchman, produced various difficulties. The lower person waited until he was addressed before saying anything, and then he merely expressed agreement with what had been said. At most he would repeat the same thing in other words with a tone of assent. He would not take a single dish on his own initiative, but would wait until his host or the higher person pushed one in his direction, and even then he would eat only a few mouthfuls. As a result he had eaten practically nothing, when he rose from the table.

177 554 576 /133 cont./ Even modern Makassarese find these forms of conduct stiff. They make fun of them but are incapable of changing them, and rather than be impolite they leave the table hungry.

177 554 576 437 A public auction in the Makassarese environment is merely a caricature of what the Western jurists who initiated it had in mind. If a higher person bids, lower person does not dare to outbid him. Accordingly, he asks a man of higher status, an equal of the first bidder, who is favorably inclined toward him, to make a bid for him.

177 554 576 622 437 The head of the community concerned does not like to participate in the bidding personally. He runs the chance of being unexpectedly outbid by an ignorant stranger in Makassarese country. This signifies a challenge to him, and he must continue to bid much more than the object is worth to him in order not to suffer a defeat in the eyes of his subjects. And if the competitive bidding is done by a Dutch lady, as might occur in a small administrative settlement, then he is left merely with a laugh about such a "challenge."

177 554 576 626 A soccer game is based upon the equality of the players. But if a karaëng takes part in the game, there can no longer be any question of equality /134/ (1). When the karaëng

1. The fact that, according to a newspaper report from the Netherlands, Prince Bernhard had gained third prize in a steeplechase was regarded as a gross discourtesy on the part of the two winners.

shouted "Run out" (bakkai) to his goalkeeper, the forward of the opposing team who was running toward him interpreted this as a command directed at him; he stopped, and the

177 /134 cont./ goalkeeper of the karaëng's team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaëng had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaëng
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he, and not the karaëng who was the loser in this collision. It is understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
576 showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams, high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive" in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaëng can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

462 /144 cont./ whose older members supervise the younger
476 ones, and at the same time protect and lead them. This group forms a unit with respect to the group of men, but it does not act jointly otherwise.

962 The activities of women tie them to house and yard. Among their tasks are pounding rice, preparation of daily meals, festive meals, and offerings. Furthermore, they are charged with the spinning of yarn, weaving of sarongs, laundering and maintenance of clothes, and the care of small children. Except at harvest time women do not work in the sawahs (1).

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1. A poor district, such as the vicinity of Takalar where plantings frequently have to be done several times because the first attempts fail, constitutes an exception. There the women help with planting.

[443] Older women who need a job on the side, sell home-made cookies at pasars and festivals. Sometimes they keep a small coffee warong /shop/.

177 At the present time a comparatively large number of
462 these activities have been taken away from the women. Spinning practically no longer occurs. Commercial yarns
[283] have taken the place of homespun products. During the Japanese period a temporary revival of spinning was note in a number of districts where the imported yarns could not fill the demand. Weaving decreased because of the large
[286] import of cheap sarongs. Only bettter ones continued to be woven at home. Where rice mills are established, pounding
[252] at home becomes an unnecessary drudgery (2).
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177 /144 cont./ 256

2. As yet there is no rice mill in Goa. In the colonists' kampongs, 200 kilometers north of Macassar, the men do the pounding for the landowner, but not for their own consumption. Rice-pounding wages are high.

461 855 The spare time which women gained was not used toward new objectives. It was devoted to small children who are not let out of sight for a moment. In the house or in the yard their own mother or one of the neighbor's girls is always with them. During the rest of the time women 461 574 visit each other. This promotes companionship and strengthens their mutual ties. They exchange kampong and family news and drink coffee on these occasions. These visits are always paid in little groups of a number of older women and a few younger ones, nicely dressed, accompanied by one of their closest male kinsmen.

/145/ Men's work is in the sawahs in the broadest sense, 462 from manufacturing agricultural implements to carrying in sheaves of paddy. Furthermore, it is their job to work in the garden, to construct and repair the house, as well as to do all the little tasks in which wood or bamboo must be 443 cut down & worked. They run errands at the pasar (1) and 462

1. In early July, 1949, the visitors to the Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) were registered as 62 women and 904 men.

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

Young women and men often evade each other
571 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
626 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
834 of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
177 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
834 new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

177 /147 cont./ store, the Arab and Chinese storekeepers in
834 Macassar know that they cannot turn directly to the young girls to recommend their wares but that, for this purpose, they have to address the escorting man or older woman, while the younger ones talk among each other and thus make their wishes known. One who does not take these feelings into account runs the risk of being passed over at a subsequent visit to the store.

571 The separate domains of the sexes in the house and the
834 division of labor contribute to the fact that the prohibition against contact is carried out to a great extent in daily life. The strict sanction imposed on their violation lends a forced
[626] character to the relations between young men and girls. Contact may only take place in complete secrecy or, by way of exception, if it is expressly or silently permitted. In that case it is still tied to special regulations. There is never any uninhibited association. Some of these occasions will be described here.

527 After harvest, so-called pounding festivals (1) are
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1. Called Adengka ase lolo, "the pounding of the young paddy."

[374] regularly held. These take place during the evening in the yard before the house by the /148/ glimmer of an oil lamp, preferably when there is a bright moon shining. For this, the pounding block is hung up in rattan strings, and while
[533 the girls pound, two or three of their closest male relatives
534] beat with sticks against the transverse axle of the block in a rapid and powerful rhythm. This sound is audible at great distances; the purpose is to attract young people from far and near to come and look. What they see is four girls

527 /148 cont./ dressed in red jackets, nicely made-up, and
571 decked with jewelry, pounding with precise movements, eyes cast down. After some time they are replaced. Under the surveillance of a couple of older women, four others descend from the house and take over the pounders while the first team again goes up, always with an escort and with eyes cast down. From behind the barred windows of the front rooms -- on this occasion the entire house is the domain of the women -- they peep outside where in the half-light of the yard the men walk around, sit, talk, and smoke (1).

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1. Little drinking is done. If there is rice wine (ballo'ase) present, the number of bottles is limited. Only the higher guests receive a bottle and share some of this with the others. Serious drunkenness does not occur. Makassarese who drink ballo' proceed to tell taller and taller tales and become increasingly provocative in their remarks. At such times they avoid the company of a higher person.

527 It is reported that formerly a group of young men from
579 another kampong, attracted by the provocative sounds, would
177 once in awhile make an attack and try to run away with one
571 of the young girls. This would then give rise to a general brawl. The young men of the house group would then defend their young sisters and cousins against an attack from outside. Nowadays such a thing no longer occurs. The festival has become a comparatively dull display since fighting and

977 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku	My implanted, straight flowers,
539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku	My blooming tjampaga flowers.
Natjiniku ianu	When N. N sees me
Nadjandjangku mole mole.	He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that
157 a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in
182 men are at the same time those which they need for success in striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.

554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

[177 192]

1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het, " /"an 'it' person. " -- Ed./.

838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië, Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 Kawe kawe can be encountered in Macassar and in the
548 large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes who make themselves available in exchange for money for the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as male prostitutes.

535 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs
857 to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for
[534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana) and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time
[533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary between young men and women. In this dance they are to a certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded
[838] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a
[832] kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes
535 around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a
838

177 /156 cont./ sudden great popularity (1). The onlookers, men,
535
838

1. So great was the interest in this dance that teachers complained about the sleepiness of their pupils during the day in school (report by the ex-teacher Noeroeddin to Dr. A. A. Cense).

according to reports principally married men, showed their enthusiasm by stuffing money in large sums down the necks
[648] of the little dancers. After some time the dance was prohibited by the administration. Only after the capitulation of the Dutch East Indies in 1942, have Masri representations been given again.

The name of the dance probably betrays the land of
171 origin /157/ (1). Lane (2) first gives a description of a dance
174

1. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Dr. G. F. Pijper.

2. E. W. Lane, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London and New York, 1908, p. 389.

by women who at the same time are prostitutes, and then reports that the only thing which is really disapproved in it is the fact that women perform this dance. Consequently, men may also take the place of women as performers of this dance. They are usually young men, accompanied by the rabab. They represent women, but in order to prevent people from

834
585 /197 cont./ content, they have the purpose of teaching the
521 parties the attitude which they must adopt toward each other.

834 If one compares the crying, passive Makassarese bride
585 who clearly demonstrates her aversion to her husband, with
186 the happy, beaming Dutch bride who looks up to her bride-
groom with full confidence, it is clear that every opportunity for misunderstandings is present. Then the criticism of an old Makassarese who had attended the wedding reception of a Dutch couple and had seen how man and wife finally were driven off together in a car amidst the cheers of the reception guests becomes comprehensible. In all these expressions on the part of the woman, he merely saw a display of her feelings of desire for her husband, and he found this quite indecent.

The fact of their leaving together signified to him that there was nothing more to prevent this man from giving in to his sexual desires. From the bride's conduct it seemed to him all too clear that the bridegroom would not have to make any effort to gain the bride for himself. The effort, tact, and considerateness displayed on this occasion are, to the Makassarese, the essence of the relationship between man and wife. Based on what he observed, this old man could only conclude that what was most important for him, was lacking among the Dutch.

177 Now the difficulties which arose at /198/ the marriage of
585 a young Makassarese man of high nobility to a girl from one of the prominent Makassarese Indo-European families also become understandable. In her house the atmosphere, dress, and so forth was to be European, and in his house it was to be Makassarese. This had been agreed upon beforehand by both families. In her house, therefore, the bridegroom was dressed in a tuxedo, and she was dressed in white with a short train. He was the gay, energetic bridegroom, and she the radiant

177 /198 cont./ bride who clearly enjoyed the bouquet of white
585 carnations that she had received from him. Arm in arm they stepped into the car which took them to the next event in the festivities at his family's house.

There their gaiety collided with the Makassarese world which demands of the woman that she cry and show herself averse to her husband-to-be. The bride changed her clothing; she received the Makassarese bridal costume with the head-dress belonging to it, and was made up in a manner appropriate to it. When a moment later her bridegroom appeared and risked a joke, he was angrily put in his place. She turned away from him, and, as a good Makassarese bride, she henceforth sat motionless with closed eyes amidst the women, and at appropriate moments she displayed her aversion to her bridegroom in a self-composed manner, completely in accordance with the manner in which the Makassarese feelings must be expressed in this situation.

Child Marriage

584 The marriage policy of the older people permits even sexually immature children to marry. In so doing, they believe that they are keeping a marriage, judged desirable by them from not taking place. The reason that a marriage desired by them does not take place is to be found, in the first place, in the opposition of the individuals concerned -- the opposition of as yet sexually immature children practically does not have to be taken into account --, and in the second instance, in a request made by a higher person.

554 A request by the religious official or by someone with
565 karaëng blood in his veins to an ordinary kampong man can
584 be made on behalf of a kinsman belonging to this higher person -- and in that case there will generally be no reason for refusal --. But it may also be made on behalf of a lower person, one of his followers, or for a close associate. Refusal

554 /212 cont./ The idea that the person whose social
571 standing is attacked must react, because whoever does not
react is low in standing, has led at present to the relative
177 popularity of various modern sports. The English idea in
sports that one should be a "good loser" in everything is
foreign to the Makassarese. To lose demands a reaction.
One does not like to take part in a sport where everyone can
directly see by the outcome who has won. In soccer matches
standing is already harmed by the first opposing goal. The
desire to score with a countering point thereby becomes so
excessively great that both individual achievements as well
as team play suffer from it. A trailing score is therefore
difficult to equalize. Soccer circles in Macassar use this
fact to point out that Makassarese have poor morale in com-
petitive situations.

554 In the previous chapter we explained that a woman
558 may not lose any standing. Her position is a fixed point for
689 the men who are constantly outdoing each other. An impair-
627 ment of her standing immediately calls for the most violent
reaction, namely, the death of the challenger. Whoever
does not react is "matesiri', " that is to say, "socially dead."
This is expressed by saying that such a person is no longer
"of use," or that he is generally despised. Killing is used
because what has happened is felt to be so bad that no other
reaction is considered possible.

However, there are many reasons why a man in such a
case prefers not to kill. Fear of the long prison sentence that
awaits him or personal feelings of sympathy for the person
who committed the transgression are among them. The
tendencies to kill and not to kill are both present. And now
their relationship is so much off balance that a man is not
expected to go and find the person who made him siri' /213/
with the purpose of killing him, but to make a clearly
observable attempt to do so in case of an encounter.

588 /220/ In the case of a silariang marriage, the man must
684 pay a fine (kasalaang). The person performing the marriage ceremony records this payment in the marriage register. The money is kept and offered to the wife's father during the reconciliation. The latter does not want to accept the fine directly during the performance of the marriage because in so doing he would again recognize a tie with his daughter that he does not want. He therefore often asks the imam, the man who has performed the wedding ceremony, to accept this money as a "good gift" (sidakka'). That is the practice in Borongloë. Elsewhere, the marriage official hands this fine over to the wife's father directly after the marriage has been performed.

177 A few observations can be made concerning the origin
627 of this local difference. This fine formerly used to be called,
684 "cutting off what is pointed," or "making blunt what is sharp"; this meant that after the receipt of the fine no reason for stabbing was thought to exist any more (1). The fine was

1. Cf. C. T. Bertling, "Huwelijk en huwelijksrecht in Zuid-Celebes /Marriage and Marriage Law in South Celebes/," /Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 147, p. 203. /Batavia, 1938./

regarded as an element of the reconciliation, and for that reason was not paid until that occasion. Makassarese feelings linked the receipt of the fine to the end of the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship.

177 Shortly after the South Celebes expedition of 1905, the
627 number of stabbings based upon a silariang affair seems to
648 have been very large. At that time the administration looked
684

●177 /220 cont./ for means to limit this number. In 1906,
627 Governor Kroese issued a circular letter in which he made the
648 suggestion designed to cause the fine to be paid directly at
684 the nikka' and to be accepted by the wife's wali, in cases of silariang marriage. He hoped that the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship would be directly removed in this way.

However carefully the suggestion may have been handled, the pressure that was exerted was nonetheless too strong. Since that date the fine has in fact been paid at the nikka' in a great many districts, but the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship nonetheless has remained in existence. Only when we keep in mind these historical facts can we understand why, in a certain region where the wife's father accepts the fine at the nikka' but the sunrang not until the reconciliation, 'making blunt what is sharp' now indicates this sunrang.

684 /221/ According to Moslem law, the wife's wali may
582 refuse his consent to a marriage on the basis of the fact that the woman is of a higher status than the man. In an ordinary case such a difference is reason for refusing a marriage request, even if a different reason is given: "It is not seeming that they should marry" (taena nasiratang), is the usual
[588] expression. If the wali in a case of silariang refuses to give his consent on these grounds, the imam separates them, unless the couple desires to carry through the marriage. In that case the affair goes before the judge. If the decision states that the woman is higher than the man, they are separated. Rather than seeing her married to a man of lower blood, the kinsmen will take her back again though she made them siri'.

684 After such a separation by authority of the imam or judge,
695 there no longer exists any tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship. The functionary concerned reports to the tumasiri' that the

684 /222 cont./ cannot be expected that
834 she would speak the truth
on this point.

Nor does a man need to use force if he wants to coerce a woman to flee with him. By making her siri', he leaves her no choice. It would then be too dangerous for her to remain at home. Her brother would be able to do little else than stab her. Occasionally a man may purposely make a woman siri' and thereby force her to flee with him because he wants to marry her while she does not desire him for a husband. But [626] more frequently the reason is that his kinsmen desired this union, and their request for it was turned down. For the young man, a remark such as: "Why are we refused?" is then tantamount to a command to respond to the insult of such a refusal. And he can do this in no better way than by forcing a flight.

177 Under modern circumstances in Macassar, conditions are
834 frequently somewhat different. If girls continue to attend school after they have become marriageable, their contact with young men is quite different from those under the conditions previously described. In such a situation her fear of contact with a young man is less, because now there are subjects about which she can talk to him without danger. At the same time the attitude of the young men changes. They no longer regard themselves as siri' if their sister talks to one of their school friends.

177 It is possible that the number of silariang marriages in this
588 younger generation is larger than in the country because, on the one hand, the opportunity for the young people to carry out their own choice against that of their parents is much greater, and, on the other hand, the danger of being stabbed in these circles is decreasing rather /223/ than increasing. Figures are not available. At the same time there are arguments which explain why the number is not much larger

177 /223 cont./ already. This is connected with the fact that
588 silariang is regarded as bad (kodi) and a festive wedding as good (badji'). A young man who likes a girl may ask her whether she wants to flee, but he will immediately accept her refusal when she says that she does not want to make her mother unhappy, or that she does not want to do "the bad," that is to say, silariang.

177 A modern young woman who associated very freely with
588 young men -- she went alone to run errands in the toko /stores/
834 and conversed with her male colleagues in the normal school when she met them on the street -- met with considerable
[626] criticism from her aunts and older sisters. They called her a street broom and assured her repeatedly that she would come to an evil end. She received many requests to flee, and most of these were made not so much through a lust for adventure, but rather as a consequence of the fact that many young Makassarese men from a good house find it pleasant to marry a modern young woman who can get along in company. Silariang was therefore a means for them to carry out their wishes against those of their parents. But this young woman steadfastly refused; "I want to show that I can be modern in a good way" (eroki kupappatjinikang kamoderengangku), she would say, and the young men would be content with that. She indicated that prohibited contact in and by itself did not need to have bad consequences in the form of a marriage by flight.

Erangkale

588 One speaks of "silariang" when a man and woman flee
684 together, and of "erangkale" (literally, "to bring one's self") when the woman runs away from home alone to the man who has made her siri'. Reasons for these two forms of silariang are not different either in principle or in consequences. Frequently, it depends upon an accident whether a woman

593 /237 cont./ In yet another case the brothers and cousins of
588 the woman tacitly agreed with the declaration uttered by
684 their father. In this case she had fled to a lower man, and
627 therefore the tumasiri', as they asserted, could not act as is otherwise customary after silariang.

Frequently, a special reason can be given for the deposition of such a declaration of death. The fact that a man regularly walked past the house of his wife's father in an insolent manner before the reconciliation, when he should have kept himself outside the view of his tumasiri' as much as possible was a reason for the latter to feel extra siri'.
593 Another man whose daughter had gone to live with a distant
684 kinsman at the pasar of Borongloë and who was there receiving various men saw in this a reason to repudiate her.

684 The declaration of death seems to be a new institution.
627 It relieves the tumasiri' of their duty to stab. On the other hand, it makes a reconciliation difficult. The fact that
[177] existing ties are considered to be completely broken diminishes both the chance of stabbing as well as of reconciliation.

If siri' feelings, which in affairs concerning women can only be reconciled by death, could in future increasingly be satisfied by a declaration of death, we would have here an opportunity of solving the conflict in a manner less harmful to the many men who at present now realize that the honor of their related group is too dearly paid for by a jail sentence of an average of eight years. /238/

SUMMARY

105 In Makassarese culture four different forms of grouping can be distinguished, each with its own function.

114 /252 cont./ dependent. Comparison of the figures accordingly
217 indicates little concerning the actual number of transactions
675 carried out in the respective territorial sections. A general
425 impression can be derived from this register of what is transacted in a certain region. But no conclusions can be drawn with respect to the number of transactions.

Of the 31 transactions recorded in 1948, 6 concern the transfer of a sawah; 5 the transfer of a piece of dry land; 16 the sale of buffaloes; and 2 the transfer of a sewing machine.

The number of buffalo sales probably approaches the actual number most closely [illegible]nce in the case of transportation -- which is necessary [illegible] sale to one residing outside the seller's adat community [illegible]alo pass is necessary, and some heads exercise a certa[illegible] for registration in the registry /253/ of the Indonesian [illegible]ry when such a pass is issued. The land transactions do not approximate the actual number by an estimated tenth part.

Misdemeanor Registers

114 In the register of misdemeanors (Rappor Kedjahatan),
217 which is also kept in the adat community office, the violations
674 and misdemeanors that are reported there are entered, and at the same time those against whom the evidence is reported. In the first six months of 1948, 15 were reported there, that is: 9 buffalo thefts, 2 maltreatments, 1 threat with the badik, 2 minor thefts, and 1 assault on a woman. Eight of the 9 buffalo
[177] thefts remained unsolved. This register was not introduced until 1948; little can as yet be said about its effect.

Registers of Legal Matters

114 The registers of legal matters which are divided into civil
217 and criminal, are kept in the adat community office of Borongloë
671 when they concern "minor" matters that come up before the

2: Wilken--178 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Makassar OG6
Lampong-Redjong OD12
Javanese OE5
Malagasy FY2

B [143 cont.]
MK Malays (2). The same holds for the Lampong language (3).
LR
192
177

2. Matthes, Makassaarsche Spraakkunst, Introduction, IX. Matthes, Boegineesche Spraakkunst, Introduction, VII.

3. Van der Tuuk, Tijdschr. v. Ind. T. L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, p. 150.

I The eastern languages contain hardly any Sanskrit words;
J Dajak has even fewer. Those that occur in the former were
B introduced by the Malays. In the second place, the Malayan
192 languages borrowed many words from the Arabic; in this respect, too, Malay and Javanese stand at the top. Most of these words refer to religion and law; the others have been adopted out of sympathy with the language that the natives consider holy. Arabic words also occur in the other languages, especially in those of peoples who embraced Islam, hence in Makassarese and Buginese.

I Besides Sanskrit and Arabic (4), the languages of the
192

4. De Clercq, Het Maleisch der Molukken [The Malayan of the Moluccas], pp. 1-60.

archipelago have also borrowed words from the Chinese, very few, however, Portuguese (5), and Dutch. The latter, of

Mal. 5. Malagasy borrowed many words from
[192] the Persian, Van der Tuuk, Vier Maleische Vertellingen [Four Malayan Stories], Note XII.

course, are mainly words connected with administration. In general, however, the words borrowed from Dutch are relatively few in number, which is really surprising [144] because one

J 785 [634 cont.]
themselves with disgusting food. They go without sleep as much as possible or sleep in a tree or in a cave where there is scarcely room to stretch their tired limbs. In this way they seek death of the self, life in death.

There are other ascetics, however, who do not seclude themselves in the mountains, but continue to live in society, surrounded by the stir of the world. For instance, Mr. Swaving saw one in 1859 at the market in Toeloeng Agoeng in Kediri in a little cubbyhole that was closed off by a muslin curtain. When he asked what it meant, he learned that a Sang tăpă lived there, old in years and famous for his wisdom and piety.

The name dépok distinguishes this kind of hermit from the others who retire from public life.

g. The Religion of the Buginese and Makassarese

MK 797 177 When the Portuguese arrived in the Malay Archipelago, the Buginese and Makassarese were still pagans; not until around the beginning of the seventeenth century was Islam introduced to the southern part of Celebes, by missionaries from Sumatra and Malaya in particular. It quickly took root here to such an extent that it soon became the popular religion and has remained so to this MK 771 day. Both knowledge of this doctrine and the observance of it, however, are very little known among the people [635] and are limited to the external ceremonies. Therefore many traces of MK 174 the former pagan worship remain, and among them there are a few ceremonies that hark back to the Hindu period. As we saw earlier, southern Celebes must also have been a dependency of the ruler of Modjopahit, and consequently Hinduism was intro- MK 771 duced there by Hindu-Javanese. We shall now briefly discuss this Hinduism, at least as it has been preserved up to the present in a few ceremonies, as well as the ancient Polynesian religion.

S
838 Van der Veen said that there are only a few real hermaphro-
824 dites here, but that there are many homosexuals. And here
772 is something! Boys who show feminine tendencies are fed maize because it is linked with the earth (female principle), and not rice, because the latter is heavenly and connected with the male principle.

000 Ambon: I met an insurance man at the Rotary Club meeting in Makassar, at which I spoke. His name is Kaihatu. He is from Oma, on Saparua, I think [Haruku]. Anyway, he said that they have quite a bit of pela [ally, in the sense of institutionalized friendship] practices there. One cannot marry a person of a fellow pela village. Thus Oma and a village on another island [Saparua] are in a pela relationship to each other. This involves a great amount of mutual aid. Although one can not marry a person from the other village it is evidently possible to marry in one's own village. Kaihatu said that even in a far away place such as Java, if a man of Oma meets one from a pela village he will help him in all ways possible. And he will never think of marrying. This custom is still strong, and even the moderns have no idea of breaking it. He also said that there was much black magic and that such beliefs are firm. I will see him later.

M
609 South Celebes: On my way back from Malino I was stopped
126 by two lads at Lebon pasar. They were on their way from
291 Makassar to the village where the Goa radja lived. They were selling clothing and asked me for a lift saying that there were two men. But soon two more appeared, and finally there were seven. All got in the jeep with their luggage. They were jolly and friendly. They pointed out a special black cape worn by nobles (but not only by nobles; perhaps only by women?) on the road. This type of cape is really beautiful, even out in the country. At one point they asked to stop and bought two large bunches of bananas. I asked them why. They said that the bananas were for me! And these the "surly Makassarese"! I took a fast photo of them [with a Polaroid Land camera] and they were overjoyed. I gave one to them, and they are going to make copies for all. They posed with considerable pride. The kraton [court] of the radja was white walled, but inside it looked like the ordinary native houses.

M
[115] South Celebes: the following information was obtained
181 from van Heekeren of the archaeological service and Abdul
609 Rahim, Guru, an assistant of Cense and Chabot. They said that the Makassarese and Buginese are very conservative.
● 177 They claim that they will not change much. Thus, if they are asked why they do not use the potter's wheel, for example,

they will say that their fathers did it this way. Van Heekeren knows of a family still living in a cave (where?). When he asked them why they were not living in the nearby village, they said that their fathers from away back had lived in caves, and there had been no change. He said further that in Mandar there must still be a few of the Toala type. They live far back, and bring in tribute to the radja. He will look for them he said. But he thinks that the Toala are merely mountain Buginese. He added that Toala radja are very glad to see whites because their relations with whites have always been good. Men like Adriani and Kruyt started this good tradition and hence they like whites. Also, the Makassarese and Buginese never had too many whites around and so there are good feelings in this respect. He said that Bone is a good example of this. There [in Bone--Analyst] the 1906 war was regarded as a sporting proposition. Afterwards the radja was restored. The flag shows clasped hands, Dutch and Bone. Speelman said that as long as the chain he gave to the radja of Bone remained unbroken the two peoples would remain friends. He gave an enormous chain. Also inscribed on the flag is a statement to the effect that they will remain friends as long as the sun continues to shine. When there were troubles after the war, the Bone radja declared his position strongly and raised the Dutch flag. M 181 609 177 C 175 648

Even the younger generation admires and believes in the mana of the radjas. Thus if President Soekawati [President of the State of East Indonesia] appears there is little reaction, but if the radja appears there is great feeling. C 778 565

Van Heekeren is going on an expedition to Galumpang in the southern part of West Toradja territory. He is excavating a neolithic site there. It takes about six days of walking beyond the end of the road to reach the site. C 114

Abdul Rahim is to get me a man, probably a relative, to start the work in the kampong of Balombaru. This kampong is six kilometers south from the center of Makassar, and is Rahim's own village. It is two kilometers beyond the city limit, in Guru. It is said to be a good place for my work in as much as it has most of the typical characteristics, including the influence of nobility. I will start tomorrow. M 124

Flores: I met [in Makassar] the Radja of Sikka. He looks like an American Negro. His name is D. Silva, and he is evidently a Catholic. His secretary is a Dutchman. This seems to be the pattern now in East Indonesia, with the Dutchmen acting very obsequious.

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaëng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
576 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
593 an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).

123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is
● 177 evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaëng stands there but says nothing. Beside

563 I then asked whether there were other stores in the kampong. He said there were several, mostly belonging to Chinese. Rahim said the Chinese live in a few houses along one street. He pointed them out saying that the Chinese, or at least some of them, had been there for a long time and speak Makassarese well. But, though they marry Makassarese girls, the children of such marriages never do, but instead follow their fathers' line. Evidently they marry Chinese. Thus it appeared that the Chinese breed mates for their own folk by first mating or marrying with local girls. Rahim added that although Chinese men married Makassarese girls, Makassarese men never married Chinese girls. This is understandable, as there are no Chinese girls until the second generation. Then they are considered Chinese and marry Chinese. I must ask about the feeling toward the Chinese on various points. Rahim went to 000 this kampong school, and then to an intermediate school in Makassar, and then, I suppose, to a higher school.

123 As we left the store the lads asked if I would take them to 512 the mosque in my jeep. The old man especially said that it 562 was a long walk for him. Indeed it was so. In fact, I wondered if he would have done it if there had been no jeep. Four of them, including Rahim's father, piled in, and I took them to the mosque. This is Friday, and many people were walking in that direction. Rahim said that it was taboo for women, and there were no women going.

346 The mosque was quite a fine one, white, with (amazing!) an ●177 old cremation urn at the top of one tower. Van Heekeren said this was usual. These urns were imported from China four to five hundred years ago, and were evidently used for ashes in Hindu days. But it is remarkable to me that one should be on top of a mosque!

285 I saw some very fine baskets in a store. One was varicolored with a round top which had words plaited in around the border. Perhaps I will buy it later.

342 Thus went the first day or at least the first morning. I will leave things alone for a while. And on Monday I will meet my assistant. My general impression of the houses in the kampong is one of a mixture. The good houses are built mainly of wood and thatch, but there are several of these which are poor and are falling down. Van Heekeren said that bamboo is scarce, hence the use of wood. And maybe that accounts for the lack of good repair in some cases. The people are pleasant and polite, I have been pleasantly impressed. I see very few women around here and wonder where they are. One sees many more in Java. And those one does see here, though often very fine, are not generally so handsome as the Javanese or Sundanese.

noticeable in the Kepala kampong's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim. M 156 609

I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs, a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampong had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampong's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better. M 565 342 554

At the Karaëng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa". I 192

I asked Rahim about the Karaëng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i.e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaëng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes. M 156 554

I went back to the Karaëng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaëng as well as to the Kepala kampong. Rahim said that the Karaëng was ana tino [i.e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i.e., the nine electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought. M 124 565

The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him. M 124

Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were M 541 533 177

M school children with their teachers. I noticed much lining
541 up in schoolyards also. Is this Dutch or Japanese? One
533 group had a band. There were a few, poorly made, little
●177 drums- possibly home made--and a number of bamboo flutes.
The playing was not bad.

C Parepare is on the coast and has a fine bay. There are
485 many rivers along this bay and at each one finds many praus.
133 Some are rather large and are tied up near the road bridge for evidently they cannot go further inland. From Parepare I went north to Pinrang where the road turns inland and begins to worsen. Then I went on to Rappang where the slope of the land begins to rise gently and where the road has no surfacing but many loose stones. There was not much traffic. I went on to Enrekang which is quite high up and is fairly large. There is a pasanggrahan [government rest house] on a hill, and beneath it plenty of white government buildings. I had a miserable meal of fried rice, eggs, and awful coffee. It cost
C me £3, which was too much. When taking a picture of flying
136 foxes hanging in the trees, I dropped and broke my polaroid exposure meter here. There are thousands of these flying foxes in the trees, making a terrific noise. They evidently scream all day in crowds while hanging upside down with their leathery wings folded. They looked fantastic through the glasses. They are big with furry bodies, and with faces and heads almost looking like bears. Horrible! Later a woman in the Makale pasanggrahan said that they smell awful too.

000 The jeep and everything in it was now covered with dust which seeps in everywhere. After Enrekang I went up into the hills to Kalosi and here it is really high up. I thought that this was already Toradja country here, but later a girl told me that I was mistaken and that the local people are still Buginese. I noticed that there was a wide area, almost uninhabited, between the Buginese lowland and the Toradja mountains. Finally I arrived in Makale and went to the pasanggrahan which appeared to be quite good. I got the single room, ate, drank, and talked with two Dutch couples until 11 P.M. when the lights go out. One woman who was quite pretty said she was born in Medan and went to school in Batavia. She had been only twice to Holland, and then not for very long. She said that this is her country.

In the morning I talked with one of the men. He was formerly a controleur in West Borneo, and was now starting the same program in Makale. He said, however, that he had no power and felt quite frustrated. He said that the economic

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
● 177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo killings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been
771 at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
184 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
●177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
764 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always re-
513 moved. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs
625 proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate. The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well
102 things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaeng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]

368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

there is much news exchange carried on in the pasar. Most 203
people, they said, are not much interested in any news except that which applies to local affairs.

Ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world: 829
there is little good geographical knowledge to be had except in 186
the school. This is the big thing here. They saw my point when I told them about van Baal's argument that children lose pride when they see that Goa is little and unimportant, while their fathers think of it as the navel of the world and can thus feel that they belong to a great place. They seemed a bit puzzled and distressed. As for ideas regarding the population of Indonesia and the world, they said that maybe ten individuals knew the population of Indonesia (though it is being spread by the Ministry of Information in propaganda). As for the population of the world, Saleh said he did not know this, and that no one else in the village did. He said that there was plenty of local patriotism.

Contact relations with other villages and neighborhoods: Of this there is not much yet, but they said that the old enmity against the Buginese is now gone. They could tell me nothing regarding any other enmities. However, they admitted that in higher political circles rivalry probably persists. We talked about the arrest of the Goa and Bone royalty and they are not sore about this; indeed, they merely said that they had no knowledge of these things. They added that they could not understand why the Dutch took the Goa radja because he is a quiet man who sat in the palace all the time reading kitab. They have a feeling for justice, but feel so ignorant and get so little news that they don't even try to comprehend why things like that happen.

Modern dancing: I remarked that there was plenty of 177
modern dancing in the Philippines. They said that it was 535
simply non-existent here, and that seems to be the case. 609
This is a real difference. They said that the people merely like to look at it. They evidently meant the staring at European dancing couples which I have observed. But tolerance stands out all over. There is no criticism of the "wickedness" of alien customs, etc. There is merely an attitude of "that is the way it is."

Flores: The following information was obtained from the 000
Secretary of the Cultureel Centrum here. His name is van der Wetering. This Cultureel Centrum here is a branch of a private organization in Amsterdam which gets a subsidy from the East Indonesian government. Van der Wetering said that the Catholic Mission has Flores, the Protestant

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

House status marks: little is known about the rules con- 342
cerned with the number of piles, but much is known about 114
the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written 554
in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me 565
say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some
of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it
was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the
commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with
the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is
a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social
indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In
regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now
too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew 773
most of the names and events in the legends of origin, includ- 591
ing the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding
marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a
while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they
may go where they choose.

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline 177
in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the paka- 535
rena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices 527
came in. For example, one of the men said that they were 574
having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the
Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they
are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between 186
Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite 173
ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one,
Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name
of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is 778
only about three kilometers from here. I will go there to-
morrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It
is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite
serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for in-
vulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there
is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language 197
spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was
really a different language. They imitated it and laughed.
They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much 241
of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and 262
it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

000 down from father to son within the ruling family. He said that Ternate once ruled over most of the Moluccas and up into the Philippine Islands. Tidore ruled mainly over New Guinea. Batjan, the other sultanate, was small and less important. This Sultan is a remarkable man and I will talk further with him when I read over my notes on Halmahera.

764 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Sixth day: I had to leave
346 at eleven in the morning to go to Bone. I went at once to the graves of the radjas nearby and at Kale Goa. I noted
●177 that all of the tombs of the hundred-year ago type ("beehive") had an urn on top. I also noted that the mosques around here and also the shrine buildings have urns on top. (Later, in Watumpone, I noted that a mosque had, instead of the urn, a stone decoration which looked like an urn) This urn business must be a survival of the old mortuary use (or could it be a mere imitation of the onion shape of Byzantine decoration, which an urn approximates?). I had seen the beehive tombs near the Shrine of the Pigrimage the day before, as well as the large cemetery of regular graves. A bit further on I saw another mosque, and near it many more beehive tombs. I went into several of them.

764 Then I went on to Kale Goa, and on the plateau stand many
782 older type tombs (see photographs), of rough stones, with
778 low doors. And I also noted even older ones, near stone heap mounds. An old man said that the latter were from Hindu times, the former from the time of Datu ri Bandang, in the early seventeenth century, who was the introducer of Islam here. In one of them I saw people sitting crouched down. Several of them were from Pangkadjene, which is quite a distance away, and they had come to make requests. All this is amazing. Then, on a slight, rectangular, earth mound was the coronation stone of Goa. It is small and flat and low. It fell from heaven. Over it is a small gnarled tree which never grows nor diminishes. Nearby is a small fence around another larger and rounder stone which also fell from the sky. There is one beehive tomb here (photograph).

773 I then walked down a little valley to a small kampong, the
778 old man telling me stories about Tumanurung [a legendary figure of unknown origin who married Karaëng Bayo. The couple became mythological founders of the Goa nobility--Analyst] and others the whole time. We reached a well which evidently also features in the cycle of the legend. Nevertheless, it is being used at the present time, and there was a woman there washing a white buffalo with water. I forgot to say that under the round stone is the dried-up well where Goa warriors used to wash for invulnerability before

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are
[462] women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly
262 there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco,
241 Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts.

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. 000
During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today. The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and [439]
import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is hardly worth speaking of.

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. Formerly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C. [probably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East India Company)--Analyst]coins and also kepeng. Now they still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me. 436 178

As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including 177
four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were 489
three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. 493
There is much travel by bus today.

As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic 428
and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main 562
thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance 591
it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that 611
the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one. But the girls generally get the house. This is important because the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more property than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Nevertheless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he [578]
might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really excited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would fight, and even knife him.

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. 153
He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the 857
boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, 565
who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. 831
The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The 876
lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys.

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." 583
Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, 565
and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones 435
may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man 291
wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten 177●
paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris 554
stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc.

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The 546
information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a 208
big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice.

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six 535
days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the 517
pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form 525
of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of 368
playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam.

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He 586
asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the 153
tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after mar- 163
riages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry.

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
● 177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

/121 cont./

173 These foreigners became related by marriage to the people of
[622] Wotoe, and they called into being the rulers of the miniature
states which made up the realm of Loewoe', the most important
[166] of whom are the Chiefs of Wotoe and Waiboenta. From
Lampenai the people moved to Bibilassa, not far from the
present-day Wotoe, to which they finally went because the
water at Bibilassa was brackish.

173 One group of the immigrants, which had dominance over
643 the others, kept going west until they settled at Malangke. The
[167] chiefs of this group are reported to be descended directly from
Sawerigading. They became Datoe of Loewoe'. The first Datoe
is said to have been Sawerigading; after him his son La Galigo,
and after him his son La Mapanganro. These three Datoes are
said to have returned to the sky at the end of their lives. This
is said to have happened in the following way, according to our
above-mentioned informant: when these datoes felt that they
had reached the end of their life, their corpses were exposed
to the wind outside the ridge of their palace, and then they
disappeared. The bodies of those who were Datoe of Loewoe'
after La Mapanganro were cremated at Malangke. Ashes and
bones were buried in an earthen pot in the ground (L. van
Vuuren, "Lijkverbranding op Celebes /Cremation on Celebes/,"
[174] Not. Bat. Gen., 51, 1913). This is clear proof that these im-
[177] migrants, among whom were the Datoes, were under Hindu in-
fluence. They are still known in Loewoe' by a name which is
derived from the kind of wood upon which their bodies were
cremated. Thus people speak of Datoe maningo ri badjo, "Datoe
who sleeps on badjo wood"; Maningo ri djampoee, "he who
sleeps on djamboe wood (Psidium guajava)," etc.

The last Datoe who lived at Malangke and who is known by
the name of Pétta (poewang) Malangke, "master of Malangke,"
was married in Wotoe. He was the last Heathen among the Datoes.
According to our informant /122/ this ruler is reported to have

612 19 cont. groups in one territory, and, secondly, it appears
621 that a genealogical group lives scattered over several territories. Both deviations from the initially advanced principle demand closer elaboration.

166 In the first place, certain historical factors which contributed
178 to the development of this situation should be pointed out.
621 These are increase in population, greater security since the year 1905, and irrigation by which sawah cultivation became possible in districts hitherto unsuited for this, with the result that migration of small groups took place with much greater frequency than was previously necessary or possible. To an increasing degree, strangers requested permission to settle in a certain kampong territory (2).

2. Such, at least, is the official decree; in practice permission is not asked until the house has already been built and the sawah has already been broken.

621 In the second place, the difference in meaning of the term "kampong territory" at the present time and half a century ago should be pointed out. At that time the boundary of a territory coincided with the boundary of the power exercised by the related group residing in that region. The boundary changed in proportion to the power exercised by this group segment. This applied in the first place to /20/ the boundaries of the present-day kampongs. It also applied to a lesser degree to the boundaries of the present-day adat communities and provinces. After the arrival of the Dutch East Indies Government
621 in the region of the principalities in 1905, maps were made
648 in the course of the first few decades, and the boundaries
631 were indicated on them. The situation at that time was essentially fixed. Within the established boundaries, displacements of power subsequently took place. Territorial and power boundaries, therefore, no longer coincided at that time.

346 778 /75 cont./ In 1939, when I came to Borongloë for the first time, a dilapidated little hut had been built over this rock. Around the same time attention seems to have been drawn to this "rock worship" by the Muhammadijah Association. Shortly after this, people of Borongloë, under the leadership of the head of the adat community and the old Imam, constructed a new cottage.

The rock is flat on top. Viewed from above, the greatest length amounts to about 60 centimeters and the greatest width to about 40 centimeters. Everywhere it is from 2 to 3 centimeters above the ground. At the time of the reconstruction, a pointed rock was placed at opposite sides of the flat rock along the extension of the longitudinal axis, at a distance from each other of approximately 80 centimeters. Each of these two rocks jutted about 15 centimeters out of the ground. In combination with the rock, they make an impression of eroded mesas on the visitor. Questioned about this, the head stated that a grave existed here although he was unable to state with certainty whose grave it was.

[769 178] The purpose of placing the two rocks seems clear. Externally, the rock worship gave way to grave worship. The demands of modern times had therefore been met by doing as they did.

634 778 At the climax of their inauguration festival, the two last adat community heads of Borongloë stood on this rock. There they took the oaths of loyalty (aru) of a number of their kapala and followers.

346 778 Right by the rock a little house (saukang) has been built. It stands on posts. The floor forms a rectangle of 1.0 by 1.5 meters; the walls consist of transparent braided bamboo. A fifth post is stuck in the middle of the floor, going right through it and rising about 30 centimeters above the floor. This is called the lopped-off house post (benteng polong). Rock and saukang belong together. Whenever offerings are [782] made there, a parappo is placed /76/ both by the lopped-off house post as well as by the flat rock (1).

571 [607] /104 cont./ had voluntarily become followers. They lived not only in the vicinity of their master; some resided even outside the Glarangship or regency, and only came if they were called or required protection.

571 631 "If a follower found himself in a dispute, if he had committed a misdemeanor which might put him in difficulties, or else if he had been harmed or insulted, he would not turn to his head, his Glarang, or to the regent, but rather to his master, his Karaeng, who acted as his protector, safeguarded his rights, and always tried to help him out of difficulties. It is obvious that the more prominent, the more influential the person who concerns himself with the interests of his follower, the easier it was to obtain justice, the more chance there was to be judged in the right even if one were wrong. Conversely, it was all the easier to go unpunished if one had committed an offense.

"This system of followers underwent such an expansion that not only Anakaraeng, but all nobles, and even well-to-do natives had followers. Consequently, in addition to the division of the /105/ land area into Glarangships and Kalompowan kampongs, there existed a division of residents into nobles, each with his followers, so that everyone of them constituted a power in the regency."

571 648 The quotation was long but valuable. Kooreman further points out that the function of the European administration is actually that of a super-karaëng, able to provide effective protection for all who ask for it, without any obligations being attached to this. In his opinion, this had as a consequence that in the course of decades the appeal for protection to the anakaraeng decreased, so that their power disappeared at the same time. As a result, little states within the state -- in the sense of a nobleman forming with his followers a unit within the realm -- no longer occurred.

● 178 571 From the data available at present, it appears that in the course of the last 75 years the forms in which the system of

178 /105 cont./ followers manifested itself have changed. The
571 general characteristics to be met with today are the following:

The higher person is connected with a number of lower ones, his people. The latter work his sawahs in the broadest sense of the word, that is to say, from the first tilling to the delivery of sheaves at his house. They take care of his maize gardens and guard his langsap trees when they bear fruit. They run errands for him in the pasars; they carry wood and water for daily use, do repairs on the house, manufacture the common utensils from bamboo or wood, and finally assist at a festival held by their master by performing the innumerable little tasks. On the other hand, those inferiors who are unmarried and live with their master have their food and clothing provided for them, and there is the chance that their master will let them marry and provide their wedding feast. Once they are married, the couple is provided with a dwelling and has a number of sheaves delivered to its house after the harvest. This lower person then lives apart with his family but remains in daily contact with his master by way of the tasks which he has to perform. Since he remains closely connected with his master, he is permitted to participate in the festivals that break up the monotonous kampong existence, and he shares in the social standing which is displayed on these occasions.

There is never a question of a firm agreement at the be-
[675] ginning of the relationship. The tie may be broken at any moment. Such a rupture, however, always takes place only gradually. An abrupt break is avoided, /106/ because this indicates quarreling and because it is thought to be better if one leaves before the conflict breaks out.

178 The tie between a higher person and his people is
557 advantageous to both parties in their striving to rise. To lose
558 a follower implies a diminution of social standing for the
571 higher person. Here his generosity to his people is of importance. The superior who has a reputation for making his

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
[558] his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's protection and help and at the same time the loss of social standing which the association with the superior casts on him. Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position of the lower people has become stronger.

554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
571 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower. Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary. If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relationship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends

1. In the Bontoramba census, they were included among the Rest group.

upon their personal relationship to their master whether they will continue to come and help at special events such as festivals.

571 As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
591 married couple who had committed silariang. Before reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

554 /109 cont./ completely to the established ideal, the more
565 followers, the greater the standing. But in view of the experience
571 with the adat community head's group of relatives who, even though on /110/ a lower level, gave the same representation of the matter, it is necessary to be careful here, too, so long as we must proceed entirely from unauthenticated reports.

● 178 The importance of the system of followers in the earlier
571 form described by Kooreman decreased. New forms arose; these are to be found in the big-city relationships of Macassar. In the country areas, the relationship of large landowner to day laborer is an example.

The system of followers in and around the city of Macassar
178 is observable wherever wealthy merchants earn their money
441 by means of the sale and purchase of rice and fish, sand and
571 stones. For their trade they employ a large number of people. This employment relationship can best be described as that of followers to their master in which the personal qualities of the merchant, the punggawa, are of overriding importance. Here, too, a follower avenges an insult done to his punggawa. Here, too, services performed -- frequently in addition to a fixed salary or piece wage -- are rewarded irregularly and in a general way. Here the punggawa also has a personal tie with a number of his people. When he dies his trade immediately goes down. His organization is built upon personal ties with his subordinates.

Large Landownership

491 Some characteristics of the system of followers can also
571 be found connected with large landownership (1), in the

466

1. No figures are available to indicate precisely when we can begin to speak of large

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the karaëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng.
[582] Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

156 The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in Kooreman's time are different from those required at the
178 present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number
[648] of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
571 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to
634 maintain himself in his function.

567 /114 cont./ though slaves were despised, insofar as I was able to find out, the treatment which they received cannot have been bad, " writes Friedericy (1). According to Friedericy,

1. Ibid.

around 1905 slaves displayed the following chief characteristics:

1. Slaves were made by kidnapping (in time of war), through purchase, and through judicial sentences.
2. Slaves were regarded as persons without rights.
3. Slaves had a special sunrang lower than that of other people.
4. For slaves, ties with their master, not those with their kinsmen, were of prime importance.

With respect to these points, an investigation into present-day conditions prevailing among this group yielded the following results:

173 567 1. Kidnapping, trade in human beings, and sentencing to slavery through judicial sentence have been officially forbidden since around 1905. These practices may have continued during the first few years after that date, but soon after they no longer /115/ took place (1). Consequently, no new slaves

1. This refers to the area of the self-governments, which did not come under the direct influence of the government until 1905. Only then could the "abolition of slavery" be carried out effectively there.

were added.

2. At present there are no people left who are regarded to be without personal rights before the judge. If there are, for instance, people who have no land of their own, it is never

178 /115 cont./ stated that they may not possess land, but only
567 that they do not need it because they are already being taken care of. Everyone knows that these people are free to move elsewhere to live and purchase or clear land. In several judicial proceedings it appeared that lower people were able to assert their rights against higher people.

178 3. In the above-mentioned regulation issued by the Prince
567 of Goa, which set the amount of the sunrang for different ranks
583 and classes in his realm, the sunrang for "the Prince's slaves" was fixed at 12 reals. No mention is made of other slaves. In the marriage register of the adat community of Borongloë, this sunrang for slaves was registered twice during the period from 1940 to 1949. However, they were not slaves of the Prince of Goa but slaves belonging to the adat community head and to a member of one of the prominent groups of relatives in kampong Pakatto, for whom the royal slaves' sunrang was entered.

4. Of a number of persons it may be said that they live with, and work for, their master. They have no land of their own. Their group of relatives comprises only a few families and is neither integrated nor traditional. They take part in the worship community of their master.

With these data before us, it is idle to debate whether someone is a slave or not, for example, because his parents were "slaves," and because a sunrang of 12 reals was paid for his marriage, but who, after all, is free to go wherever he likes, and has set up a trade in Macassar. While in his kampong he is still regarded as a hereditary slave because of his origin; in Macassar he is considered a clever tradesman.

178 The number of those who are regarded as slaves in their
567 own kampong is diminishing. No new slaves are being added to this number; rather it is decreasing. In some cases this process even came about /116/ through an official declaration of emancipation (sura' maradeka) issued by the master. This happened as late as 1939 in Mandar (1). In the majority of

178 /116 cont./ 567

1. Legally, of course, such a declaration of emancipation has not the slightest significance since the official emancipation of all slaves by the government.

cases, however, the emancipation was brought about by the fact that children of slaves moved to other regions and there obtained the same opportunities as other independent individuals in their striving to rise. A family can be said to be still regarded as slaves in the kampong only if it is generally known that the respective parents were slaves, that at their marriage the slaves' sunrang was paid, and that this marriage was entirely regulated and provided for by the master, and if this couple has then continued to live in the same kampong, does not own any land there but works the land of the master, and further performs the customary tasks for him.

Put in general terms, this implies that in Borongloë, at [582a] present, contempt is expressed only when marriage possibilities are discussed. Then it appears that ordinary people (tau samara') prefer not to enter into marriage ties with such people. Their marrying chances -- and this applies particularly to the young men -- are limited. Further, I noticed a certain contempt only when, as an investigator, I made inquiries concerning their official position. The work that the slaves perform is the same as the work performed by many others who are regarded as followers.

114 567 In 1883, Kooreman did not mention slaves in his definition of the concept of followers. For him, slaves form a group apart. Friedericy (2) in his analysis of Makassarese-Buginese

2. See Friedericy, idem., p. 582.

178 /117 cont./ taken over by lower groups, like so many other
565 cultural elements belonging to the highest group. In this case,
567 the possession of slaves was not prohibited by this highest group to the lower ones, but at the same time it was not simply permitted, either. This explains why, in his first conversations with the investigator, the adat community head claimed the number of his ata to be very large. At the same time it explains why, when the ata question was repeatedly brought up, he later remarked that it was a little silly to talk so much about his ata.

Most of the external characteristics that distinguished slaves during Kooreman's, and perhaps still in Friedericy's, time have disappeared. A single characteristic to be found with only a few individuals today is still reminiscent of a complex which half a century ago occupied a much more important place in the culture.

Loyalty Oath

521 Whenever Makassarese men between fifteen and thirty-five years of age -- referring to those I have in mind -- are together, it is a part of etiquette to tell tales which give to the observer an impression of boasting and exaggeration. Successes with women (always unrecognizably indicated in the vaguest terms), successes gained in a fight, or a victory in a verbal battle, they like to elaborate on all these. A valiant deed or a regal gesture is not kept quiet. In describing a feast, the number of buffaloes slaughtered for the occasion, the number of guests present, and the length of the festival are always made to appear as great as possible. Earlier festivals, in these stories, invariably surpass /118/ those of present times in all respects. The size of the speaker's own group of relatives in the past is clearly represented in this manner to those now alive, and thus also to the younger men, who are always among the audience.

114 /116 cont./ society declares that the class of slaves is "really
567 secondary" and that it had "no appreciable task in the life of the society." Consequently, he eliminates slaves from his further discussion. From his data, however, it must be con-
565 cluded that slaves stood in a special relationship to the karaëng
567 and that in Goa they had no other ties among each other than the awareness that they all belonged to members of one and the same related group. The above-mentioned sunrang regulation in which the Prince establishes a special sunrang only for his
554 slaves favors this point. To mention another example in
567 support of this interpretation, the adat community head of
634 Borongloë does not speak to a karaëng about his ata, but about /117/ his people (taunna), because speaking of his ata would be an expression of haughtiness. In so doing he would place himself on a level with a karaëng and thereby make himself ridiculous. Toward his subjects he does speak of his ata, but even then he does so much less openly than the Prince (1).

[641]

1. In 1949 slaves in Borongloë had the active right to vote. In point of fact they participated in the election. Before the war I made no inquiries into this matter. On page 552 of his dissertation (1933), Friedericy reports that slaves were barred from the right to vote with respect to the heads placed over them. Here he is referring to the slaves belonging to the karaëng.

178 It seems that the possession of slaves is something that be-
565 longs to the karaëng group like a certain ritual or a certain
567 color, and that it is something which has been successively

838 /154 cont./ on roads. Her kinsmen accepted these transgressions of the sex prohibitions without further ado. Apparently they did not think of the forbidden contact situation in which she found herself.

838 793 644 From a description by Matthes, it appears (1) that in his

1. B.F. Matthes, Over de Bissoe's of Heidense Priesters der Boegineezen /Concerning the Bissu or Heathen Priests of the Buginese/.

time (around 1870) a number of bissu lived at several courts of the princes. These were men who dressed and behaved partly like women. They took care of the ornaments and performed the ritual belonging to them. One old bissu, a senile man, who was only charged with guarding the ornaments still lived in the palace of the Prince of Goa in 1939. At [178] that time women were already performing the ritual. In 1949, he seemed to have died. The guarding services had then also passed into the hands of the women.

178 838 644 The disappearance of the bissu at the courts could, among other things, be a consequence of the dawning realization that, according to Moslem law, homosexuality is prohibited. The reason that they had disappeared as much as a generation ago at one court and, at the other court, continued to exist until recently could possibly be found in the differences in strictness of religious ideas held by various princes.

838 793 /155/ Only in the little place of Segeri, 75 kilometers north of Macassar, can a number of bissu still be found to this day. There they take care of the ornament and perform the ritual pertaining to it. A number of them are married and live in their own house with wife and children. They dress

838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië, Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 548 Kawe kawe can be encountered in Macassar and in the large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes who make themselves available in exchange for money for the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as male prostitutes.

535 857 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for [534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana) and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time [533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary between young men and women. In this dance they are to a certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded [838] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a [832] kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 535 838 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a

838
793/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

178 The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance
838 of the bissu institution, however, At present, insofar as they
548 did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

114 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and
589 women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated
885 who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

1. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 54.

114
583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
589 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
[582] in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary argument to explain the fact that a large number of women remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also used as an "explanation" for the existence of marriage by flight. It is safer to assume that in times like those after 1929, the number of marriages by flight increased somewhat through a gradual adjustment toward new relationships with regard to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance, cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts, and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
● 178 previous one.

435 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
583 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
585 same amount as a number of years before. The members of

178
435 /162 cont./ such a group did not like to admit this toward
583 the outside world, however. It is true, therefore, that during
585 this time it repeatedly happened that a marriage did not take place, on account of the amounts which in their own opinion should be spent on the wedding feast.

But this state of affairs did not last long. Initially, it was still agreed among kinsmen that the old amount would be maintained outwardly, but that in reality they would be satisfied with less. Outwardly, the social standing of the group of relatives thereby remained on the same level. But gradually the amounts were adjusted to the new conditions, though little or nothing was thereby changed in the intent of the feast or in the entertainment of the guests.

/163/ By the same token, scarcely any difference could be observed between a wedding feast in 1940 and one celebrated in 1949 in the same group, even though in that period the valuation of sawahs and buffaloes increased by about tenfold. While in 1940 one buffalo and one goat were killed for the feast, in 1949 one buffalo and two goats were killed for the occasion. In 1949 one naturally never heard the complaint, either, that a marriage could not come about because of the excessive expenses of the wedding. In its striking frequency, this complaint remained confined to the beginning of the 1930's. The high expenses are nevertheless still named today as an excuse whenever other reasons which one does not like to mention make a certain marriage undesirable (1).

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589
587

1. Kampong Bontorambo numbered 22 widows and 13 widowers who had not remarried, that is, fully 4 percent of the total of 787 residents. Only two married men and two married women appeared

595 /170 cont./ 2. Little betel is chewed
[178 276] by the generation that is
now thirty-five to forty
years of age or younger.

Nor does he ever name the kampong where the other wife lives as his destination when he leaves. To speak the truth would be an unforgivable rudeness. But a man who, in the opinion of his first wife, already was too much away from home was told: "When a man goes out a great deal, a wife is lazy with the cooking."

/171/ Co-wives display a stronger than normal desire to attach their husbands to themselves, in comparison with [593] monogamously married women. They make sure that the meal is ready when he comes home, that a clean sarong lies in readiness for him, and that his guests are especially well [574] entertained, since a man finds it pleasant if he is known as a good host. On the other hand, they know how to make their anger apparent to him by the same means, by letting him wait for his food, by neglecting to care for his clothes, and so forth. Among older men it can be observed that they stay for a longer time with the same wife. In the majority of cases this appears to be the first wife.

The second wife is always lower than the first; at least she is regarded as lower. This circumstance makes it easier for the first wife to be content with her existence. The great dread of a woman who was not related to her husband appeared to be the fact that now she would become the second wife because he married one of his nieces. As regards descent, however, she was regarded as his equal, and there was in every respect an acceptable reason why his niece should not be regarded as his equal.

595 The opposition of the first wife is not the only reason
606 why a second marriage comes about only with difficulty.
607 Another reason is based upon the opposition of the relatives.

585 /180 cont./ The higher guests come at this point and stand before the bed, one after the other. They take some karuntigi between their fingers, mix this with oil and powder, and amidst the mumbling of a spell, they smear this mixture on one of the fingers, on the arm, sometimes on the forehead or the neck of the bride. The place where the mixture is applied and the [777] manner have their significance. However, this ritual is not [554] performed by all the guests, but only by the higher and by a 887 number of older ones who themselves have many children and many sawahs, in other words people who seem to possess much "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means) and who now, on this occasion, want to transfer something of this to the bride. When a great [554] number of guests come "akkaruntigi," this raises the social standing of the host.

In the afternoon of the day following the "akkaruntigi," [178] the bridegroom leaves -- according to a very old, but at present no longer observed, custom from the lap of his mother --, amidst a great deal of lamenting on the part of his relatives, for the bride's house in order to arrive there around sundown. Only men are present on this occasion. On the way and especially upon arrival at the bride's house, a loud dikir is heard. It is said that formerly at that moment a greeting of welcome was addressed to the bridegroom by one /181/ of the wife's relatives who for this purpose stationed herself at the top of the ladder in front of the door opening. The only time [178] that I experienced this a certain embarrassment could be sensed. This was considered very old-fashioned. The number of those in Borongloë who are familiar with this address is small. The Pinati of Bontoramba gave me the text here reproduced, independent of any festival. The four-line verses reported at the end, in which bridegroom and bride are introduced speaking, were actually incorporated into the address, according to him.

126 The text was checked for uniformity in spelling with the 585 assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes. The

585 /194 cont./ festival is the being "good" of man and wife (pabadjikang). There are no further guests present on the occasion. Only the mutual housemates of man and wife are invited. Together the young man and wife are seated on the bridal bed (2). The wife has betel and areca nuts in her hand.

[482 554]

2. The woman was carried to the bed by her oldest brother. A second brother carried her back again at the conclusion of the ceremony. These brothers evidently regarded this as an honor.

He must ask her for them; she must surrender them to him. In public, therefore, she complies with a request made by him. If she begins by refusing, she must be "bribed" by him. He promises her a present. Sometimes he is urged to take the betel and areca nuts away from her forcibly. The element of competition becomes clearly apparent here. Just as in the case of the eating ceremonial, comments are made by those present. Here the man must win in the end. He must obtain the betel and areca nuts since this indicates that man and wife are "good" (badji') with each other, and that is ultimately the purpose of the entire wedding festival.

The pabadjikang was not celebrated in former times, [178] according to one of the informants, unless sexual intercourse had already taken place /195/. At present it is celebrated, at least in Goa, even if no sexual contact has taken place, as for instance in the case of a child marriage.

585 833 Several men who had been married for years stated proudly that they had immediately been "good" with their wife. By this they meant that shortly after, possibly the very evening of the nikka', coitus had taken place. Here physical prowess

3: Kennedy E-5 (1949-50) 1953 OBl Indonesia
Makassar 066
Sadang 068

Makassarese-Buginese: Van Heekeren says that there has been a change in ruler rights. Formerly for example, if the ruler of Goa wanted a good horse of a commoner he would say to that man, "Yours is a fine horse", and the man would say, "It is not mine but yours". Now, the ruler still gets what he wants, for example the horse, but he pays for it, say f 50. Thus there seems to be a gradual change. M 565 178 425

Sadang: The following information is from a man named Heeren, a sociologist from Amsterdam, now a high school teacher in Makassar and working on his dissertation on a village northwest of Rantepao. His village, he says, is pretty well spread out like all of Sadang now. Formerly they lived on high hills but it was difficult to carry water to these positions and they had to leave their buffaloes below where they were easily stolen by the Buginese. They still have a feast and ceremony of driving off all Buginese evil. This is called mabugi. There are about eighty houses in this village including some large ones, and thus a big population. According to Heeren one sees mostly sawah at first, but then one begins to note behind hedges and so forth, houses including very ornate structures. These houses are a couple of hundred meters apart. Around them are evidently gardens. Rice barns are important because they show wealth. The village extends for about two miles by one mile. He chose this village because in Rantepao there is no puang, and thus there are fewer complications. There are tomakaka, commoners, and slaves. The most important feasts are the death feasts. They have a long street, not for cars, and up from it on a hill lie the houses. There are two plazas, rante, and here they celebrate such feasts. Here also are located scores of stone pillars, some three to four meters high. Buffaloes are tied to these pillars. Great debts are accumulated by sacrificing buffaloes. Each family tries to outdo the others in potlatch fashion, and after some sixty-three buffaloes for example, are killed, they will sell their rice fields and go into debt. There is a tremendous amount of waste. It seems that giving buffaloes to others requires return later and they try to outdo each other like the Kwakiutl. There is always a great fuss over property ownership. Heeren said that there are only three puang, and he thinks they came in about the fifteenth century (van Wouden thinks that they are native like the tomokaka, but that the idea came in from the Buginese). He said that he has many Sadang students in Makassar, and as in the homeland they are keen for education.

S [115] 361 565 765 426 431 789

S [349]

342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
● 178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
764 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always re-
513 moved. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs
625 proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate. The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well
102 things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaëng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]

368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
764 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photograph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photograph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
● 178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
782 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
412 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers, etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This belonged to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
743 leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map) [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss
758 Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows. These dwelling places are much better than native houses. There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the children especially get leprosy, and that when children are born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one family. They said that they had a very small house and were very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
●178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants
161 whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small
592 houses have many more. The population has risen some despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk about it, but they have no money so they have to remain. When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in. I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies. They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world, but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar,
207 and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay. There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst] put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them
178 gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the out- 567
side they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 535
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it
was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough
was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine
case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this
operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal
of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pang-
kadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were
interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard
of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here.
They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of
coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was
carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they
added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his
trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners,
but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently
this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of
land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Neverthe-
less, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited
by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes. i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thousands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there
203 are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The
205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are
[462] women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly
262 there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco,
241 Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts.

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. 000
During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today. The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and [439]
import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is hardly worth speaking of.

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. For- 436
merly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C.[pro- 178
bably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East India Company)--Analyst]coins and also kepeng. Now they still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me.

As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including 177
four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were 489
three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. 493
There is much travel by bus today.

As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic 428
and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main 562
thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance 591
it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that 611
the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one. But the girls generally get the house. This is important because the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more property than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Nevertheless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he [578]
might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really excited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would fight, and even knife him.

As for changes in political organization in the area during the last fifty years, there has evidently not been very much in the kampong or in the wanua, although perhaps the Dutch made the kampongs larger by combining several under one kepala kampong. The number of wanua evidently did not change. The old organization of Bone was as follows. At the bottom below the earth line were the people at large, the rakyat together with their kepala kampong, who, however, might be a noble too. Above the earth line in the heaven realm (so considered) were first of all the thirty-one kepala wanua, and then above them were the seven princes and above them the two tomakaka, one the tomakaka lolo and one the tomakaka tua together with the makadangetawa who was concerned mainly with foreign affairs. Finally at the top was the [radja] with his right hand man, the punggawa, as head of the army. Orders from the radja to the people went via the tomakaka tua to the seven princes, then to the kepala wanua concerned, and thence to the kepala kampong and thus to the people. Requests from the latter to the kepala kampong then went up to the kepala wanua concerned and thence to the seven princes and then to the tomokaka lolo and finally to the radja. However if a person were a noble he might take his requests directly to the radja and the latter in return might give more direct orders. As in Goa, nobles formerly scorned a lowly job. But at the wanua level they must always be nobles. There is some change noticeable today in that they have only one tomarilalang. It runs something like this today: at the top is still the radja together with the makadangetawa who is now concerned only with internal affairs and below the radja is this one tomarilalang and then come the seven princes or the Aru Pitu each representing a department of the government (but at present one office, that of Aru Udjung [probably the last (in rank?) of seven aru--Analyst] is vacant), then come the thirty-one kepala wanua as before and below the earth line the rakyat also unchanged. 631 178 565

Formerly (now too?), when a noble made a request to the radja, he first made his request to the tomarilalang and together they made the request to the radja.

As for the names of the classes arranged in descending order they are as follows: first the six noble classes known collectively as bangsawan or ana ma'padjung. 565

1. patola
2. tjera - tjitjing
3. tjera - dua
4. tjera - tiga
5. tjera - ampat
6. tjera - lima

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper 665
administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there 668
are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an
eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad ex- 668
periences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't 663
keep their word, and although he is a conservative, he keeps 576
his word. Thus he is disgusted with politics. Nevertheless, 178
he has a great deal of influence even with those who are
relatively radical. When a blazing representative of the Republic here meets the Radja he gives him sembah [homage, respectful greeting with hands placed together on the forehead]. And this is true also in Makassar. But the new and radical politicians are also still caught in the web of the rigid adat of South Celebes. As for the exiled Arumpone, the Controleur said that if the Dutch were to leave, there is a good chance for a coup d'etat here, and in other places as well. He also agreed that if in the Republic, with freedom
the radjas will suffer with a resultant political upsurge. As 648
for the point that many of the people think that the Dutch and 663
the radjas are working together, I get the impression that it 178
is partly true, and the Dutch I meet constantly rationalize 565
this by saying that all would fall apart here if the traditional custom law, the adat, which depends upon the ordered, ranked universe were to be suddenly abolished. But, says the Controleur, the people do not know how much the Dutch keep the radjas from excesses both diplomatically and behind the
scenes. Still, he said that it is difficult now because the 661
Dutch are only here as helpers and can work only through the 656
radjas. In previous times if there was a bad fellow high up in the state, the Dutch could jail him. But now, for example in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use anyway because the replacements would probably be just as bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating the size of the family. For example, they will list a family as consisting of nine members when it really has only five. Then they will give out the ration for five members, keeping the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the Chinese.

Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that 665
if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties 521
would get much support. He also said that the relatively

M 6665 521 conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic l life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

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M 602 171

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are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

M T 582 563 791
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574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. They said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
[588] must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely, there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal,
562 and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

and where they have come from. For example, they tell 565
people that they were nobles where they came from. Here 567
is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power 178
of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there 696
were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. 681
If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They 567
became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they 626
have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is
a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember
it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any
event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would [684 588]
be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or
a woman who married or had something to do with a man of
lower status.

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social 557
sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale 565
by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. 556
The social classes are set. 554

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it 531
would be better to say that there is some. There are many
cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able
to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they
may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which
were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more
wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is
practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all
the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman
and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are
numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes,
terms of address, and manners.

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable 178
flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for 554
an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted 342
only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and 565
nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly 531
use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present.
As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the
"real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide
and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one
except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved
wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used
illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so
used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in
house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was
once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampong wears one. However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it. In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles. Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem to be alternates of all sorts. They call me pa'ika tuan, as I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone. (This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Makassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was formerly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when approaching their superiors or when passing them. They squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with them. They wait until they are asked a question. And every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the Kepala kampong meets me or says goodbye he holds our right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very best place. The Kapala kampong and other common guests sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked the Kepala kampong who was waiting in the car to come onto the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

771 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here
178 were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very
182 rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the
776 Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them (maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata. Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paeppo, but called them popo, as did the Makassarese. In all spirit cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also
[861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the "spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala
838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which
793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo-
548 sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over,
535 it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an
[759] aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example, to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry, etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed [791]
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
]day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178●
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 554
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 782
They said that women have two stones, and men only one! 796
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I 517
got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The 181
Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did 167
not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if 186
he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is 178
general and there is not much to say. The death punishment 681
is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even 796
included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric 805
systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They [241]
knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern.(In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: 574
I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and 852
two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of [562]
men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear
part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much 176
new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus 874
chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third 401
grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from 403
bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

office and even to Batavia. The trouble with Wadjo is that many letters there are left unanswered because friends of the corrupt administration are involved. But the controleur is catching them, as he gets copies in the office at Watumpone and then goes to Wadjo and asks why no answer. This is evidently the reason, or one of them, that the Wadjo folk are ready to revolt against the radja and the government. The letters are written by letter writers, who charge a fee to write them in most kampongs. M 695 661 668 212

In regard to Wadjo and Soppeng, Denzo said that the latter is pretty good and that the radja sees this is an overgangstijd [transitional period], as does his administration. Thus the situation is not so bad. But he agrees that Wadjo is awful.

Incidental: I see from the Sadang notes that the swing [During the period of rice ripening, swings are made of ratan, rope, and buffalo hide. The swings are attached to the branch of a tree. In some areas (Kesu, Sadang, and Balusu) boys and girls swing together. Swinging is done to promote the growth of the grains of rice. In some parts of the Sadang area (e.g., Rimbon), the swinging is done by women who also sing a song of gratitude for a good harvest. This custom apparently survives principally as a children's game. All references to swinging will be found in category 524. --Analyst] is used during the entire period of rice planting or rice ripening. S 524 243

I noted that the three-window front of a house, which I had thought was specifically Makassarese, is also found on Buginese houses in the mountains, for example in Soppeng. Thus all that has happened is that the Makassarese have kept it well, while the Buginese in the coastal and other areas tend to lose it. M 342 178

On the way up to Makale, I saw plenty of Toradja, including a coffin on a platform in the yard. The platform was made of bamboo. Bohn in Paloppo and my notes on van der Veen say that this is probably the Luwu group of Sadang. And Bohn corroborates that many are descendants of slaves who were brought there. They live mainly in separate kampongs from the Buginese and there are very few mixed kampongs. They have little social contact, except trading. They practically never intermarry. M 563

On the way in I noticed that the place around Rantepao is full of niche graves. Nearly every appropriate rock face has at least one, together with an ornate door. In these rather solitary ones, however, I did not notice the tautau. M 764

000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
586 and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
153 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
152 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with
[565] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas, the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said that this will mean very little in this area except for the formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to receive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect, too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean further insecurity for his position. There are great preparations being made for this event at the present time. There will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge. This is merely a generic term. At the top are the ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here (though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng, descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depending on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only

212 For hundreds of years they have

/4 cont. / had their own script and their own literature. The
181 element of strong seclusion is absent in their rural communities, with the exception, perhaps, of a number of thinly populated mountain regions.

114 In the fairly extensive literature one finds a great number of topics dealt with separately, but no comprehensive treatment. The best insight is still given by Kooreman (2). A more recent

[113] 2. P. J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden /The Actual State of Affairs in the Government Region of Celebes and Its Dependencies/" Indische Gids, 1883.

important study is that by Friedericy (3).

[113] 3. H. J. Friedericy, "De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren /Status among the Buginese and Makassarese/" Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. IV, pp. 447-602.

[602] 121 With several authors one repeatedly finds the statement that kinship is regarded as of great importance by Buginese and Makassarese without any further elaboration of this point. The approximation of a community by way of kinship relationships has generally been accepted as correct by ethnologists since Rivers (4). Therefore, my attention first turned to this

4. W. H. R. Rivers, "The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry," The Sociological Review, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff., 1910.

668 /138 cont./ the present-day rulers, only to become the prince himself in place of those who have been driven out.

181 The ideal of Makassarese-Buginese culture which is unconsciously present in people's thinking could be described
182 as a large kingdom comprising the whole of South Celebes
668 where peace prevails under a powerful and good prince. This formulation is based upon the striving, inherent in every bilateral related group, for expansion and steadily continuing inclusion of all surrounding groups until as large a grouping as possible has been attained, whose limits for the present are those of South Celebes.

182 We mentioned earlier a strong horizontal mobility which can be explained by a conflict in personality structure
565 and at the same time by a great insecurity about the
154 individual's standing which has its source in the absence of a clearly delineated vertical articulation. Unrest and insecurity are therefore always present, even in times of peace and order.

154 The established ideal is unattainable, but the individuals content themselves with this so long as they have the
181 opportunity to continue striving for this ideal in the "ordinary"
182 ways present in the culture. But as soon as this possibility
668 no longer exists in their opinion, and when the individual, perhaps unconsciously, believes that he is unequal to the circumstances, then the otherwise usual tension between ideal and reality becomes too great. The individual then seeks to attain his ideal in an extraordinary manner, which almost every culture provides.

The expectation of salvation is a hypertension phenomenon. It is an attempt to actualize in a short period of time the distant ideal which for a number of individuals had become too unattainable, whatever the reasons for this may have been.

158 /165 cont./ to fetch a sanro (Makassarese physician). After
826 some time had elapsed, and the sanro had performed a number
755 of rituals, the feelings of anxiety disappeared. For this day, the attack was past.

Women are kept away from a male koro patient. It is believed that their presence would cause the dreaded event, the receding /166/ of the penis, to take place, and it is believed
[761] that in that event the patient would die. People mention without much trouble a number of instances of individuals who supposedly died of koro.

Slot reports that koro occurs among adult Makassarese and
158 Buginese of each social class and both sexes. The phenomenon
755 may appear in groups. It is not the consequence of a modified libido. The Makassarese combat it by using influences regarded as positive, for instance, by using the flowering cluster of the male lontar palm as medicine and through the avoidance of negative influences, among which the turtle is mentioned (1).

1. The thought of the disappearance of this animal's head under its shell gives the patient an unpleasant association according to one informant.

158 Finally, Slot explains that the cause of koro may be a sense of guilt, but that this cause is ethnologically determined because the admissable and the inadmissable are here differently interwoven than in western Europe. He speaks of feelings of guilt while van Wulfften Palthe believes that it is anxiety feelings that lie at the base of the koro phenomenon.

Now that the koro phenomenon has been described from
158 the psychological point of view as an expression of anxiety,
181 one may attempt to indicate from the ethnological point of view how this anxiety can have its genesis. To this end I

158 /166 cont./ should like to mention the vertical tendency
181 which demands of the Makassarese a constant striving to surpass other men and to be a great conqueror of women. The anxiety about losing the ability for this, or else of falling short in this aspiration, could very well form the basis for the koro phenomenon.

Prostitution

548 Prostitutes are unknown in Makassarese kampongs. There
626 are no women under thirty-five to forty years of age who live
558 alone without kinsmen, and if a woman lives with others in a house, it is impossible for her, for reasons discussed at length above, to receive men more or less regularly, or to have contact with them outside the house. So long as she lives in a house with others, even a single contact situation would cause the young male house mates or neighbors to become siri'. The older women who do not wish to risk any difficulties on behalf of this stranger in such a case will try to send her away in time -- for instance, to a head who lets her marry -- before a brawl could come about through her /167/. Once she is out of the house, there is no reason for the young men who, after all, are not related to her, to be siri' because of her behavior.

Her conduct impairs the social standing of her group, and for that reason she is unacceptable in the rural kampongs. There is little evidence of moral disapproval.

548 Prostitution is an urban phenomenon. Prostitutes live in
[369] Macassar as well as in the larger pasar places such as Parepare, Watampone, and others.

The pasar place of Bontomanai, the center of trade for Borongloë, did not seem large enough yet to accommodate permanent prostitution. It was said of one of the daughters of a prominent man in Borongloë, who had gone to live in Bontomanai with a distant relative, that she received men who

S
838 Van der Veen said that there are only a few real hermaphro-
824 dites here, but that there are many homosexuals. And here
772 is something! Boys who show feminine tendencies are fed maize because it is linked with the earth (female principle), and not rice, because the latter is heavenly and connected with the male principle.

000 Ambon: I met an insurance man at the Rotary Club meeting in Makassar, at which I spoke. His name is Kaihatu. He is from Oma, on Saparua, I think [Haruku]. Anyway, he said that they have quite a bit of pela [ally, in the sense of institutionalized friendship] practices there. One cannot marry a person of a fellow pela village. Thus Oma and a village on another island [Saparua] are in a pela relationship to each other. This involves a great amount of mutual aid. Although one can not marry a person from the other village it is evidently possible to marry in one's own village. Kaihatu said that even in a far away place such as Java, if a man of Oma meets one from a pela village he will help him in all ways possible. And he will never think of marrying. This custom is still strong, and even the moderns have no idea of breaking it. He also said that there was much black magic and that such beliefs are firm. I will see him later.

M
609 South Celebes: On my way back from Malino I was stopped
126 by two lads at Lebon pasar. They were on their way from
291 Makassar to the village where the Goa radja lived. They were selling clothing and asked me for a lift saying that there were two men. But soon two more appeared, and finally there were seven. All got in the jeep with their luggage. They were jolly and friendly. They pointed out a special black cape worn by nobles (but not only by nobles; perhaps only by women?) on the road. This type of cape is really beautiful, even out in the country. At one point they asked to stop and bought two large bunches of bananas. I asked them why. They said that the bananas were for me! And these the "surly Makassarese". I took a fast photo of them [with a Polaroid Land camera] and they were overjoyed. I gave one to them, and they are going to make copies for all. They posed with considerable pride. The kraton [court] of the radja was white walled, but inside it looked like the ordinary native houses.

M
[115] South Celebes: the following information was obtained
181 from van Heekeren of the archaeological service and Abdul
609 Rahim, Guru, an assistant of Cense and Chabot. They said
177 that the Makassarese and Buginese are very conservative. They claim that they will not change much. Thus, if they are asked why they do not use the potter's wheel, for example,

they will say that their fathers did it this way. Van Heekeren knows of a family still living in a cave (where?). When he asked them why they were not living in the nearby village, they said that their fathers from away back had lived in caves, and there had been no change. He said further that in Mandar there must still be a few of the Toala type. They live far back, and bring in tribute to the radja. He will look for them he said. But he thinks that the Toala are merely mountain Buginese. He added that Toala radja are very glad to see whites because their relations with whites have always been good. Men like Adriani and Kruyt started this good tradition and hence they like whites. Also, the Makassarese and Buginese never had too many whites around and so there are good feelings in this respect. He said that Bone is a good example of this. There [in Bone--Analyst] the 1906 war was regarded as a sporting proposition. Afterwards the radja was restored. The flag shows clasped hands, Dutch and Bone. Speelman said that as long as the chain he gave to the radja of Bone remained unbroken the two peoples would remain friends. He gave an enormous chain. Also inscribed on the flag is a statement to the effect that they will remain friends as long as the sun continues to shine. When there were troubles after the war, the Bone radja declared his position strongly and raised the Dutch flag. M 181 609 177 C 175 648

Even the younger generation admires and believes in the mana of the radjas. Thus if President Soekawati [President of the State of East Indonesia] appears there is little reaction, but if the radja appears there is great feeling. C 778 565

Van Heekeren is going on an expedition to Galumpang in the southern part of West Toradja territory. He is excavating a neolithic site there. It takes about six days of walking beyond the end of the road to reach the site. C 114

Abdul Rahim is to get me a man, probably a relative, to start the work in the kampong of Balombaru. This kampong is six kilometers south from the center of Makassar, and is Rahim's own village. It is two kilometers beyond the city limit, in Guru. It is said to be a good place for my work in as much as it has most of the typical characteristics, including the influence of nobility. I will start tomorrow. M 124

Flores: I met [in Makassar] the Radja of Sikka. He looks like an American Negro. His name is D. Silva, and he is evidently a Catholic. His secretary is a Dutchman. This seems to be the pattern now in East Indonesia, with the Dutchmen acting very obsequious.

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
● 181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

I had many talks at random, especially with Thierens. He 181
is willing to work, but says it is only toward a dim future. The
police official (Aru Pontjeng) and his son (Aru Matjege, head
of the local government) especially, see that things are not
good. Everything is inefficient and childish. I met the former
one day, and at once he asked my impression. I dodged his
question and he said at least everyone eats here. I said yes,
but many were slaves. He was shocked, but saw my point,
I will talk with him again. I told Thierens that questions, es-
pecially of the kampong folk and even of Andi and the Sulewa-
tang, showed that the people were ripe for economic education.
They are puzzled. And they take to such talk. Thierens said
that they get scared, and agreed that they go on governmental
business trips in order to get away from problems. The truth 423
is, it is too poor a land. Then too, it is feudal. Thierens told 566
me a secret. I had seen private fish ponds belonging to the
Arumpone in Palette, near the sea. He told me that near that
place entire kampongs are working in the service of the arum-
pone. It is quite medieval. But perhaps the only way to oper-
ate this place is to keep serfs and slaves. At least they eat.
But what hope is there for a rise of standards? For example, 653
I asked how they built roads and schools. Andi said heeren- 434
dienst [literally 'master's service']. I then said that if that
were true, how would they pay for the increasing number of
teachers. For that they would need money too. I said that they
had rice, maize, and men--and that is all. The answer I do
not know. As Thierens said, for the past forty years they have 185
grown more and more used to Western administration. Now, 434
they must keep things up to Western standards of speed and ef-
ficiency. They have neither, but they do have even grander
ideas than the Dutch gave them concerning the future. They try
to reach outward to a level of speed approximating that which
the Dutch represented, and so forth. Instead they become dizzy.
They are desperate. And even with the help of the Dutch (and
Pontjeng said right away that they co-operate with the Dutch),
how can they pay the Dutch and give them enough security in-
ducement unless they have the money. In all, it is a non-pay-
ing daerah, and my guess is that the whole of East Indonesia is
a non-paying negara. The only way out seems to be to get Java
and Sumatra, and perhaps, in part, Borneo, to pay the bills;
or to slip into a peasant economy and drop all ideas of grandeur
and of a great and prosperous future with schools, etc.

Tomorrow, August 30, 1949, I am leaving for Makassar. 000

000 Mission, Timor. He said that the Catholics have a great organization, and that they do not force Christianity. They do not try to change the habits and clothing of the people. They tell the natives to do as they wish, and change as they please. But the Protestants force changes in clothing, tell them that they are damned if they do not change, etc. On Flores, west of Endeh, the Jesuits have worked far up into the mountains. They had a printing press in Endeh. They also have model farms, including a dairy. They train and educate the young, for example, they have trained the best agricultural man in Timor. He is a native priest who was sent to Wageningen, and then on his return was put into the governmental service. He pays rich returns because he is in the intimate councils of the government and knows all about the radjas, etc. Thus, by clever work, the Catholics have gained much control. Timor is not so good, as it is more influenced by the Protestants. This, of course, is the opinion of van der Wetering (whose views I do not always trust, but he may have something here). He said the system of the Jesuits is that when they start a mission they get money for five years. After that it must be self-supporting. And according to him it usually is.

565 567 Balombaru: Classes existed (exist?) within the slave group too, and it is not the usual hereditary as against new slave idea, but rather that a slave of a noble feels superior to a slave of a commoner, and all grades in between. Thus, as I suppose is the case with servants in England, if you are a maid of a duchess you feel superior to the maid of a baroness. Thus the class idea ramifies, and pangkat is the essence of the whole social functioning.

175 743 Balombaru: September 3, 1949. Fourth day: First I went to the leprosarium to give my books to the nurse. She told me about some awful Javan atrocities after the Japanese defeat in Surabaja. They even shot into the hospital from trees. The idea seemed to her to be to kill all white people. 181 621 743 She [i.e., the head nurse at the Balombaru leper asylum--Analyst] said that the natives have no initiative, though there is more evidence of some form of initiative here than in Java. She divided the colony into three kampongs. Each with an elected kepala kampong. They come to her only if they cannot settle cases.

the others did not. They said that relatively few, except 203
school children (they are always mentioned as exceptions) 186
could draw a map of Celebes, Indonesia, and the world. But 829
some of them have seen maps in the schools.

As for the population of Indonesia, the Kepala kampong could tell me nothing, but Andi and the teacher knew something about this. This was also true with most of the others, except for a few school children; that is, they do not know even approximate figures for Indonesia at large. As for the population of the world no one had any ideas. However, Andi knew that China was largest, and India next largest. They were impressed that Indonesia is the seventh largest country in population in the world. Later I found out that the Sulewatang has quite an extensive knowledge of international relations and of the world. And Andi knew the capitols of Ireland, Finland and other countries. As for local patriotism, Andi said there was no real 186
pride in Bone. They are not sombong [arrogant, conceited, 181
presumptuous], but have hormat [honor, respect, distinction]. And adat is everything. I asked about the big speeches of loyalty formerly made by chiefs going to war. I also asked, in this connection, about the jumping and kris waving. Andi said that this was just adat. He keeps on saying that there is nothing here except adat and that the people are backward. He seems disgusted at times. He said they simply do not progress, and seems to doubt that they ever will. As for rela- 578
tions with other villages and neighborhoods or areas, there is 721
exceedingly little. Formerly something along this line could be said about friendly or warlike relationships with Wadjo, Goa, and so forth. Nothing, however, is left of this. As for war, they can not carry on their former practices because the Dutch took their weapons.

Bukaka, September 8, 1949. Second day: The people here 157
know very little even about local historical events. This re- 114
minds me of Abdul Radjab, the Minangkabau, who is gathering local tales in Makale for Balai Pustaka. He was here once and said that he thought that he could get plenty of material in Wadjo, but after long talks with the important people who said it would be all right, he did not succeed in getting even one story. In the Toradja country, he got plenty, and even in Paloppo (but it is a part of Toradja). It is his idea, that the Buginese are helpless and hopeless. He said that a psychologist should study them. They are so bound up with fear and backwardness that there seems to be nothing here. He later took a bus for Tanette but it stopped at Balannipa which is twenty-five kilometers short. The driver said "all out", even though he and the others objected. However, the driver

123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming
181 masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this
point. I said that they needed business education, and they
saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great
extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only
hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent
over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kam-
pong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it.
In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers
and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told
them about the Javanese using these without giving up Moham-
medanism, and although they could see the point they responded
in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This
also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge
training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None
speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach
classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They
saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over
Dutch because it is an international language. They said that
all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read
the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they
read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them
when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak
Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can
understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can under-
stand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman
characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say
all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I
wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about
this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the
farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but
368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling
library here before the war, and also a library in
Bone, but this was no longer the case.

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

although he told me that they were "his people". He said 535
that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would 565
be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He 567
said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may
not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one [435 382]
of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must
pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And
even later, when they are no longer able to perform as
padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry.
The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and
he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner
who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the
kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as
padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prosti-
tutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are
not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fif-
teen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot,
and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese danc-
ing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be
a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, dead-
pan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They
are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and
chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fasci-
nated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically
doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job
because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth.
The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and
their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented
out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with
cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also pow-
dered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older
and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother
said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There 574
were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the 431
birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty 181 ●
of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about be- 576
fore the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around
in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and 567
finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer [292]
came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very
humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been
ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought
immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I
have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic ex-
amples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
● 181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. They said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
588 must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese 535
in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and 181
there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead- 152
pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the sim- 832
ple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the 292
local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have
much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light
banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was
when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected
because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face to-
ward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward
prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The
high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And
the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under
them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in
festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and 124
finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Moham-
medan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living 163
children per woman was three, but that the average number
of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average
number who die to each woman is two. They say there has
been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not
much if any difference according to class. This I do notice,
that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is 861
the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. 828
I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that
they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says
there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a
child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex]
(and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted
that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary
people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. 562
They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, 584
women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women 883
never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) 181
If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or some-
one else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not
usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders
doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change
noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional
pair coming from school together, but this is carried out
for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
●181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely, there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal,
562 and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's
182 house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although
178 all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampong wears one. However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it. In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles. Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some. Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem
● 181 to be alternates of all sorts. They call me padika tuan, as I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone. (This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Makassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was formerly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when approaching their superiors or when passing them. They squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with them. They wait until they are asked a question. And every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the Kepala kampong meets me or says goodbye he holds our right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very best place. The Kapala kampong and other common guests sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked the Kepala kampong who was waiting in the car to come onto the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed [791]
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
]day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181●
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 554
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 782
They said that women have two stones, and men only one! 796
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

517 are mad about movies and this shows a trememdous poten-
546 tial value for visual education here. Indeed, the only out-
side amusement is the movies.

526 As for sports, there is a badminton court in the kampong,
367 but it is near Watumpone. In Watumpone they play soccer
and the kampong boys do this too except that they do not
have a field within the kampong. They also play the real
rattan-ball football. In addition, but only in Watumpone, a
few people play tennis. Probably no one from the kampong
does this.

524 As for games, they have children's games, but evidently
not many. One is a sort of tag in a square. Then there are
kites, especially (only ?) after the rice harvest. Children
fly kites, but fathers pretending to help the children often
take over the kites. Andi is amused by this pretention. They
525 have a string-sawing kite contest too. There is much gam-
541 bling with dice, but evidently no cards. No chess or checkers
are found here. There are cock fights but they are illegal.
They know about cricket fights. They are a bit reticent on
all this, perhaps because it is secret.

517 There are no real local arts aside from crafts. These
53 people are not at all artistic. Even their weaving is banal,
except for the colors. This is their one beauty spot. The
designs are in checks, plaid, or consist entirely of horizon-
tal stripes. The designs are dull except for the colors. And
aside from the padjoge there is no dancing. There is no carv-
ing of stone, and but little wood carving on houses. There is
practically no music and the people do not go in much for any
instruments..They did say that they play flutes, which is
true especially for those who watch the water buffalo. There
is no drama at all. There is no painting except for a few
banal efforts on the houses. Poor stuff, poor people.

517 As for leisure, that depends on a number of variables.
538 Some of the farmers work all day except for midday. Some
368 who have office jobs have regular hours. I didn't get very
far on this. In their spare time they mainly sit, walk, talk.
461 They almost never read, but said that if they could get books
549 they might read a lot. But there are no books available. They
agreed that a library is sadly needed. I was surprised that
they said that there was very little if any story-telling. This
checks with the Minangkabau man who could get no stories
here. They haven't even got imagination enough to tell tales.
Maybe in the kampong I could find some, but clearly they
reflect the general poverty in this sphere. As for the desire
517 to go where there is more entertainment, more fun, the
● 181 general impression is that there is not much of an urge in

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I 517
got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The 181
Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amuse-
ments of New York City to Andi he said that he would die
there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old
Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for
example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big
attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did 167
not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if 186
he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens
said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc.
If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world,
and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is 178
general and there is not much to say. The death punishment 681
is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the
common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even 796
included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric 805
systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and
Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are
birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation,
marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They [241]
knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts
that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for
the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways,
there is said to be little concern.(In Makassar I did find
some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is
no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead any-
way.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: 574
I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and 852
two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kam-
pong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of
the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three
buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of
women were working at the preparation of different kinds of
food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said
the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any de-
mand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of [562]
men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear
part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much 176
new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus 874
chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third 401
grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from 403
bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25
and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing
he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

Regarding sex, Thierens said that the extreme repression of it and the lack of open relations of a social sort between boys and girls here causes a high rate of homosexuality among boys. He said that nearly all boys are so. This may also link with the wandu custom, or at least the prostitute part of it. The boys are used to homosexual practice in youth, and like it. Also, perhaps the women, so bound by adat, are cold. Thus the homosexuals may be an attraction. The whole dead business has paralyzed these people even down to the simple sex matter. I remember the homosexual practices in Bontorio. But that was in the court, where there were girls. Maybe even there it was hard to get girls, and there may have been little in the way of social relationships. I remember that Bontorio had to get his slave girls on the sly. That is what Andi said, things must be kept in the dark. M 831 838 181● 154

In regard to the Toala and the To Patuntung, I went to Soppeng on Sunday. We took one route down and another one back. It is in a rather mountainous section but Soppeng itself is a large and attractive town. On the way we could see the remoteness of many of the people here, even those on the road. In Soppeng I met Denzo, the Christian leader. He is young and good looking, much like Lethe in type and manners. His family comes from Saleier, but also from Bone. He was born in Saleier. He was baptized in 1937 although coming from a Mohammedan family. His mother is also a Christian and so is at least one sibling. He said that this resulted in some trouble with his father. By 1939, he had 800 Christians. During the Japanese time this number shot up to 2,000 and now he has about 3,000. This is the only place in the Buginese country where there are Christians. He has a church which is a part of the Protestant Church of Indonesia. But it is not a mission proper. He said that he converted from all classes, including at least one high fellow. He said that there are more women than men which did surprise me. I asked him how to approach women. He said that one must first ask the man. If the man is converted, then one can work on the woman, and usually the whole family becomes Christian. But one may not talk to the woman without the man's consent. Denzo said there was some trouble with the radja and with the nobles and with the fanatic Mohammedans. But after a while there was not so much trouble because they found out the Christians did not break up the adat and so they could not be too bad. Again we see the point that adat comes first, the Mohammedan practices being secondary. M 797 562 M [576] M [181]

Then I asked about the To Patuntung. He said there are not so many of them. They are ten kilometers walk south of C 563

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

591 /33 cont./ A matrilocal marriage is not a mandatory prescription. The houses of the parental couples are close to each other; kinship to father and mother are equally valued. On the basis of these facts, the observed tendency to matrilocal marriage remains unexplained. In my opinion, [182 the reason is to be found in the relationships obtaining among 593] the members of the family, and especially in the formal, stiff relationship between father and son, which makes it difficult for the latter to conduct himself in an unforced manner in the company of the former (1).

1. See pp. 31, 32.

The beginning of a marriage is frequently difficult (2).

2. See Chapter III, second part.

The parents who /34/ have brought it about and feel responsible for the smooth course of events do everything in their power to make it seem attractive for the young man to move in with his wife. That is not the case if he lives in his father's house. To this is added the fact that the young wife feels most comfortable in her familiar environment, with her mother and little sisters. If she should live elsewhere, it is much more difficult for her to go back to her mother, however small the distance between the houses may be.

182 The strict separation between the sexes, which results
562 in the young women being strongly tied to house and grounds,
591 thus furthers the occurrence of matrilocal marriages as does
593 the stiff relationship between father and son.

Sexual Relationships between Members of a Household

835 Sexual relationships between members of a household who do not belong to the same /nuclear/ family occur more

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

554 Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is con-
602 centrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one
612 hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the
769 other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other.
182 The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

794 The Ornament-Worship Community
114 Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

[113] 1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

[113] 2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

782 /76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 778 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The [241 746] annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place here.

Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably 241 of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere. 634 In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament 778 sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 A summary of the above yields the following result:

602 By worship community we understand a group of people 182 who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

794 /76 cont./ qualities. After this person's death the grouping
602 again breaks up. The members then affiliate themselves with
182 others, each according to his own choice. There is no continuity.

Between the prominent members of a group of relatives there always exists a relationship of opposition, which is only intensified by the worship communities. There exists no possibility for such a related group to present a durable and powerful unity to the outside world.

A group of relatives with an ornament is more strongly integrated. /77/ Where there is an ornament, a worship community can be found which comprises a number of people in addition to the related group. The size of this community, however, cannot be precisely indicated.

It is therefore uncertain who constitute the worship community of an ornament. Nooteboom's definition of an ornament, given above, could therefore be simplified. An ornament is an object which is worshipped by a community of individuals.

182 In addition to this worship community, there are a num-
794 ber of extremely weak and small worship communities in a
778 group of relatives. They comprise no more than one or
602 several households. Their members turn to their ancestors in their own pantasa' for family or household affairs. In addition, they can also always turn to the ancestors who are worshipped at the ornament.

644 Ornaments are also in the hands of ordinary kampong
182 people. The royal ornaments are therefore not "inherent to
778 the royal dignity" (1).

1. See Friedericy, op. cit., p. 501.

Neither is royal dignity "exclusively reserved for those who are of purest blood" (1). In that case the principle of

/77 cont./ 1. Ibid.

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descent would dominate completely, and that is not the case.

An ornament is supposed to be in the hands of the group member with the purest blood and the best personal qualities. The individual who has the ornament in his possession is therefore believed to have these qualities until it turns out to be otherwise.

One who shows that he possesses the best personal qualities is therefore, according to the Makassarese idea, of high blood.

A prince is regarded as possessing these personal qualities to the greatest degree. However, they do not always find expression.

182 An ornament strengthens the unity of the group. At the same time it furthers the continuity of this unity. But a breakthrough on the basis of personal qualities must always be considered a possibility, in the light of what has been said above.

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Chapter II

Social Status

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565 In the ethnological literature Makassarese-Buginese society is known as a hierarchical society. Friedericy (1) decided

1. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlands-Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. 4, p. 582.

114 /82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from
174 an exogamous kinship grouping.
565 The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articulation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came into existence, is not clear.

128 The connection established by Friedericy between class and kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As
565 much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used
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2. F. van Heek, op. cit., p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing" /aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be feasible.

182 It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes
554 signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment.
582 Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two elements which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

554 The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's
[581] children because this establishes the standing gained by one personally, within the bounds set by descent.

668 /138 cont./ the present-day rulers, only to become the prince himself in place of those who have been driven out.

181 The ideal of Makassarese-Buginese culture which is unconsciously present in people's thinking could be described
182 as a large kingdom comprising the whole of South Celebes
668 where peace prevails under a powerful and good prince. This formulation is based upon the striving, inherent in every bilateral related group, for expansion and steadily continuing inclusion of all surrounding groups until as large a grouping as possible has been attained, whose limits for the present are those of South Celebes.

182 We mentioned earlier a strong horizontal mobility which can be explained by a conflict in personality structure
565 and at the same time by a great insecurity about the
154 individual's standing which has its source in the absence of a clearly delineated vertical articulation. Unrest and insecurity are therefore always present, even in times of peace and order.

154 The established ideal is unattainable, but the individuals content themselves with this so long as they have the
181 opportunity to continue striving for this ideal in the "ordinary"
182 ways present in the culture. But as soon as this possibility
668 no longer exists in their opinion, and when the individual, perhaps unconsciously, believes that he is unequal to the circumstances, then the otherwise usual tension between ideal and reality becomes too great. The individual then seeks to attain his ideal in an extraordinary manner, which almost every culture provides.

The expectation of salvation is a hypertension phenomenon. It is an attempt to actualize in a short period of time the distant ideal which for a number of individuals had become too unattainable, whatever the reasons for this may have been.

157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku	My implanted, straight flowers,
539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku	My blooming tjampaga flowers.
Natjiniku ianu	When N. N. sees me
Nadjandjangku mole mole.	He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that
157 a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in men are at the same time those which they need for success in
● 182 striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.
554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

[177 192]

1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het, " /"an 'it' person. " -- Ed./.

M tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at
175 large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the
565 people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]
[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and
793 their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession
838 of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst]
231 This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any
881 bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati.
304 But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there
574 for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the
182 Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I re-
771 minded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own
181 idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely, there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal,
562 and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
● 182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although
178 all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ĕppa, lima, ĕneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

771 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here
178 were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very
rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is
●182 no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As
for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation
or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means
any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in
the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They
saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the
776 Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for
the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them
(maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those
that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong
knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names
of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew
saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata.
Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paeppo,
but called them popo, as did the Makassarese. In all spirit
cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping
or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also
[861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of
these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used
now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the
"spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan
ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa
Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go
back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala
838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which
793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got
much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo-
548 sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over,
535 it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an
[759] aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they
are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and
also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example,
to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They
know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all
this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated
them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry,
etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and
that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as
ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they
act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go
for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night
for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he
would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved
wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also

175 648 /128 cont./ conducted their policies. The princes saw in the Netherlands East India Company and, later, in the Government of the Dutch East Indies not the ruler who had to be driven out by the concentration of all forces /129/, but a new power center, which they drew upon in their mutual oppositions and which they utilized to realize their political aims.

The N.E.I. Company was attacked whenever its position was regarded as weak. As soon as the number of troops in Macassar was decreased, or a squadron had again departed from the Macassar roadstead, the tone of the opponent's letters changed (1). The N.E.I. Company was repeatedly defeated

1. E.g., in the conflict between the Queen of Bone, Bataritodja, and Governor Smout, around 1730. "The impudent conduct of Bataritodja was primarily caused by the decrease of our troop strength at Macassar. There was urgent need for military reinforcements on Java"; see Eerdmans, p. 291.

[183] but never destroyed. That fits in with the Makassarese habit of thought. It is regarded as sufficient if the defeated opponent is the weaker one in the ensuing discussions. Whenever the N.E.I. Company was attacked, it always found support from those who did not like to see an increase in the attacker's power.

This state of affairs lasted until 1905. At that time the whole of South Celebes was subjected to the authority of the Dutch East Indies Government. It was only then that the boundaries of kingdoms, adat communities, and kampongs were fixed. These boundaries have subsequently been adhered to as much as possible.

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602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
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3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/," Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri', /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
114 great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status, nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

588 /219 cont./ Along with the request for consent, the wali is frequently asked whether he wants to receive the sunrang. And his answer that he does not wish to receive the sunrang must be interpreted in the same way as his statement respecting the consent he is asked for: he desires to deny [578] every tie with the woman who has made him siri'. She should be dead; for him she does not exist. At the nikka' the wife therefore receives the sunrang herself. Later, at the reconciliation, the sunrang is then offered to her kinsmen after it has been freshly prepared. Thereby one maintains the fiction that only then does the ordinary marriage take place.

Independent of all rank and status, the amount of the [583] sunrang at the marriage of a woman who has fled is always 20 reals (1).

●[183]

1. Of the total number of marriages (107) contracted over a period of time of one year (from January 7, 1948 to January 7, 1949) in Borongloe, there were 19 silariang marriages, or around 18 per cent. This percentage seems to be normal for Goa. In 1947, 1492 marriages were registered in the entire province of around 200,000 residents. Of these, 283 were silariang marriages. According to reports, the percentage [184] of silariang marriages is much higher in other districts, such as Djeneponto.

to tjera lima. The Buginese names are: tjitjing, dua, telu, eppe, lima, eneng, and pitu. They have declining degrees of royal blood. Between the tjera lima and the to detjeng, the uppers of the kampong, the line is vague. The latter can usually drag up a bit of royal blood somewhere. Down to tjera eppe (ampat) they are real nobles. 565

Then we got onto the subject of the present Radja. Andi said that he should not be telling me what he was, but that since I wanted to know he would be very frank. Formerly a person of only tjitjing rank could not be a radja. In the really old days this ruling was held to in one hundred per cent of the cases. The present Radja, however, is only of tjitjing rank. The exiled one is ninety per cent ana'matola. This latter fellow is evidently the Goa man who was put in by the Dutch almost twenty years ago, and whom they kicked out after the war for some reason. I get the impression that a lot of gossip goes on about this situation and that the present Radja is well advised to stick close to the Dutch.

Then we talked about the big households of the nobles. Andi's father has thirty in his house, and Andi himself has seventeen. He complains about his inability to support all of them on his salary. I asked him why he does not throw them out. He said that this just isn't done and that a man is proud to have a lot of people in his house. They are mainly nephews, nieces, young siblings and siblings-in-law, and old folks. When the young ones marry, they usually set up their own house. He then asked, "Who would cook, keep house, care for the children, etc?" I commented that one Dutch woman with a babu can do all of this, and he wilted, saying that upper women here just are not that way. Here again we see the entanglement of adat and the "right thing to do." 592 183

Andi said that the radja has many slaves. This is true of other nobles too. There are two kinds of slaves: (1) Those who freely admit that they are slaves, especially if they are slaves of real uppers, because they are usually proud of their masters. Of these there are not so many. (2) Those who get angry when their low origin is mentioned. 567

Thierens said that the Christian leader Denzo in Soppeng is being sent away. Despite his success in converting, Thierens continued, Denzo has been disgraced, because it was discovered that he was loose with women and that he has a girl in every kampong. Thus he has spoiled things 797 831

563 /59 cont. / Many young colonists return to the homeland
582 in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

563 In addition the small percentage of silariang marriages
583 is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find silariang so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of silariang marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

342 The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on
563 lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the
184 Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

186 Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the com-
563 mon language constitutes a unifying element for these colonists.

621 The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

778 /63 cont./ The Parappo
796 The parappo belongs to the essential part of what is offered to the ancestors. The word means: "to offer or give something to a superior." The parappo is an insignificant-looking little bundle of pisang leaves of about the size of one or two fists full. Its contents seems to consist of betel leaves folded in various ways. Each way of folding has its proper name (for instance: poto, tontong lebong, putu rabing, kalomping). A little piece of areca nut and a very small amount of lime (paleo) goes with every betel leaf. The number of these leaves varies according to status. In the Prince of Goa's kin group the number 9 forms the basis of the parappo (1).

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[801]

1. By the number that forms the basis of the parappo is meant that a parappo consists in one case of 4 poto, 4 kalomping, etc., and in another case of 6 poto, 6 kalomping, etc.

while in the kin group of the head of the adat community it is 7. /64/ In that of kampong people, the numbers 7, 6, 5, and 4 occur.

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A number of further differences should be pointed out which vary with the related group. At the ritual on the sawah, the number of leaves in some groups is a little smaller than at a wedding or other kin group feast. Four and 6 respectively were the numbers in the Kapala group in Bontoramba. In a few groups of relatives a further distinction was observed between boys and girls. If the number of leaves for a boy is 6, then it is 7 for a girl (1). A distinction

1. These numbers were observed at a number of birthday festivals.

612 /64 cont./ is likewise made between the offering presented
778 to the ancestors in the attic and that which -- on the occasion
184 of the same festival -- is delivered into the water. At a
796 festival in the Kapala group the numbers were 6 and 7 respectively.

The Rojong Song

533 The rojong song constitutes another significant element
796 of the ritual. Old women hum the sounds unintelligibly and monotonously; the exact words frequently are not known to them. This song occurs at wedding feasts and other important solemnities in the related group, and it is coupled with the beating of drums (ganrang). The rojong song recorded in Borongloë before the war has disappeared. The woman who gave it to me was overcome by all kinds of misfortune. She was not prepared to repeat it to me.

Food Taboos

612 In a single related group there is awareness, however
262 feeble, that the members of the group may not eat a certain animal (2). In Goa it is still generally known, perhaps,

2. Dr. Chr. Nooteboom drew my attention to this phenomenon for the first time in 1939.

that the members of the karaëng group (the nobility) may not eat the meat of the white buffalo.

In the related group of the head of the Borongloë adat community the realization faintly continues that a certain type of eel may not be eaten. To explain this the following
773 story is told: A woman who had violated a prohibition was
612 punished for this with the task of carrying water in a basket
262 from the river to a certain place. The basket, however, did

773/64 cont. / not hold /65/ water. An eel appeared which curled
612 up inside it and in this way closed off the seams of the basket
262 with the slime of its skin, and in that way the woman was able to carry out her task. Out of gratitude she there upon vowed that she and her descendants would not eat the eel and its descendants.

[484] However, neither in the Kapala group nor in any of the other groups in Bontoramba were people able to produce such a story. Nor were they able to name a certain animal that a number of relatives were prohibited from eating.

Pantasa'

778 In the attics of Makassarese houses one frequently finds
769 a pantasa' (literally, "bedstead"). This is a little house on posts, from 70 to 100 centimeters tall, hung with mosquito netting. It has a small entrance going up to the front of the house (sapana) such as only the nobility possesses. In this little house one can see a small pillow and a little mat.

The care of these pantasa' primarily involves having a candle burn by its side every Thursday evening at sundown (malang Djuma') and always having ready a glass filled with water, a little bowl with betel and areca nuts, and a cup of water for washing one's hands, such as is customary at every meal. It is believed that the ancestors (pattautoaang) descend here. Therefore, care is taken at all times to leave whatever is customarily presented to an honored guest.

In or near these pantasa' is to be found a small closed basket (baku paballe, literally, "medicine basket"). A number of objects belonging to the ritual are kept in it. Next to the pantasa' one finds, in some cases, a large open basket (salosso), where the larger ritual objects are kept.

[648] It is told that formerly almost all the houses had their pantasa', but that in 1905 the Dutch troops destroyed a great number of them because they were used in blood sacrifices, which always had renewed opposition as a result. It is further

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

Young women and men often evade each other
571 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
626 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
834 of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
177 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
834 new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

562 593 /175 cont./ buy clothes, then the latter acts according to her own wishes. At such times the man becomes angry, but he soon comes to accept the situation with the sigh that, after all, these are only unimportant matters. Questions involving siri' are, in his opinion, ultimately the important points, and accordingly he makes sure that these continue to be under his jurisdiction.

585 184 /176/ No two wedding festivals are alike. The respective groups of relatives each have their peculiarities which find expression in details of the ritual. Within one and the same related group, each of the leading personalities leave their stamp both upon the organization of the entire festival, as well as upon the execution of the individual rituals. They show thereby that they can not only follow existing rituals, but also that they can add new rituals to these already existing.

Whoever has gone through several wedding festivals will have been struck by the great differences between them, as well as by the many traits they have in common. In the description that follows here of a number of subelements of the wedding ritual, I have followed, in the main, the notes that I took down at a single festival. In this case I am not striving for completeness. Otherwise the ritual would have had to be described much more fully. Behind each detail there again loom new ones.

582 /206 cont./ The marriage of an oldest son in a family to the oldest daughter of another is regarded as unfavorable (1), even if both are cousins of the sixth degree, for instance.

1. Makassarese: Ulua siagang ulua nabambang.

/207/ If a couple is married, the marriage of the husband's brother to a sister of his wife is considered unfavorable. This is called "piling up bamboos" (tambung palapa). This [565 184] marriage occurred in the karaeng group of relatives. The marriage partners were first cousins, probably a sign of a limited choice of marriage partners. It is unclear whether this marriage was also regarded as unfavorable by karaeng.

When a couple is married, the marriage of his sister to a brother of the wife is considered unfavorable. This is called "the closing of the crossbeam" (sisuluru palangga). Instances of this in Borongloë are unknown to me.

The marriage of a man to the sister of his wife is forbidden. This prohibition is based upon Moslem law (1).

1. See T.W. Juynboll, Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet volgens de leer der Sjâfi'itische school /Guide to the Knowledge of the Mohammedan Way according to the Dogma of the Shafiite School/, third edition, 1925, p. 185.

The marriage of a man and woman who as children were nursed by the same woman is regarded as prohibited in some cases. The prohibition is based upon Moslem dogma (1).

1. Ibid.

582 /207 cont./ Suckling kinship is thought to exist where a child under two years of age has been nursed by a woman five times to its full satisfaction. Among the Makassarese, nursing 853 by the mother occurs at irregular times. If the child so much 582 as makes a sound, it is put to the breast. If the mother does not have enough milk, she is helped out. Preferably a sister or a cousin (samposikali) of the mother takes the child to her breast. Under these conditions it is difficult to prove that a young man or a young woman some twenty years before were both nursed by one and the same woman. Among religious families in the city of Macassar, women take care that they do not nurse a child of a sister or cousin lest difficulties arise later when they arrange marriages. In one of these kin groups, a marriage did not go through even though preparations were far advanced, because the suspicion had been uttered that bride and bridegroom had both been nursed by the bridegroom's mother. The young man was then married to a younger sister of the bride. /208/ In Borongloë nothing was noticed by me [184] of the awareness of this marriage prohibition based upon suckling kinship (1).

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1. A mother of several children whose milk had continued to flow frequently nursed her grandchildren of approximately the same age as her youngest children. The nipple of an old woman who no longer produced any milk was used by the recently born child of her daughter as a pacifier. When a woman is pregnant (when the menstruation has stopped for several months),

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588 /219 cont./ Along with the request for consent, the wali is frequently asked whether he wants to receive the sunrang. And his answer that he does not wish to receive the sunrang must be interpreted in the same way as his statement respecting the consent he is asked for: he desires to deny [578] every tie with the woman who has made him siri'. She should be dead; for him she does not exist. At the nikka' the wife therefore receives the sunrang herself. Later, at the reconciliation, the sunrang is then offered to her kinsmen after it has been freshly prepared. Thereby one maintains the fiction that only then does the ordinary marriage take place.

Independent of all rank and status, the amount of the [583] sunrang at the marriage of a woman who has fled is always 20 reals (1).

[183]

1. Of the total number of marriages (107) contracted over a period of time of one year (from January 7, 1948 to January 7, 1949) in Borongloe, there were 19 silariang marriages, or around 18 per cent. This percentage seems to be normal for Goa. In 1947, 1492 marriages were registered in the entire province of around 200,000 residents. Of these, 283 were silariang marriages. According to reports, the percentage of silariang marriages is much higher in other districts, such as Djeneponto.

[184]

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo kil-
771 lings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
184 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God]and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
●184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
563 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
161 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly
582 had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

I had many talks at random, especially with Thierens. He 181
is willing to work, but says it is only toward a dim future. The
police official (Aru Pontjeng) and his son (Aru Matjege, head
of the local government) especially, see that things are not
good. Everything is inefficient and childish. I met the former
one day, and at once he asked my impression. I dodged his
question and he said at least everyone eats here. I said yes,
but many were slaves. He was shocked, but saw my point,
I will talk with him again. I told Thierens that questions, es-
pecially of the kampong folk and even of Andi and the Sulewa-
tang, showed that the people were ripe for economic education.
They are puzzled. And they take to such talk. Thierens said
that they get scared, and agreed that they go on governmental
business trips in order to get away from problems. The truth 423
is, it is too poor a land. Then too, it is feudal. Thierens told 566
me a secret. I had seen private fish ponds belonging to the
Arumpone in Palette, near the sea. He told me that near that
place entire kampongs are working in the service of the arum-
pone. It is quite medieval. But perhaps the only way to oper-
ate this place is to keep serfs and slaves. At least they eat.
But what hope is there for a rise of standards? For example, 653
I asked how they built roads and schools. Andi said heeren- 434
dienst [literally 'master's service']. I then said that if that
were true, how would they pay for the increasing number of
teachers. For that they would need money too. I said that they
had rice, maize, and men--and that is all. The answer I do
not know. As Thierens said, for the past forty years they have 185
grown more and more used to Western administration. Now, 434
they must keep things up to Western standards of speed and ef-
ficiency. They have neither, but they do have even grander
ideas than the Dutch gave them concerning the future. They try
to reach outward to a level of speed approximating that which
the Dutch represented, and so forth. Instead they become dizzy.
They are desperate. And even with the help of the Dutch (and
Pontjeng said right away that they co-operate with the Dutch),
how can they pay the Dutch and give them enough security in-
ducement unless they have the money. In all, it is a non-pay-
ing daerah, and my guess is that the whole of East Indonesia is
a non-paying negara. The only way out seems to be to get Java
and Sumatra, and perhaps, in part, Borneo, to pay the bills;
or to slip into a peasant economy and drop all ideas of grandeur
and of a great and prosperous future with schools, etc.

Tomorrow, August 30, 1949, I am leaving for Makassar. 000

563 /59 cont./ Many young colonists return to the homeland
582 in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

563 In addition the small percentage of silariang marriages
583 is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find silariang so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of silariang marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

342 The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on
563 lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong
184 residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

186 Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the com-
563 mon language constitutes a unifying element for these
621 colonists.

The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

186 /61 cont./ but the majority are only interested in owning
563 land back in the homeland.

Language and common residence strengthen, at least for the time being, the integration of the colonists.

The Worship Community

612 The Makassarese related group was defined as a group of
769 relatives whose members worship their ancestors at places and times designated for this purpose.

Participation in ancestor worship is linked to kinship. For instance, one whose grandparents were not related to each other, and whose two pairs of grandparents were not related to each other either, belongs to four different groups of relatives and may participate in the ancestor worship of all four different groups. In practice, an individual participates primarily in the worship of the group with which he lives. But he may also share in that of his kinsmen, even if he does
[557] not have daily contact with them. His choice in this is determined to a great degree by the social standing of these kinsmen. There is a demonstrable preference among people to turn to the prominent members of the related group in ritual matters.

769 Here we will first describe the most significant aspects of the ritual. Subsequently, we will make comparisons with the ornament ritual.

Essentials of the Ritual

In spite of local differences and despite personal viewpoints of the person carrying out the ritual, the pinati (1), there is

1. See pp. 82, 83.

a high degree of uniformity in the ritual prescriptions. A number of elements are to be found everywhere, such as rice, oil, incense, and water. Some actions /62/ are carried

834
585 /197 cont./ content, they have the purpose of teaching the
521 parties the attitude which they must adopt toward each other.

834 If one compares the crying, passive Makassarese bride
who clearly demonstrates her aversion to her husband, with
585 the happy, beaming Dutch bride who looks up to her bride-
186 groom with full confidence, it is clear that every opportunity for misunderstandings is present. Then the criticism of an old Makassarese who had attended the wedding reception of a Dutch couple and had seen how man and wife finally were driven off together in a car amidst the cheers of the reception guests becomes comprehensible. In all these expressions on the part of the woman, he merely saw a display of her feelings of desire for her husband, and he found this quite indecent.

The fact of their leaving together signified to him that there was nothing more to prevent this man from giving in to his sexual desires. From the bride's conduct it seemed to him all too clear that the bridegroom would not have to make any effort to gain the bride for himself. The effort, tact, and considerateness displayed on this occasion are, to the Makassarese, the essence of the relationship between man and wife. Based on what he observed, this old man could only conclude that what was most important for him, was lacking among the Dutch.

177 Now the difficulties which arose at /198/ the marriage of
585 a young Makassarese man of high nobility to a girl from one of the prominent Makassarese Indo-European families also become understandable. In her house the atmosphere, dress, and so forth was to be European, and in his house it was to be Makassarese. This had been agreed upon beforehand by both families. In her house, therefore, the bridegroom was dressed in a tuxedo, and she was dressed in white with a short train. He was the gay, energetic bridegroom, and she the radiant

there is much news exchange carried on in the pasar. Most 203
people, they said, are not much interested in any news except that which applies to local affairs.

Ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world: 829
there is little good geographical knowledge to be had except in 186
the school. This is the big thing here.' They saw my point when I told them about van Baal's argument that children lose pride when they see that Goa is little and unimportant, while their fathers think of it as the navel of the world and can thus feel that they belong to a great place. They seemed a bit puzzled and distressed. As for ideas regarding the population of Indonesia and the world, they said that maybe ten individuals knew the population of Indonesia (though it is being spread by the Ministry of Information in propaganda). As for the population of the world, Saleh said he did not know this, and that no one else in the village did. He said that there was plenty of local patriotism.

Contact relations with other villages and neighborhoods: Of this there is not much yet, but they said that the old enmity against the Buginese is now gone. They could tell me nothing regarding any other enmities. However, they admitted that in higher political circles rivalry probably persists. We talked about the arrest of the Goa and Bone royalty and they are not sore about this; indeed, they merely said that they had no knowledge of these things. They added that they could not understand why the Dutch took the Goa radja because he is a quiet man who sat in the palace all the time reading kitab. They have a feeling for justice, but feel so ignorant and get so little news that they don't even try to comprehend why things like that happen.

Modern dancing: I remarked that there was plenty of 177
modern dancing in the Philippines. They said that it was 535
simply non-existent here, and that seems to be the case. 609
This is a real difference. They said that the people merely like to look at it. They evidently meant the staring at European dancing couples which I have observed. But tolerance stands out all over. There is no criticism of the "wickedness" of alien customs, etc. There is merely an attitude of "that is the way it is."

Flores: The following information was obtained from the 000
Secretary of the Cultureel Centrum here. His name is van der Wetering. This Cultureel Centrum here is a branch of a private organization in Amsterdam which gets a subsidy from the East Indonesian government. Van der Wetering said that the Catholic Mission has Flores, the Protestant

House status marks: little is known about the rules con- 342
cerned with the number of piles, but much is known about 114
the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written 554
in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me 565
say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now
too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew 773
most of the names and events in the legends of origin, includ- 591
ing the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose.

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline 177
in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the paka- 535
rena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices 527
came in. For example, one of the men said that they were 574
having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between 186
Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite 173
ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is 778
only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language 197
spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much 241
of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and 262
it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there
203 are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The
205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

the others did not. They said that relatively few, except 203
school children (they are always mentioned as exceptions) 186
could draw a map of Celebes, Indonesia, and the world. But 829
some of them have seen maps in the schools.

As for the population of Indonesia, the Kepala kampong could tell me nothing, but Andi and the teacher knew something about this. This was also true with most of the others, except for a few school children; that is, they do not know even approximate figures for Indonesia at large. As for the population of the world no one had any ideas. However, Andi knew that China was largest, and India next largest. They were impressed that Indonesia is the seventh largest country in population in the world. Later I found out that the Sulewatang has quite an extensive knowledge of international relations and of the world. And Andi knew the capitols of Ireland, Finland and other countries. As for local patriotism, Andi said there was no real 186
pride in Bone. They are not sombong [arrogant, conceited, 181
presumptuous], but have hormat [honor, respect, distinction]. And adat is everything. I asked about the big speeches of loyalty formerly made by chiefs going to war. I also asked, in this connection, about the jumping and kris waving. Andi said that this was just adat. He keeps on saying that there is nothing here except adat and that the people are backward. He seems disgusted at times. He said they simply do not progress, and seems to doubt that they ever will. As for rela- 578
tions with other villages and neighborhoods or areas, there is 721
exceedingly little. Formerly something along this line could be said about friendly or warlike relationships with Wadjo, Goa, and so forth. Nothing, however, is left of this. As for war, they can not carry on their former practices because the Dutch took their weapons.

Bukaka, September 8, 1949. Second day: The people here 157
know very little even about local historical events. This re- 114
minds me of Abdul Radjab, the Minangkabau, who is gathering local tales in Makale for Balai Pustaka. He was here once and said that he thought that he could get plenty of material in Wadjo, but after long talks with the important people who said it would be all right, he did not succeed in getting even one story. In the Toradja country, he got plenty, and even in Paloppo (but it is a part of Toradja). It is his idea, that the Buginese are helpless and hopeless. He said that a psychologist should study them. They are so bound up with fear and backwardness that there seems to be nothing here. He later took a bus for Tanette but it stopped at Balannipa which is twenty-five kilometers short. The driver said "all out", even though he and the others objected. However, the driver

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

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829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
563 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
161 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly
582 had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
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186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate. One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese this

789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier, and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage between higher women and lower men. To compensate for this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
●186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Tomarilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something between the states. There are frequent marriages in the noble class between the states, and thus it is something like the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I 517
got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The 181
Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did 167
not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if 186
he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is 178
general and there is not much to say. The death punishment 681
is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even 796
included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric 805
systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They [241]
knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: 574
I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and 852
two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of [562]
men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear
part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much 176
new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus 874
chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third 401
grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from 403
bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

Gorontalo OG4 Batak OD5
Ambon OH4 Makassar OG6
Ngadja OC9
Sundanese OE7

[182 cont.]

d. General Remarks about the Batak, Lampong, Redjang, Makassarese, and Buginese Literature

I 538 Finally, we shall give some general remarks about the literature of the other peoples of the archipelago. First, however, we shall briefly discuss the present state of our knowledge of their languages and the way we learned about them. We need not waste many words in pointing out that especially during recent years great progress has been made. One only has to look at the literature on the Indies of 30 years ago to learn that practically nothing was known on the subject. For that matter, as we learned above, not much more was known of Javanese.

S N M B

I 114 19 We owe thanks for this knowledge, first, to the efforts of the Netherlands Bible Society of Amsterdam and to the various missionary societies active in the Indies. The first-mentioned society in particular has sent many a scholar to the Indies to study the as yet inaccessible languages. For example, Dr. van der Tuuk worked on the Batak language and has published a grammar, four volumes of chrestomathy, and a dictionary of it. Dr. B. F. Matthes has performed a similar service for the languages of southern Celebes and has prepared Makassarese and Buginese dictionaries, grammars, and anthologies. Likewise, Dr. Hardeland studied Dajak [Dyak], especially the language of the Olo Ngadju, which gave us a Grammatik and Wörterbuch [dictionary]. The study of Sundanese [183] was undertaken by the Bible Society, but the results were less satisfactory because their representative, Dr. Engelmann, died before his task was completed.

G 114 19 No less commendable in this respect were the efforts of the Netherlands Missionary Society of Rotterdam. Their missionaries on northern Celebes among the Minahasa made the languages of the Alfoer accessible. (Among these missionaries, the name of N. Ph. Wilken, the father of the late Professor Wilken, must not go unmentioned.) No less valuable were their

A 114 19 services with regard to the languages of the Ambon Islands, particularly the study of the various dialects, the so-called bĕhasa

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123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
181 schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this point. I said that they needed business education, and they saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kampong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it. In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told them about the Javanese using these without giving up Mohammedanism, and although they could see the point they responded in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over Dutch because it is an international language. They said that all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can understand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but

368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case.

157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku — My implanted, straight flowers,

539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku — My blooming tjampaga flowers.

Natjiniku ianu — When N. N. sees me

Nadjandjangku mole mole. — He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that
157 a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in
182 men are at the same time those which they need for success in striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.

554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

[177 192]

1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het," /"an 'it' person." -- Ed./.

2: Wilken--176 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Makassar OG6
Lombok OF12
Javanese OE5

[141 cont.]

I 192 Generally speaking, these languages are characterized by a peculiar paucity of words to express the general, whereas they have a wealth of words to indicate the particular. This is merely a consequence of the stage of development of the Malay-Polynesian, for whom the general has no meaning and who does not see the general in the particular and summarize the general in general terms. He therefore only stamps the various particulars with various designations. To give only a single example: no Malayo-Polynesian has [142] a general word for "to carry," but has particular designations for "to carry over the shoulder," "to carry on the back," "to carry on the head, on the hand, on the arm, in the hands, by hand"; the Alfoer of the Minahasa has about 19 different expressions for this. The Batak and other languages have no general word for "monkey" and indicate each kind of monkey by its particular name. This does not alter the fact that these particular words were often derived originally from general words (1). In Makassarese, for example, "chicken"

MK [192]

1. Van der Tuuk, Tijdschrift v. Ind. T. L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, pp. 149-150.

is djangang, derived from the general term djangang-djangang = bird, and panne-panne, "earthenware, porcelain," from panne = plate (2). We find the same in Buginese, where "chicken" is

2. Van der Tuuk, Bataksch Woordenb. see pinggan.

L [192] manu, derived from manu-manu, "bird," in Sasak (Lombok), in which it is manok, derived from manokan, "bird," and in Batak where it is called manuk (3). It is self-evident that in this respect

3. Van der Tuuk, ibid., see manuk.

I J 192 one language is more highly developed than another, but it is still commonly the rule that there is no term for the general.

J I 192 [142 cont.]

whereas there is one for the particular. The Malayan languages are thus rich in the latter, but poor in the former. This holds especially for Javanese.

When one examines the stock of words of the Malayan languages, it is seen that a great many words have been borrowed from other languages, three in particular, Old Indic, Sanskrit, and Arabic.

J I 192 177 Sanskrit has had the greatest influence on the languages of the archipelago (4), which is not surprising since the Malayan

4. Crawfurd, Indian Archipelago, Vol. II, p. 106 ff. Crawfurd, Malay Grammar, dissertation, XLVII. Maxwell, Malay Language, p. 8, note.

peoples received their first civilization from the Indians. They received their script, their literature, and even their religion, from the Hindus. Only the Javanese and Malayan words, however, were borrowed directly from the [143] Hindus, and therefore the greatest number of these words is found in these languages.

B M L-R 192 197 The other languages of the archipelago, such as Batak, Dajak, Makassarese, and Buginese, acquired them indirectly through the Javanese and Malays. As regards Batak, Dr. van Tuuk has proved that the Sanskrit words in that language were brought in by Malayan peoples, because, as their form shows, they were first altered in accordance with the phonetic laws of the Malayan language (1). With reference to Makassarese

1. Van der Tuuk, Tobasche Spraakkunst, Introduction, VI.

and Buginese, Dr. Matthes says that the Sanskrit words in them, which are few in number, came in through Javanese and

B [143 cont.]
MK Malays (2). The same holds for the Lampong language (3).
LR
192
177

2. Matthes, Makassaarsche Spraakkunst, Introduction, IX. Matthes, Boegineesche Spraakkunst, Introduction, VII.

3. Van der Tuuk, Tijdschr. v. Ind. T. L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, p. 150.

I The eastern languages contain hardly any Sanskrit words;
J Dajak has even fewer. Those that occur in the former were
B introduced by the Malays. In the second place, the Malayan
192 languages borrowed many words from the Arabic; in this respect, too, Malay and Javanese stand at the top. Most of these words refer to religion and law; the others have been adopted out of sympathy with the language that the natives consider holy. Arabic words also occur in the other languages, especially in those of peoples who embraced Islam, hence in Makassarese and Buginese.

I Besides Sanskrit and Arabic (4), the languages of the
192

4. De Clercq, Het Maleisch der Molukken [The Malayan of the Moluccas], pp. 1-60.

archipelago have also borrowed words from the Chinese, very few, however, Portuguese (5), and Dutch. The latter, of

Mal. 5. Malagasy borrowed many words from
[192] the Persian, Van der Tuuk, Vier Maleische Vertellingen [Four Malayan Stories], Note XII.

course, are mainly words connected with administration. In general, however, the words borrowed from Dutch are relatively few in number, which is really surprising [144] because one

[144 cont.]

I 192 would have expected that the language of the rulers would have found greater acceptance. Dr. Matthes, who ascertained the small number of Dutch words, or European words in general, in MK Makassarese and Buginese, says that this perhaps can be ascribed [192] to the fact that the Makassarese and Buginese entertain very little sympathy for the European languages.

MI I 192 197 Besides the foreign languages belonging to entirely different language stocks, Sanskrit, Arabic, Chinese, and the European languages, Dutch, Portuguese, and English, the Malayan languages have mutually adopted many words from one another, concerning which, however, one must always keep in mind the linguistic relationship. In the first place, Malay has contributed to the wealth of words of most of the languages of the archipelago. This is not surprising. The Malays have spread over the whole archipelago, and foreigners, such as Arabs, Chinese, and Europeans, learned their language for everyday intercourse, an example which was followed by other peoples in maintaining their relations with the coastal towns (1). Malay

1. Graafland, de Minahassa, Vol. II, p. 35.

is thus the "lingua franca" of the archipelago.

The native, Alfoer, Batak, Dajak, etc., regards Malay as the respectable language, as the mark of higher civilization (2),

2. Meded. v. w. het Ned. Zend. Gen., Vol. XV, p. 16.

ranks it above his mother tongue, and likes to use it; even though he does not know much Malay, he greatly enjoys using I those words and expressions with which he is familiar. Among 192 the peoples who have embraced Islam, religion plays a definite 197 role in this because Malay is the foremost language of the 779 Mohammedan people of the archipelago. The new converts more

2: Wilken--175 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Malagasy FY2
Makassar OG6

Batak OD5
Javanese OE5
Gorontalo OE4
Borneo OC1
Malays AN5

Mal.
MI
Br
Bt
J
G
193

[140 cont.]
obsolete) (1), and Malagasy.

1. Kern, "Oorkonde van Çaka [Document of Çaka]," Bijdragen, 4th series, Vol. X, p. 83.

G
Br
Bt
MI
I
193

On the other hand, the number of prefixes and suffixes is much larger and there is a great similarity between those used in the various languages. For example, ma or me, closed by a nasal sound, is used [141] in practically all the languages to form active verbs. It is also common to change the m of the prefix ma or me to a p to form substantives with active signification (nomina agentis), likewise pa to form causatives in Makassarese, Buginese, Batak, Dajak, Tagalog, Alfoer of the Minahasa, etc.

The prefixes and suffixes, as was said above, give nuances of meaning to the stem words, often very fine ones. In Tagalog in particular, such an elaborate system has been developed that this language, with regard to the wealth of grammatical forms, stands at the top of the Malayan languages. It is followed by Batak and the Alfoer of the Minahasa, which in this respect are quite similar to Tagalog. After Batak and the Alfoer of the Minahasa, Javanese and Malagasy come next in this respect (1).

J
Mal.
[193]

1. Van der Tuuk, Outlines of a Grammar of the Malagasy Language, pp. 6-7.

I
193

With this we have finished our discussion of the characteristics of the languages of the Malay Archipelago, at least the grammatical part. Naturally we had to limit ourselves to a few generalities, because it was not our intention to give a comparative survey of the grammatical forms in the various languages but only to outline the peculiar features of the whole language family. Finally, we shall make a few remarks about the nature and character of the Malayan languages in general.

[136 cont.]

Mn 194 These consonants are primarily k, t, and p. [137] The preceding vowel, too, however, does not always remain unchanged; for example, an a preceding t becomes è, and when it precedes p, it becomes o; thus, amat, "much," becomes amè, sarap, "fine dust, motes," becomes saro, etc. We need not summarize the form changes that the other vowels undergo in the same way as the a. We are only concerned here with the final consonant. By dropping the final consonants k, t, and p, the last syllable becomes an open one. It is not completely open, however, because it is closed in a way by making the vowel that precedes the final consonant, or the vowel that replaces or lengthens it, very short, swallowing it, as it were (1).

1. Ind. Gids, 1881, Vol. I, p. 764.

Dr. van der Tuuk looks at it this way, that the final consonant is replaced by a half-pronounced, a swallowed k, which he wants to represent by q, thus amèq, anaq, saroq.

The s likewise is not pronounced by the Minangkabau, but is replaced by a softly aspirated h, whereby the preceding vowel undergoes change in certain cases; for example, the a becomes è, thus amas = gold, amèh, bětis = shinbone, batèh. The r and l are not heard at all, or, according to this informant, they are changed into a softly rolled r, thus běsar = large, basa, akal = ruse, aka. Only the nasals remain as final letters, for example, kěring = dry, [illegible]riěng. As final letters, apart from the words ending in vowels, there are only the h, the softly rolled r, the half-swallowed k, and the nasal.

Mn MK 194 We find something similar among the Makassarese and Buginese, but to an even greater extent. When we compare Makassarese and Buginese with the related languages in the archipelago, we see that the identical words that end in a consonant in the latter languages do not have this consonant in the former. In the first place, the Makassarese and Buginese, like the Minangkabau Malays, have dropped the pronunciation

MK [137 cont.]
MN of the k, t, and p, and consequently that of the g, d, and b, at
194 the end of a word. [138] They are simply omitted, thus: langit = sky, langi; atap = roof covering, âta; anak = child, ana. Here, too, the last syllable is open, but again it is closed in a way by the peculiar pronunciation of the vowel, which falls off. Dr. Matthes says this is extremely difficult for an European, because it is done by partly blowing the breath out and then slightly breathing in again. Mr. Matthes proposes to indicate this peculiar pronunciation by a small vertical mark over the final vowel, thus langi, atá, ânâ. Mr. van der Tuuk, however, regards this pronunciation, as we have seen, as a swallowed k and wants to write langiq, âtaq, and ânaq. Furthermore, Dr. Matthes makes a distinction between soft and hard final consonants.

MK The Makassarese and Buginese also avoid the l, r, and s,
194 in their pronunciation, for example: tutur = to talk, tutu; guntur = thunder, guntu; lĕpas = loose, lapa. Often, they add a vowel as an ending following the r, l, and s in order to avoid pronouncing them at the end, for example: ipar = îparâ (or îparâq); bĕras = rice, bĕrasâ; bijar = to permit, bijarâ; lĕpas = loose, lĕpasâ; guntur = thunder, gunturu; bĕdil = gun, badilî. Again, only the nasals are retained, but here, too, there is some limitation. In words that end in m or n in the related languages, the letters are changed to ng in Makassarese and Buginese, thus: djam = shh! = djang; ringan = light, rîngang. To summarize, the following is evident: 1. in comparing the Makassarese and Buginese languages with the related languages of the archipelago, we see that the words that are identical and end in k, t, or p in the other languages occur in these without the k, t, or p, but that the preceding vowel, which is then open, is pronounced more or less closed; 2. that words ending in r, l, and s in the other languages occur sometimes in Makassarese and Buginese without the r, l, or s, but in most cases the r, l, and s have been retained and are followed by a vowel, which likewise is pronounced more or less closed; finally, that the words ending in a nasal sound in related languages always have the gutteral-nasal

Javanese OE5 Makassar OG6
Batak OD5 Minangkabau OD12
Nias OD11
Malagasy FY2

[138 cont.]

MK 194 sound ng in Makassarese. This limitation on the use of the final consonant holds for all words, even [139] for those that are exclusively Makassarese or Buginese.

MK Mn 194 The Minangkabau language, and even more Makassarese and Buginese, thus have only a few consonants as final letters: Minangkabau has the h as a softly rolled r, the Buginese and Makassarese the gutteral nasal sound ng, and both have the peculiar, more or less articulated vowel, the half-swallowed k of Dr. van der Tuuk. We can call these languages semi-vocalic languages. There are only two definitely vocalic languages, Mal. N [194] languages that only have words ending in vowels, in the Malayan branch, Malagasy and Niassan. There may be more, but at the moment only these two are known. Niassan is still too little known for us to understand how the vocalism developed in it. In Malagasy, however, by comparing it with related languages, we see how the identical words that end in a consonant in the principal languages occur in Malagasy without this consonant or it is followed by a consonant [sic], for example: tandjung = corner, tangu; minjak = oil, mina; mipis = thin, mifi; anak = child, ganaka; masak = ripe, masaka; tahun = year, tauna, etc. Thus, we have a phenomenon here analogous to the Makassarese and Buginese languages, namely, the addition of a vowel after the final consonant as a means of making a word vocalic.

I 194 The remaining languages of the archipelago, Malay, Javanese, Batak, Dajak, Tagalog, Bisayan and other Philippine languages, the Alfoer of the Minahasa, etc., have as many consonants as vowels for the final letter of words. In Javanese, for J 194 212 example, all the consonants can be final letters, except the semivowels w and j, the palatal letters ꦗ tj and ꦢ dj and the lingual letters ꦣ d and ꦠ t; in Malay, too, all except the ج dj چ tj and ڽ nj, besides ڠ ng, but in Batak Bt I 194 again only the hard consonants k, t, and p, the nasal ng, n, and m, and the trills r and l, and in the Dairic specifically the h

I [153 cont.]
J missions to Bali, Sumatra, and various parts of Java. He
212 interpreted a number of inscriptions more or less accurately, on
114 which other later scholars could build further. Among others, these were Dr. Cohen Stuart, Dr. van Limburg Brouwer, and Mr. Holle. In 1882 the last-mentioned published a table of old and new Malayan alphabets. Malayan paleography, however, owes its greatest debt to Professor Kern of Leiden. He not only subjected the work of his predecessors, particularly that of Friedrich, to thorough criticism and thereby made many corrections, but he himself deciphered a number of inscriptions, some of them of the utmost importance. We want to call attention to the one of Pelarang, Kutei (southeast Borneo), in particular. Although the inscription on this stone does not bear a date, according to Professor Kern it cannot be later than the fifth century, an opinion based primarily on the form of the characters. This specimen is not only important for paleography but also for history, since it shows how early Hindu civilization was flourishing in Kutei. The oldest inscription, bearing the date 654 Çaka = 732 A.D., was found on Java. It is in Sanskrit and was deciphered by Professor Kern.

The script, at least of the old inscriptions, at first sight shows little similarity to any present-day script. Nevertheless some connection exists between the old and the new script, but more about this later.

All the present forms of alphabetic writing mutually show some strongly pronounced features. To illustrate this with a few examples, they all have one important point in common,
J [154] that the vowel a is inherent in each consonant, whereas
MK the other vowels are indicated by additional signs.
B

The consonants are very peculiarly called "mother of the
212 script"; the vowels, "children of the script." In Batak these
194 names are ina ni surat, anak ni surat; in Makassarese, anrong lontârâ and ana lontârâ; in Buginese, indo surâ and ana surâ.

If a word ends in a consonant, then the a sound is taken from the consonant by a special sign, the "vowel killer." In

J M B 212 194

[154 cont.]
Javanese, for example, it is the ꦤ, the patèn Ng., or pangkon Kr. Such a sign, however, is lacking in Makassarese and Buginese, because both languages, as we have seen, are semi-vocalic, that is, they have only a single consonant as a final letter of a word and that is ng. If the words do not end in ng, but in a vowel, then in some cases this is pronounced partially closed. In any case, since consonants do not occur as final letters in the languages named, a sign like the patèn is unnecessary. For instance, one cannot know by looking at kapasă = to hit, to touch, whether it should be pronounced with the nasal at the end, like kapasang, which could very well be the case; however, it would then have no meaning. In this respect, the Makassarese and Buginese languages are somewhat incomplete. The languages of the Philippines show this even more. They are completely consonantal, like Javanese, Batak, etc. Inasmuch as most of the consonants can be final letters. There is no patèn in them, however, the final consonant is simply not written and one has to guess at them. For example, the Bisayan word for cotton is gapas, but it is written in the native characters as gapa, without sa = s. While the script of Bisayan, Tagalog, etc. is very incomplete in this respect, it is also incomplete concerning the vowel signs. The scripts have only two such signs, a point above and a point below the letter, the former for the i and e, the latter for o and u. Apart from these two exceptions, however, one can say that the alphabetic writing of the archipelago can express fully what they are supposed to express. [155] One never need stand in doubt, as is the case for the non-vocalized Arabic, about how to pronounce the words as far as vowels are concerned.

R-L [212 194]

There is a drawback, however, in the custom of not writing the words separately, but linked together, which often makes reading very difficult. This is done not only by the Batak, the Redjang, and the Lampong, but also by the Javanese.

I 212 175

Besides these points of similarity, we encounter others, in particular those shown by the form of the letters. "Although

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampong wears one. However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it. In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles. Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem to be alternates of all sorts. They call me pa'ika tuan, as I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone. (This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Makassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was formerly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when approaching their superiors or when passing them. They squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with them. They wait until they are asked a question. And every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the Kepala kampong meets me or says goodbye he holds our right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very best place. The Kapala kampong and other common guests sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked the Kepala kampong who was waiting in the car to come onto the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

/113 cont./
Slaves (ata)

567 Matthes translates the term ata by "slave," "servant,"
571 "subject." This translation is still correct, even today.
196 When the Prince of Goa speaks of his ata, it must be determined from the context whether he means by that his slaves, his followers, or his subjects, or possibly even his noble confederates. If someone refers to himself as ata in relation to
[554 the Prince, this is a self-abasement which -- especially if
643] an important person is involved -- /114/ frequently amounts to an excessive elevation of the Prince and thus, at the same time, of the speaker himself.

It is as difficult to translate the concept ata with a single term as it is to describe someone's social status in fixed, known terms. A translation is only possible if the relationship of the speaker to the one whose ata he considers himself to be is clear. Ata indicates a relationship. A resident of kampong Pakatto who calls himself an ata (subject) of the Prince of Goa turns out to own an ata (slave) himself.

Insofar as the term ata is translated by "slave," it appears
567 that slaves belong to the highest social class. Friedericy
[644] reports that they were generally despised, but that court slaves occupied a privileged position compared to ordinary people (1). It seems that slaves cannot be placed in a fixed

1. H.J. Friedericy, Dissertation, p. 551.

social hierarchy. They do not form an integrated group, either. Each slave has individual ties with his master. Their position can merely be indicated by the relationship to their master.

The position of slaves in Makassarese-Buginese country does not give rise to strong sentiments. "Even

554 /210 cont./ latter case, a marriage may still take place.
684 Then there arises a relationship between "the people who feel siri'" and "the fleers," a relationship which opens up the /211/ possibility of circumventing the killing that is also prescribed in this case. Ultimately, though only after years, a reconciliation can come about. This entire complex will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

Third Part

The Siri' Phenomenon

554 Vertical mobility occurs by means of opposition relation-
571 ships. Men between fifteen and forty years, and especially the younger ones among them, must face each other in a lasting relationship of challenge and outdoing. Each challenge and outdoing demands a reaction. The person who does not react, that is to say, the one who does not participate in what is regarded as important in this culture, has little social standing. The feeling of someone who is outdone is indicated by siri' (1). Someone is siri' when his social standing is

[114
●196]

1. Matthes (Woordenboek, p. 583) translates the word siri' by "ashamed, diffident, shy, shame, sense of honor, disgrace." But to a Makassarese, siri' has an entirely different meaning than these words have for a Dutchman. The meaning fits equally little that of the

554 /211 cont./ Indonesian word malu. An attempt at definition will be made below. For the sake of clarity, however, I have left the term untranslated in a number of cases.
571
[114
196]

impaired and when another person knows this.

A man is inclined to regard immediately as outdoing any accidental event at an encounter, or a lucky word on his part, by which he raises himself above the other person, at least in his own eyes. The other, when he hears this, is also siri'.

The reaction may consist of a counterchallenge, a returned insult, by which the original challenger in his turn becomes siri'. It is never possible to determine precisely who "began." The mutual opposition is sometimes explained by an event from the past that is regarded as of great importance, for instance, a murder. But with that the question concerning the origin of the mutual opposition is merely put off.

There exists the possibility that the outdone person will [578] respond by stabbing. The consequence of outdoing can therefore never be foreseen. It remains charged with real danger. Many stabbing brawls in South Celebes are proof of that.

/212/ One of the most spectacular challenges is the theft 554 of cattle, horses, or buffalo. Its purpose is, in the first instance, 571 to show one's courage (kaporeanna); only in a few cases are 685 economic motives at the bottom of this. Sometimes a warning is uttered beforehand: "I am coming" (that is to say, "to [578] steal your buffalo"). Stealing cattle is done to find a reason for a brawl. A successful buffalo theft is considered a triumph and at the same time a challenge. A cattle theft at the expense of the prince is therefore a great insult.

J [142 cont.]
I whereas there is one for the particular. The Malayan languages
192 are thus rich in the latter, but poor in the former. This holds especially for Javanese.

When one examines the stock of words of the Malayan languages, it is seen that a great many words have been borrowed from other languages, three in particular, Old Indic, Sanskrit, and Arabic.

J
I Sanskrit has had the greatest influence on the languages
192 of the archipelago (4), which is not surprising since the Malayan
177

4. Crawfurd, Indian Archipelago, Vol. II, p. 106 ff. Crawfurd, Malay Grammar, dissertation, XLVII. Maxwell, Malay Language, p. 8, note.

peoples received their first civilization from the Indians. They received their script, their literature, and even their religion from the Hindus. Only the Javanese and Malayan words, however, were borrowed directly from the [143] Hindus, and therefore the greatest number of these words is found in these languages.

B The other languages of the archipelago, such as Batak,
M Dajak, Makassarese, and Buginese, acquired them indirectly
L-R through the Javanese and Malays. As regards Batak, Dr. van
192 Tuuk has proved that the Sanskrit words in that language were
197 brought in by Malayan peoples, because, as their form shows, they were first altered in accordance with the phonetic laws of the Malayan language (1). With reference to Makassarese

1. Van der Tuuk, Tobasche Spraakkunst, Introduction, VI.

and Buginese, Dr. Matthes says that the Sanskrit words in them, which are few in number, came in through Javanese and

BI [147 cont.]
191 attributed to Javanese influence. Here, however, there are no
197 definite names for the three varieties of language. Another
I distinction is that between old and new language. Thus, one
J
MK speaks of Old Javanese, or Kawi, and New Javanese (2), Old
197

2. Veth, Java, Vol. I, pp. 407 ff.

and New Buginese (3), etc.

3. Matthes, Boegineesche Spraakkunst, Introduction. Matthes, Makassaarsche Spraakkunst, Introduction, VIII.

MK A third distinction is made between the ordinary language
198 and the one used at religious ceremonies. This is often even the rule and naturally so, because religious formulas remain unchanged even though the language changes. For instance, the pagan priests, bissu, of the Makassarese and Buginese use a special language (4), as do the balian of the Dajak, which is called
Br
198

4. Matthes, Iets over de Bissoe's [Something about the Bissu], etc., p. 2. Hardeland, Dajaksche Grammatik, pp. 7-9.

basa sangiang, language of the spirits. These languages are primarily distinguished by [148] the use of words that the people do not understand, words that are either obsolete or adopted from other languages and that even the priest themselves often no
Bt longer comprehend. A similar language among the Batak is
198 called hata pangaraksaon and is used by soothsayers to conjure the spirits. This is not an obsolete language, however, but is more flowery language with circumlocutions, with which even lifeless objects are addressed as though they were persons. They are given names taken from one or another property of the object.

2: Wilken--185 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Ambon	OH4	MinangKabau	OD10	Tagalog	OA36
Ceram	OH9	Makassar	OG6●	Gorontolo	OGH
		Sundanese	OD7	Malays	AN5
		Madurese	OD6	Batak	OD5
		Moluccas	OH1	Borneo	OC1

T G 198 Br MK Bt Md Sn Ml Mn I G Mo A C ● 197

[148 cont.]

the Tagalog use the so-called Kawi whenever [149] two persons speak with each other and do not want a third person to understand them. Instead of tubig = water, they say bigtu. The name Kawi itself is a transposition of wika = to speak. The same applies to the Alfoer of the Minahasa and the Badjo [Bajau] who wander along the coast.

Finally, we still have to discuss another characteristic of the archipelago's languages, the splitting into dialects, which, of course, has developed further in some languages than in others. There are no dialectical differences in some of the languages, for example, Minangkabau and Riouw Malay, Sundanese, Madurese, Batak, Makassarese, and Buginese. The situation is quite different for other languages, however, such as Dajak, which consists of a number of dialects, and the Alfoer of the Minahasa, which although spoken by only 150,000 persons who inhabit a very small stretch of land, has eight dialects. It is even more pronounced in the bĕhasa tanah, which is spoken on the Moluccas. It consists of a great number of dialects, each of them localized in one or more villages lying very close to one another and wholly unintelligible to the inhabitants of other places. On the small island of Ambon alone, ten dialects are used (1). It is the same on the island of Ceram. On the

1. Van Hoëvell, Ambon, pp. 93 ff. Cf. also the language list in Ludeking, Schets van de Residentie Amboina [A Sketch of the Residency of Ambon], pp. 197 ff.

north coast in the Wahaai division alone there are 15.

I 197 174

The splitting of the original language into so many dialects was the unavoidable consequence of the separation of the various tribes and the lack of communication between them resulting from their wars and feuds.

Accordingly, the language developed and was modified

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 562
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197] words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaeng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaeng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaeng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favorably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when [114] in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

House status marks: little is known about the rules con- 342
cerned with the number of piles, but much is known about 114
the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written 554
in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me 565
say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew 773
most of the names and events in the legends of origin, includ- 591
ing the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year with the wife's family. Then they may go where they [illegible]

Feasts: there seem[illegible] have been a considerable decline 177
in the Makassarese [illegible] such as the presence of the paka- 535
rena, as more and [illegible] Javan, Bali, and other practices 527
came in. For example, one of the men said that they were 574
having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between 186
Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite 173
ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is 778
only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language 197●
spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much 241
of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and 262
it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
563 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
161 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly
582 had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

● 197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate. One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese this

789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier, and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage between higher women and lower men. To compensate for this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Tomarilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something between the states. There are frequent marriages in the noble class between the states, and thus it is something like the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ĕppa, lima, ĕneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

Bali OF7
Javanese OE5
Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Batak OD5

Bl [147 cont.]
191 attributed to Javanese influence. Here, however, there are no
197 definite names for the three varieties of language. Another
I distinction is that between old and new language. Thus, one
J
MK speaks of Old Javanese, or Kawi, and New Javanese (2), Old
197

2. Veth, Java, Vol. I, pp. 407 ff.

and New Buginese (3), etc.

3. Matthes, Boegineesche Spraakkunst, Introduction. Matthes, Makassaarsche Spraakkunst, Introduction, VIII.

MK A third distinction is made between the ordinary language
198 and the one used at religious ceremonies. This is often even the rule and naturally so, because religious formulas remain unchanged even though the language changes. For instance, the pagan priests, bissu, of the Makassarese and Buginese use a special language (4), as do the balian of the Dajak, which is called

Br
198

4. Matthes, Iets over de Bissoe's [Something about the Bissu], etc., p. 2. Hardeland, Dajaksche Grammatik, pp. 7-9.

basa sangiang, language of the spirits. These languages are primarily distinguished by [148] the use of words that the people do not understand, words that are either obsolete or adopted from other languages and that even the priest themselves often no
Bt longer comprehend. A similar language among the Batak is
198 called hata pangaraksaon and is used by soothsayers to conjure the spirits. This is not an obsolete language, however, but is more flowery language with circumlocutions, with which even lifeless objects are addressed as though they were persons. They are given names taken from one or another property of the object.

Batak OD5
Makassar OG6
Malays AN5

I
198 [568 cont.]
787 shrill tones with the accompaniment of drums. The chief balian
573 sings a line, which is repeated in chorus by her assistants. This
I
[535] singing is called manandak. During the conjuring there is also dancing, babigal.

BT Among the Bataks, too, there are special languages for con-
198 juring the spirits. Among them a distinction is even made be-
787 tween the language that is used to call the begu into the body of
786 the sibaso and the one spoken by him in the state of possession. The former is called hata pangaraksaon, language of circumlocution, and the latter hata-ni-begu-sijar, the language of the spirit who came down. The latter language is also a paraphrasing one, by which it clearly shows to what extent it is the one of a spirit. For example, if objects are referred to in the conversation, they are not indicated by their ordinary names, but by flowery names derived from their properties as though they [569] were animated beings, for example: instead of api = fire, one says si-adji-ma-hirlo-hirlo = prince flickerer; instead of pat = leg, si-mandjodjak, stepper; instead of tarik-ni-gordang, drum cords, si-radja-martalindan = prince tied crosswise to one another, etc.

MK The bissu of the Buginese and Makassarese use a similar
198 language that greatly resembles the old Buginese language,
791 which still is found in some ancient poems.

I One can say that, generally speaking, all the peoples of
198 the archipelago use a special language when conjuring the
787 spirits. We shall now illustrate by a few examples what happens at such conjuring.

c. Conjuring the Spirits

MI We choose for this the previously mentioned trubuk con-
791 juring in Brouwer Strait. For the inhabitants of the various
226
[787] villages along the strait this is a principal means of livelihood.

M 791 756 [637 cont.]
are said to have originated from the Buginese state Loewoe.

The spirits under whose influence they are supposed to stand are more specifically Batara Goeroe and his spouse Wi-
M [776] Njilo Timo, the daughter of the god of the underworld, who rose from the sea, and their descendants. They are possessed by these spirits, and when they are possessed they often act as doctresses, sanro. Otherwise they perform their services especially during the festivities on such occasions as births, circumcisions, deaths, filing of teeth, marriages, etc. They then perform all kinds of religious ceremonies which consist of dances, singing, scattering toasted rice, etc. On such occasions, they drive off evil spirits by making noise and smoke with certain instruments. We should
M note, too, that the bissu, like the shamans in other parts of the
[198] archipelago, use a sacred language at their conjurations, one which greatly resembles Old Buginese.

M 2. Offerings. The making of offerings, both small and
[782] large, and holding sacrificial festivities is done often.

3. Magic. Sorcery manifests itself here in the wearing
M of amulets and preventives, as well as in the use of magical
777 formulas and the belief in dreams and other omens. The way
787 in which ominous time periods are determined by means of
788 kotika has already been mentioned.

M 4. Pemali. Among the Makassarese it is called
784 kassipalli, among the Buginese pomali.

I With this we close the discussion of the religions [638] as
121 far as the original Polynesian and Hinduism are concerned. Islam remains to be mentioned, but we shall limit ourselves exclusively to an enumeration of the peoples who profess this religion.

h. Islam

I We shall not discuss the history of the introduction of
770 Islam in the archipelago, because this would take us too far
771 afield (1). Similarly we shall not deal with the value of Islam

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, 203
and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting 666
on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems 624
that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the 596
head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his
clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs.
Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like
Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc
splits.

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van 778
Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, 565
kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the
karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he
was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave.
As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next 574
door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and
the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people
around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a
broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-
Heekeren.

The store has a brick underwall, and a house above. It
appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and
berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always ac-
cepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim
talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked be-
tween ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United 872
States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim 346
said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in 494
a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen 198
the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it ap- 435
peared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual
style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used
Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling,
but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth
grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further
schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong,
[i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa,
and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is
quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather
far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later.
That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I 212
asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim
said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general.
He added that there was a press in Makassar.

571 /106 cont./ and subsequently had continued to live there
591 even after the reconciliation. Furthermore, there lived in Bontoramba a young woman, an orphan who had gotten into difficulties with her parents, who lived elsewhere, and so she had been taken into the house of one of the prominent /107/ kampong residents. In the third place, a Javanese, an ex-colonist, should be mentioned here. He had come to live in the house of one of the Mangenre group to work for this person (1). Similar cases are known to occur in each kampong.

[125]

1. The two last-named individuals were registered as kinsmen of the master of the house in the census.

571 Nowadays a kampong head frequently has someone in
622 his house who carries letters for him and performs extra
202 errands. This function is created by the need for a confidential
602 messenger (2). Frequently the head will take a young kinsman

2. In Borongloë the suro (literally, "messenger") has come to have the job of attending to community labor /gemeentediensten/ -- until shortly before the war, corvée /herendiensten/. He does not run errands. This development, however, varies greatly from one locality to another.

for this purpose.

571 In principle, kinsmen are equals, and therefore there
602 can never be any question of a relationship of followers between

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombarú.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaëng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
576 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
593 an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).
123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room
177 under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaëng stands there but says nothing. Beside

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs. Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc splits. 203 666 624 596

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Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imam of the latter is the father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone. 368 [623]

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in legal cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he couldn't the case went to the karaëng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of an election when a great drum is beaten. 622 692 623 203

In addition to mosques, there are many surau, that is prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaëng is not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaëng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank. [346] 565 368

We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [running east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the territory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangan. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallarang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e.,literally, electoral college--Analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaëng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan. 632 565 114

Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. (See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the 175 565

567 age. *If they are over forty today they do not care so much,*
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves.?), but if they are under forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one family. They said that they had a very small house and were very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants
161 whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small
592 houses have many more. The population has risen some despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk about it, but they have no money so they have to remain. When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in. I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies. They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world, but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar,
207 and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay. There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

● 203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst] put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

there is much news exchange carried on in the pasar. Most 203
people, they said, are not much interested in any news except that which applies to local affairs.

Ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world: 829
there is little good geographical knowledge to be had except in 186
the school. This is the big thing here.' They saw my point when I told them about van Baal's argument that children lose pride when they see that Goa is little and unimportant, while their fathers think of it as the navel of the world and can thus feel that they belong to a great place. They seemed a bit puzzled and distressed. As for ideas regarding the population of Indonesia and the world, they said that maybe ten individuals knew the population of Indonesia (though it is being spread by the Ministry of Information in propaganda). As for the population of the world, Saleh said he did not know this, and that no one else in the village did. He said that there was plenty of local patriotism.

Contact relations with other villages and neighborhoods: Of this there is not much yet, but they said that the old enmity against the Buginese is now gone. They could tell me nothing regarding any other enmities. However, they admitted that in higher political circles rivalry probably persists. We talked about the arrest of the Goa and Bone royalty and they are not sore about this; indeed, they merely said that they had no knowledge of these things. They added that they could not understand why the Dutch took the Goa radja because he is a quiet man who sat in the palace all the time reading kitab. They have a feeling for justice, but feel so ignorant and get so little news that they don't even try to comprehend why things like that happen.

Modern dancing: I remarked that there was plenty of 177
modern dancing in the Philippines. They said that it was 535
simply non-existent here, and that seems to be the case. 609
This is a real difference. They said that the people merely like to look at it. They evidently meant the staring at European dancing couples which I have observed. But tolerance stands out all over. There is no criticism of the "wickedness" of alien customs, etc. There is merely an attitude of "that is the way it is."

Flores: The following information was obtained from the 000
Secretary of the Cultureel Centrum here. His name is van der Wetering. This Cultureel Centrum here is a branch of a private organization in Amsterdam which gets a subsidy from the East Indonesian government. Van der Wetering said that the Catholic Mission has Flores, the Protestant

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there
203 are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The
205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

the others did not. They said that relatively few, except 203
school children (they are always mentioned as exceptions) 186
could draw a map of Celebes, Indonesia, and the world. But 829
some of them have seen maps in the schools.

As for the population of Indonesia, the Kepala kampong could tell me nothing, but Andi and the teacher knew something about this. This was also true with most of the others, except for a few school children; that is, they do not know even approximate figures for Indonesia at large. As for the population of the world no one had any ideas. However, Andi knew that China was largest, and India next largest. They were impressed that Indonesia is the seventh largest country in population in the world. Later I found out that the Sulewatang has quite an extensive knowledge of international relations and of the world. And Andi knew the capitols of Ireland, Finland and other countries. As for local patriotism, Andi said there was no real 186
pride in Bone. They are not sombong [arrogant, conceited, 181
presumptuous], but have hormat [honor, respect, distinction]. And adat is everything. I asked about the big speeches of loyalty formerly made by chiefs going to war. I also asked, in this connection, about the jumping and kris waving. Andi said that this was just adat. He keeps on saying that there is nothing here except adat and that the people are backward. He seems disgusted at times. He said they simply do not progress, and seems to doubt that they ever will. As for rela- 578
tions with other villages and neighborhoods or areas, there is 721
exceedingly little. Formerly something along this line could be said about friendly or warlike relationships with Wadjo, Goa, and so forth. Nothing, however, is left of this. As for war, they can not carry on their former practices because the Dutch took their weapons.

Bukaka, September 8, 1949. Second day: The people here 157
know very little even about local historical events. This re- 114
minds me of Abdul Radjab, the Minangkabau, who is gathering local tales in Makale for Balai Pustaka. He was here once and said that he thought that he could get plenty of material in Wadjo, but after long talks with the important people who said it would be all right, he did not succeed in getting even one story. In the Toradja country, he got plenty, and even in Paloppo (but it is a part of Toradja). It is his idea, that the Buginese are helpless and hopeless. He said that a psychologist should study them. They are so bound up with fear and backwardness that there seems to be nothing here. He later took a bus for Tanette but it stopped at Balannipa which is twenty-five kilometers short. The driver said "all out", even though he and the others objected. However, the driver

829 As for the ideas of the horizon of political life,
208 he said that outwardly there had been no change, and that the horizon is actually non-existent.
521 However, he suspects that much more goes on beneath the surface. He said that every man, even the lowers, knows about the Java troubles. But one never hears a word about this in public. As for outside places, they know a lot about the United States and Russia, that is, they know about the troubles involved. They know the communists have China. And they know that India is free. They know about the Pakistan-Hindustan trouble. They know a little bit about Burma. And they know that MacArthur wants to use Japan against Russia. They know the Philippines are free. They know Germany wants to fight against Russia. All of this is known in varying degrees, but in general much news goes on under cover. Most knowledge, however, centers around the United States, Russia, and China. A poor last is India.

As for colonialism, Andi said this is another jail matter. People just keep their mouths shut. But he knows, and thinks other people know, that the radjas and the Dutch are working together. I made a speech on this and he agreed. I can see that he knows quite a bit, and is probably very Republican in sympathy, which means that he and his fellows must talk quite a bit on the side.

661 As for ideas about Holland and the like, that is also taboo.
829 As for any knowledge of other countries' politics, as above it
521 centers mostly around the United States, Russia, China, and then last India. Some knowledge is shown concerning Germany
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463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.
4216 They say that there are not many who have run up debts
465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to
499 borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
466 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at
[435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f.30 per month, and one meal costs about f.1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f.1 per day.
563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop-
443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The
472 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only
433 manufacturing center in the area.
Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the
661 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.
208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa-
668 ganda against it coming from Makassar, But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.

829 As for the ideas of the horizon of political life,
208 he said that outwardly there had been no change, and that the horizon is actually non-existent.
521 However, he suspects that much more goes on beneath the surface. He said that every man, even the lowers, knows about the Java troubles. But one never hears a word about this in public. As for outside places, they know a lot about the United States and Russia, that is, they know about the troubles involved. They know the communists have China. And they know that India is free. They know about the Pakistan-Hindustan trouble. They know a little bit about Burma. And they know that MacArthur wants to use Japan against Russia. They know the Philippines are free. They know Germany wants to fight against Russia. All of this is known in varying degrees, but in general much news goes on under cover. Most knowledge, however, centers around the United States, Russia, and China. A poor last is India.

As for colonialism, Andi said this is another jail matter. People just keep their mouths shut. But he knows, and thinks other people know, that the radjas and the Dutch are working together. I made a speech on this and he agreed. I can see that he knows quite a bit, and is probably very Republican in sympathy, which means that he and his fellows must talk quite a bit on the side.

661 As for ideas about Holland and the like, that is also taboo.
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665 bandwagon and into political parties. He said that Bone is the
668 only state in South Celebes which has no parties. This seems

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

MK [374 cont.]
642 in arriere fee, and Tanette with Lipoekasi in arriere fee.
I 2. Allied states. The basis of our relationship with these states
MK is the peace and alliance treaty concluded in 1667 by Speelman,
[648] known under the name of Buginese contract, which was renewed in 1824 by Van der Capellen. Their sovereigns are allies of the Government and have certain obligations to fulfill, such as the
MK protection of trade, guarding against piracy, assistance in case
[636] of war, etc. They are free in the administration of the internal affairs of their state, but when ascending the throne, they must pay a visit to Makassar to be installed by the Government and to renew the contract.

MK These states can be divided by population into Makassa-
101 rese and Buginese states. The most important Makassarese states are Gowa, and Laïkang; the Buginese states are Baróe, Soppeng, Adjatapparang, Mandar (at least in part), Loewoé, Wadjó, Tanette, and Boni. A third tribe that inhabits Celebes is the
T 101 To-radja = mountain-dwellers. Among the principal Toradja states are Masinrimpoeloe and Laiwoei in particular.

MK The main features of the government are similar in all
642 the states. The feudal system exists everywhere on southern-
423 Celebes. We have encountered this feudal system in the Malay states on Sumatra and Borneo, but not to the extent that it occurs here. In the first place the feudal system also arose here out of the sovereigns' practice of granting part of the land in fee to their children or relatives to provide for their support or to reward faithful servants. These feudal tenants are called paseadjingang = blood relatives, from the [375] word seadjing = brother. Another way that the feudal system arose was through war, when a weaker prince was conquered by a more powerful one. In the latter case the vanquished was allowed to govern his own land, but he was in the same position as the other feudal tenants. This kind of feudal tenant is called palili. The obligations of these feudal
MK tenants to their liege lord are: to assist him in war, to appear
[211] at his court for ceremonial occasions, festivities, etc., and the

[375 cont.]

642 like. The way the liege lord summons his feudal tenants for a
423 festivity or war is peculiar. The invitation or summons is made
211 by means of bila-bila. Such a bila-bila is a strip of lontar leaf, in which a certain number of flat knots are tied. There are as many knots as there are days before the war starts or the festivity is to begin. There is a great difference in the way the feudal
[576] tenant must take the bila-bila from the hand of the messenger or envoy of the liege lord, depending on whether it is a summons to war or an invitation to a festivity. The bila-bila for a festivity is taken by the royal feudal tenant with his right hand, while with the left hand he makes the motion used in dancing. The bila-bila for a war is accepted with the left hand, while he touches the kris with the right hand, the object being to demonstrate his devotion to the liege lord by dancing or swinging the kris. According to Dr. Matthes, bila-bila is a corruption of bilang-bilang, from bilang = to count, since the number of knots in the lontar leaf serve for calculating the number of days before the festivities or war will begin.

643 Otherwise, the government is organized the same as in
645 the Malay states. At the head stands a sovereign who is assisted by a state administrator and a state council. The general name in Makassarese for sovereign is karaëng, and in Buginese arung or patta (1). This is also the title, however, for a nongoverning

1. Since the type for the Buginese sound ä is not in stock, the Buginese words that have this sound are spelled as above.

[376] prince. A ruling prince is karaëng mágaú (from gaú = deed, affair, and ágaú = to be active, to manage, and in Buginese, aru or patta mangkaú (the same radical gaú = deed, affair, and mágaú = to be active, to manage). The name of the state administrator is different in the various states and so is the composition of the state council. We shall now discuss the

●212 For hundreds of years they have
/4 cont./ had their own script and their own literature. The
181 element of strong seclusion is absent in their rural communities, with the exception, perhaps, of a number of thinly populated mountain regions.

114 In the fairly extensive literature one finds a great number of topics dealt with separately, but no comprehensive treatment. The best insight is still given by Kooreman (2). A more recent

[113] 2. P. J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden /The Actual State of Affairs in the Government Region of Celebes and Its Dependencies/" Indische Gids, 1883.

important study is that by Friedericy (3).

[113] 3. H. J. Friedericy, "De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren /Status among the Buginese and Makassarese/" Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. IV, pp. 447-602.

[602] 121 With several authors one repeatedly finds the statement that kinship is regarded as of great importance by Buginese and Makassarese without any further elaboration of this point. The approximation of a community by way of kinship relationships has generally been accepted as correct by ethnologists since Rivers (4). Therefore, my attention first turned to this

4. W. H. R. Rivers, "The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry," The Sociological Review, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff., 1910.

588 /229 cont./ case. The Imam therefore took into account
[583] the possibility that the wali would withhold his consent for this reason. The consent was given nevertheless. That Rappung was a valued worker in the kin group was probably a factor of some influence on the decision. Thereupon, the Imam, in agreement with Rappung, set the day and hour for the wedding.

Just before the time agreed upon, at about eight o'clock in the evening, the woman was taken to the Imam's house. She went directly up the back stairs and waited in the woman's rooms. A little later, Rappung arrived in the company of his gurukampong and two of his kinsmen. Shortly thereafter the Imam's son-in-law also arrived. The latter was to act as witness together with the gurukampong. At the conclusion of the solemnity both received 0.25 gulden for their part in it.

212 The Imam produced the carefully locked-away registers
588 and wrote in these with a pen especially filed for the writing
805 of Makassarese letters. In so doing he asked the customary questions: "How old are you?" Rappung did not know. "How old were you at the fall of Goa?" (1) was one of the questions

1. 1905.

designed to help him find the answer. "One year!" "How old is Djawi?" At the fall of Goa she apparently had not yet been born. "How old was she at the time of the Spanish influenza epidemic?" (2) "At that time she was not around

2. 1919.

yet either." The Imam assumed that she was probably born shortly thereafter and, basing her age on that, entered it in the register. February 27, 1940 was recorded as the date of the marriage, although the marriage was performed on the evening of the 26th (nine o'clock in the evening).

/229 cont./ During this solemnity those present were
588 seated in a kind of closed-off veranda built onto the house proper of the Imam. The barred windows were still in the original front wall, and the men present in the veranda could get a glimpse of the women through them. Among them was a woman called Kamida who was in exactly the same position as Djawi and who was therefore also waiting to see if someone would come for her./230/ "That Kamida would also like to, " said the guru, and there was general laughter. Rappung, who now felt at ease said that he had really carried through his marriage against the wishes of his parents. They had warned him against marrying since this
[777] month is regarded as "unfavorable" for it (bulang bambang, literally, "warm month"), and the Imam responded immediately: "Rappung bambang tongi" (literally, "Rappung is also warm").

The Imam now called out loud for Djawi but she did not appear. A woman was sent to get her, but she did not come. "She is asleep, " someone said. A younger brother of the Imam was told to go and call her, and meanwhile the Imam had a burning censer pushed toward him by his wife. Djawi still remained in the back, but finally, urged on by the Imam himself, she appeared in the veranda, and, with her back half turned to her husband-to-be and face turned toward the wall of the house, she sat down. If it is at all possible the woman is spared this situation. Even when servants marry,
[212] the master who organizes the wedding takes care that taking the wife's fingerprint is arranged beforehand. According to Moslem legal prescription, a woman does not sign herself if she has a father or grandfather and if she has never before
[587] been married. Silariang cases, and therefore also this case, are placed on a par with the marriage of a previously wed woman.

After Djawi had her fingerprint taken, the witnesses and the Imam signed. After that the nikka' took place. Rappung

Redjang-Lampong OD12
Batak OF7
Makassar OG6
Sumbawa OF18
Flores OF9

[151 cont.]

R-L 212 one of the three. The Redjang who, as is known, inhabit the northern part of Palembang, use bamboo laths as writing material, on which they make the letters with a rentjong, a kind of dagger, from which the writing gets its name, satra rentjong. Satra, a word that occurs in Kawi and is used in Balinese in the form sastra, is the Sanskrit cāstra = writing, book. In the archipelago this satra or sastra is synonymous with tulisan, "something which has been written," thus not only writing, but also script. Satra rentjong, therefore, could be translated as dagger-script and understood like our term, pencil-script.

Besides the actual Redjang, this script is also used in the lowlands of Palembang, in the Rawas division, in Pasemah, and in the Jambi Highlands, particularly in Korintji, although modified somewhat there. We have mentioned the Lampong alphabetic writing, used, as the name indicates, in the Lampong districts. It is very similar to the rentjong writing and is scratched on bamboo or written on paper. The writing of the Batak differs B 212 in many respects from the alphabets of southern Sumatra; the former is more rounded, the latter more angular. The writing materials of the Batak are again bamboo tubes and tree bark soaked in rice water (2). The divining tablets are written

2. Van der Tuuk, Bataksch woordenboek, see alim.

principally on tree bark, which is folded together [152] to make S a book and then bears the name pustaka or lopyan.

F M 212 The Dajak, as has been said, have no alphabetic writing; it is otherwise, however, on south Celebes. The Makassarese and Buginese there each write with their own alphabetic writing, but one is essentially like the other. Besides a few minor deviations, the former has four more letters than the latter, namely, the compound nka, mpa, nra, and nc. The lontar palm leaf formerly served generally as writing material; hence, writing is called lontarǎ. In a modified form the Buginese

Makassar 066
Flores 0F9
Sumbawa 0F18
Philippines 0A1
Javanese 0E5

S F MK 212 [152 cont.]

alphabetic is found on Bima, eastern Sumbawa, and on western and southern Flores, brought by Buginese colonists.

Finally, there are some tribes in the Philippines who have alphabetic writing, the Bisaya, Tagalog, etc., but whose script has almost entirely been replaced by Latin characters (1).

P 212

1. Holle, Tabel van Oud en Nieuw Indische Alphabetten [Table of Ancient and Modern Malayan Alphabets], p. 39 ff.

J I 212 114

These are the alphabets existing today. Alphabetic writing, however, has not always been used in the present form. The script formerly used, especially on Java, differs considerably from that used today. This old script has become known from the many inscriptions on stone and metal that are found everywhere on Java, Sumatra, and even on Borneo. The text of these inscriptions is Old Javanese or Kawi, then more or less Sanskrit. Raffles gave his attention to the inscriptions and depicted some of them in his great work on Java. Their accuracy leaves much to be desired, however, and the explanations of them given by scholars who, lacking sufficient knowledge of the language, had to rely on information from so-called Javanese experts have little value. In 1843 the Society for Arts and Sciences [Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen] of Batavia planned to assemble for faithful copying in a Corpus inscriptionum Javanorum" all the available inscriptions on Java, but this plan fell through. [153] Fortunately, there was a young German, Friedrich, who was taken with this idea. After having applied himself to the study of the Sanskrit languages at Bonn and Berlin, he signed up as a soldier in the colonial army as the only way open to him to get into Java and to satisfy his desire to undertake scientific investigations. His knowledge soon became known and appreciated in the Indies, and he was appointed assistant librarian of the above-mentioned society, in which capacity he gloriously accomplished various scientific

2: Wilken--190 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Javanese OE5
Batak ODE
Makassar OG6

I J 212 114 [153 cont.]
missions to Bali, Sumatra, and various parts of Java. He interpreted a number of inscriptions more or less accurately, on which other later scholars could build further. Among others, these were Dr. Cohen Stuart, Dr. van Limburg Brouwer, and Mr. Holle. In 1882 the last-mentioned published a table of old and new Malayan alphabets. Malayan paleography, however, owes its greatest debt to Professor Kern of Leiden. He not only subjected the work of his predecessors, particularly that of Friedrich, to thorough criticism and thereby made many corrections, but he himself deciphered a number of inscriptions, some of them of the utmost importance. We want to call attention to the one of Pelarang, Kutei (southeast Borneo), in particular. Although the inscription on this stone does not bear a date, according to Professor Kern it cannot be later than the fifth century, an opinion based primarily on the form of the characters. This specimen is not only important for paleography but also for history, since it shows how early Hindu civilization was flourishing in Kutei. The oldest inscription, bearing the date 654 Çaka = 732 A.D., was found on Java. It is in Sanskrit and was deciphered by Professor Kern.

The script, at least of the old inscriptions, at first sight shows little similarity to any present-day script. Nevertheless some connection exists between the old and the new script, but more about this later.

All the present forms of alphabetic writing mutually show some strongly pronounced features. To illustrate this with a few examples, they all have one important point in common, J MK B [154] that the vowel a is inherent in each consonant, whereas the other vowels are indicated by additional signs.

212 194 The consonants are very peculiarly called "mother of the script"; the vowels, "children of the script." In Batak these names are ina ni surat, anak ni surat; in Makassarese, anrong lontârâ and ana lontârâ; in Buginese, indo surâ and ana surâ.

If a word ends in a consonant, then the a sound is taken from the consonant by a special sign, the "vowel killer." In

J [154 cont.]
M Javanese, for example, it is the ꦀ, the patèn Ng., or
B pangkon Kr. Such a sign, however, is lacking in Makassarese
212 and Buginese, because both languages, as we have seen, are
194 semi-vocalic, that is, they have only a single consonant as a final letter of a word and that is ng. If the words do not end in ng, but in a vowel, then in some cases this is pronounced partially closed. In any case, since consonants do not occur as final letters in the languages named, a sign like the patèn is unnecessary. For instance, one cannot know by looking at kapasă = to hit, to touch, whether it should be pronounced with the nasal at the end, like kapasang, which could very well be the case; however, it would then have no meaning. In this respect, the Makassarese and Buginese languages are somewhat incomplete. The languages of the Philippines show this even more. They are completely consonantal, like Javanese, Batak, etc. Inasmuch as most of the consonants can be final letters. There is no patèn in them, however; the final consonant is simply not written and one has to guess at them. For example, the Bisayan word for cotton is gapas, but it is written in the native characters as gapa, without sa = s. While the script of Bisayan, Tagalog, etc. is very incomplete in this respect, it is also incomplete concerning the vowel signs. The scripts have only two such signs, a point above and a point below the letter, the former for the i and e, the latter for o and u. Apart from these two exceptions, however, one can say that the alphabetic writing of the archipelago can express fully what they are supposed to express. [155] One never need stand in doubt, as is the case for the non-vocalized Arabic, about how to pronounce the words as far as vowels are concerned.

R-L There is a drawback, however, in the custom of not
[212 writing the words separately, but linked together, which often
194] makes reading very difficult. This is done not only by the Batak, the Redjang, and the Lampong, but also by the Javanese.

I Besides these points of similarity, we encounter others,
212 in particular those shown by the form of the letters. Although
175

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, 203
and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting 666
on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems 624
that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the 596
head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his
clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs.
Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like
Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc
splits.

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van 778
Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, 565
kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the
karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he
was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave.
As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next 574
door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and
the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people
around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a
broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-
Heekeren.

The store has a brick underwall, and a house above. It
appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and
berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always ac-
cepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim
talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked be-
tween ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United 872
States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim 346
said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in 494
a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen 198
the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it ap- 435
peared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual
style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used
Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling,
but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth
grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further
schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong,
[i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa,
and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is
quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather
far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later.
That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I 212
asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim
said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general.
He added that there was a press in Makassar.

S Then I remembered a night in Makale hearing Karaeng
691 Djongala (whom I met again, remarkably, on a trip in Makale,
683 and found to be not a bad fellow at all, and now speaking
578 Dutch) and de Boer comparing notes regarding legal cases.
828 De Boer said eighty cases a month was not at all uncommon, while the Karaeng said that in his place in Makale there were perhaps twenty, mainly knifings.

A police fellow and the Controleur said that there was much irrational knifing here too. The pattern seems to run something like this. First people become panas hati [literally, hot livered, i.e., hot tempered--Analyst],then they kill someone, and finally become all right. They consider themselves not to be criminals, but victims of unbearable emotion, and thus not really criminals.

M Regarding literacy, Andi said that the percentage of
●212 literates here now is about 27 per cent, and this is used by
871 him as a reason for not taking over democracy for a long
556 time. This in turn might enable them to maintain control just as the Dutch did. However, they are setting up schools rapidly, and so are slitting their own throats. Maybe they are sincere, but I look for trouble. As for schools I asked a number of questions today (my last day in Bone this trip). There are village schools for the first three years. Then students may go on to a continuing school in town, in Bukaka which is not far away. Or they may enter the sekolah agama [(Islamic) religious school], in which religion and Arabic are taught. The sekolah agama is located in the village. I got the feeling that these religious schools are losing out in competition with town schools. Only the rich can afford to go beyond the second year high school level, as it is necessary to go to Makassar. I asked about the poor and they said there were no scholarships, so they were usually only able to attend the desa schools. Beyond that they might possibly go to the sekolah agama. In Watampone the breakdown is something like this. There are six years of primary schooling offered followed by four years of middle instruction. After these ten years, if a further education is desired, students must go to Makassar. There is a normal school in Watampone for desa school teachers, but for higher normal training one must go to Makassar. Thus there seems to be the same problem as in the United States. There is a need for schools in every town and at all levels because the poor cannot pay room and
M board in big towns away from home. This leads on to the
556 question of the poor again (I always stress the factor of social
465 mobility in America). The village folks said there were
651 many poor people. They usually live with richer (though none
735 are really rich) people in the houses of the latter and work for
567

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212●

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

Again I had several men at the house, including a fairly high turunan radja. We went through about one half of the notes. I asked about the high percentage of unmarried women here and told them that the census reported that this was caused by the high prices. Saleh said no, the price was only f.88 for upper classes and f.20 for a slave. But I noted that he couldn't go to normal school because of the f.65. But, he said, there are ways of getting around this price. For example, one might give a rice field or something in kind rather than money. He said the trouble was mainly in the higher class, as it was hard to find suitable mates. But if it is too difficult one can move down a peg for a mate, but the result then is that the children are of lower status or class. The upper class man said that Fredericy's [i.e., H.J. Friedericy, De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren--Analyst] estimate of 40 pure ana' patola in Goa was rather high. He said that now there is only one, a woman. I think he said that she is not married, but I am not sure. Saleh agreed that it is also possible to run off and thus have a lower price. He also said that there is no real marriage unless the price is paid. All the fussy details apply mainly to the upper classes. And there again I see the fault in the Dutch material. They write of the uppers mostly. There is an absolute rule, a taboo, on a lower man marrying an upper woman [hypergamy]. Punishment for this was formerly death, by drowning. They agreed that this was looked upon as incest and as being sufficient cause of disaster for all. Such results as failure of the rice crop and so forth, might be expected. They put it that the mountains would refuse to send the rain. They laughed when I read from the notes that there was little divorce here because it was so hard to replace a wife. They seemed to agree that there was very little divorce. They said there was relatively little polygamy too, but the old sea captain has two wives now and has had many more. The two never lived together in polygamy now, he said, because they fight. Formerly, they could live in the same house. The present Radja of Goa has two wives.

583 565 435 114 [684] 586 595

Literacy: Saleh said to be careful regarding percentage figures on literacy. He said that everybody learns to read (or at least most people) Makassarese, and many learn to write it. It is taught in school, and also in the homes. Thus he might teach his wife if she were illiterate. He said that in the kampong 70 per cent of the people can read Makassarese and 30 per cent can write it. The figures are lower for Arabic and Roman letters. He has some figures in the material he gave me. He said that school children learn Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic.

212

123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
181 schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this point. I said that they needed business education, and they saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kampong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it. In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told them about the Javanese using these without giving up Mohammedanism, and although they could see the point they responded in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over Dutch because it is an international language. They said that all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can understand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but

368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case.

library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but 000
this was no longer the case. Thus few people read. There are
no newspapers here, and only a few, for example, the teachers, 212
read papers from Makassar or from places like Java. Very 204
few indeed ever write. (The Minangkabau man said that there 538
are no creative writers here at all, but that in Java and
Sumatra there are many. He is probably right.) They do not
even write letters here. They did not know that their script [171]
came from India originally, and they were surprised when I [123]
gave a talk on old Indic script. As for Chinese, they teach
their own language to their children and the latter also learn 871
Buginese, as adults do. Nevertheless, Chinese children al- 868
ways have a decided accent. They go mainly to their own
school. The Toradja in Tolangi speak Toradja when their
relatives visit them, but speak Buginese well in addition.

As for the radio, there are only a few in the area and only 207
radio owners and their families listen to broadcasts. During
the Japanese time there was a central loud speaker for propa-
ganda which was set up in the market place at Watumpone.
They agreed that if they had one set up now many would listen
to it.

As for movies, they say that everyone loves them. Never- 517
theless, many never go at all, especially the poor and the 434
farmers who live in remote places. Those near Watumpone 546
go a lot. The prices are: f.2 for the first [i.e., best seats--
Analyst], f.1 for the second, and f.0.25 for the third. Most
people want the latter. Most of the films are from the United
States and England. They talk constantly about war films.
Later I learned that these are the ones which came out during
the war in the United States and which are just now getting
into Indonesia. Also I found out later that newsreels which
are amazingly old are also shown. It takes years for films
to get out here. In addition, they have some very old Malay
films, evidently made in Singapore before the war. They had
seen many cowboy pictures. Later on the old Sulewatang
showed me that he had learned much about the United States
from the movies. He was especially impressed by the ice-
dancing Sonja Henie films. He could not understand why she
did not fall down. Children in particular love movies and [857]
Andi said they remember entire stories and tell them over
and over again. Later I heard a woman say that her maid
thinks movies are wonderful. People here talk about cowboy
(accent on the last syllable), chorus girl dancing, etc. Andi
said they liked the war films a lot and also the ones with fist
fighting.

M 6652 521 conservative PNI [PartaiNasional Indonesia, i.e.,Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic l life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

M 602 565 212 601

M 602 171

M T 582 563 771

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the [791]
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that 554
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 782
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 796
They said that women have two stones, and men only one!
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

C 563 Buludua which is on the side road from the main Watumpone-Makassarese highway. Later I talked with Thierens, and was astonished to have at last found the Toala. There is in the western part of Bone, on the border of Parepare and Barru, a wanua called Telu Limpoe, which is Sarasin's name for the three tribes of the Toala. They are under the Sulewatang of Telu Limpoe, a young and able lad. I must go by the poor road westward from the Watumpone-Sindjai highway, and then walk a distance. Remarkable, by checking Denzo's To Patuntung area with Thieren's Telu Limpoe area I find that they are just about the same. This is a puzzle. Are they Toala, or were they To Patuntung? If so, why no temples and stones and pinati and K. Lowe? My guess is that there are To Patuntung and To Patuntung. Those like the Toala were so remote and primitive that they lack even the Hinduist influence of the real To Patuntung. But one thing is clear. In the mountains here there must be any number of small groups of people like this. Exploration would find them and I could do it if I had the time. Now I begin to see why the Toala matter may well be just the lowest point on the scale of the non-Mohammedan remote peoples in the mountains of South Celebes.

M 793 692 622 In regard to the judicial system of Bone, Thierens explained a number of items. For questions of a religious nature, the first one to whom the people in the kampong go is the religious teacher, the guru. If nothing can be decided, the case goes to the imam of the wanua. If it is still no go, it goes to the Sjarat of Bone, on which are the various kali. If the case is still undecided, it goes to the Hadat Besar, a supreme court which handles both religious and other cases. As for civil and criminal cases, they start with the kepala kampong. If more than f.100 is involved, or the case cannot be decided (i.e., one of the parties is not satisfied), it then goes to the Hadat Ketjil, the court of the wanua, which has the kepala wanua and two of the kepala kampongs on it. If this is still ineffective, it goes to the 695 Hadat Besar in Watumpone. And still further one can appeal to the resident of Celebes, or, and some do, to Batavia. The 661 tradition is that any man can appeal cases. And in this one 668 matter they are open and brave (berani). They will appeal. ● 212 In fact, Thierens said that his office dealing with civil and criminal matters is deluged with letters and every one must be answered. Also he added that when he is in the office in Makassar he gets letters too, as a man with an appeal will send copies of a letter to the local office, the state

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

office and even to Batavia. The trouble with Wadjo is that many letters there are left unanswered because friends of the corrupt administration are involved. But the controleur is catching them, as he gets copies in the office at Watumpone and then goes to Wadjo and asks why no answer. This is evidently the reason, or one of them, that the Wadjo folk are ready to revolt against the radja and the government. The letters are written by letter writers, who charge a fee to write them in most kampongs. M 695 661 668 212

In regard to Wadjo and Soppeng, Denzo said that the latter is pretty good and that the radja sees this is an overgangstijd [transitional period], as does his administration. Thus the situation is not so bad. But he agrees that Wadjo is awful.

Incidental: I see from the Sadang notes that the swing [During the period of rice ripening, swings are made of ratan, rope, and buffalo hide. The swings are attached to the branch of a tree. In some areas (Kesu, Sadang, and Balusu) boys and girls swing together. Swinging is done to promote the growth of the grains of rice. In some parts of the Sadang area (e.g., Rimbon), the swinging is done by women who also sing a song of gratitude for a good harvest. This custom apparently survives principally as a children's game. All references to swinging will be found in category 524. --Analyst] is used during the entire period of rice planting or rice ripening. S 524 243

I noted that the three-window front of a house, which I had thought was specifically Makassarese, is also found on Buginese houses in the mountains, for example in Soppeng. Thus all that has happened is that the Makassarese have kept it well, while the Buginese in the coastal and other areas tend to lose it. M 342 178

On the way up to Makale, I saw plenty of Toradja, including a coffin on a platform in the yard. The platform was made of bamboo. Bohn in Paloppo and my notes on van der Veen say that this is probably the Luwu group of Sadang. And Bohn corroborates that many are descendants of slaves who were brought there. They live mainly in separate kampongs from the Buginese and there are very few mixed kampongs. They have little social contact, except trading. They practically never intermarry. M 563

On the way in I noticed that the place around Rantepao is full of niche graves. Nearly every appropriate rock face has at least one, together with an ornate door. In these rather solitary ones, however, I did not notice the tautau. M 764

127 /248 cont./ At this point we shall examine a number of registers to see for what purposes it is possible to use figures taken from them and for what purposes they cannot be used; if possible we shall at the same time give the reasons for our opinion.

The following registers were found in the adat community:

1. birth registers
2. death registers
3. marriage registers
4. divorce registers
5. land-tax registers
6. Indonesian notary registers
7. registers of reported misdemeanors
8. sentences handed down by courts of law
9. community labor registers
10. overnight registers
11. registration registers
12. school registers

Birth Registers

[193] 217 163 114 The imam of the adat community maintains the birth registers according to instructions passed on to him by the Kali of Goa. In the columns appear next to each other the names of the father, the mother, and the child; the kampong where the birth took place; a record of the fact whether the birth took place at night or during the day, the date of birth, and the sex of the child.

/249/ Notification is made when the child is a few weeks old. If the child dies before registration, the latter ordinarily does not take place, therefore. During a stay of six weeks I observed two such cases. These registers therefore cannot supply any reliable figures concerning infant mortality.

114 /249 cont./ There is no punishment for failure to register.
163 The reason that people do not like to register a child that has
217 just been born is the belief that this would bring about misfortune
because it is conceived as an expression of arrogance or pride.
[777 For the same reason a newborn child is wrapped in old rags.
751] There is no certainty that the births recorded in a year represent
the correct number.

A woman by preference has her first child in the house of her
[844] parents, especially if she herself was also born there. Many
children are therefore registered in a kampong where their parents
no longer live and from which it again "moves" a few months
after birth.

A child does not receive a name directly at birth for the
[553] same reason that a child's birth is not directly reported. All boys
are referred to as Baso or Batjo, all girls as Basse or Batje. In
this semianonymity the child is considered safe. Only years
later does it receive a name of its own, which, however, is not
recorded in the register. A certificate of birth is not submitted.

Death Registers

114
217 In the death registers that are likewise maintained by the
165 imam for the entire adat community (around 14, 000 inhabitants),
the following data are found reported in parallel columns: the
[793 name of the deceased, his sex, his age; the kampong in which
he died, whether he died during the night or during the day, the
date of his death, the final illness, and sometimes a few remarks
concerning heirs and estate.

The reasons indicated for the death are very much those of
[961] a layman; the imam bases them upon complaints uttered during
the final illness: stomach-ache, coughing, sometimes old age,
are found recorded in this category. /250/

Thus, these registers must also be handled with care.
Neither age nor reason for death can be regarded as reliable.

/250 cont./
Marriage Registers

114 In the columns of the marriage registers are found in order: the bridegroom's name, his estimated age, the kampong of his residence; his father's and mother's name, their place of residence, or else the fact that they are deceased. The same is entered for the bride. Then follows the name and place of residence of the wali and his kin relationship to the wife, or else the fact that the wali haking functioned; the date of the marriage ceremony, the formula of the talak al takli' (Makassarese: djandji tala'); the amount of the bride price (sunrang); the fact that the sunrang was paid or else borrowed, what part was paid in money and what part in exactly defined goods; a fingerprint of the bride's thumb or of her father's in case the latter is still alive; the name of the marriage official and of the witnesses, and finally a column of remarks.

In Borongloë, marriages by flight are registered along with the ordinary, or festive marriages. This is to say, therefore, that in general marriages of fleeing couples from elsewhere are registered in Borongloë, and that marriages of fleeing couples native to Borongloë are recorded elsewhere. The tendency to flee to Macassar seems to be greater than the other way around. In Macassar, some imams have special registers to record marriages by flight. Only after a certain length of time has elapsed does the couple return home. The total number of marriages registered in Borongloë is therefore not the same as the number of married couples.

In the case of marriage by flight, the sunrang always amounts to 20 reals. In view of the fact that otherwise the sunrang is an index, the number of marriages with 20 reals is in itself not indicative of status conditions.

The age of the marrying couples must be treated with caution, as was already remarked in the discussion of child marriage.

/250 cont./
Divorce Registers

114 217 586 The divorce registers are kept by the Kali of Goa for a part of the province of Goa that comprises several adat communities. /251/ This is an administrative problem which is regulated differently according to locality. During the Japanese occupation, when it was considered unsafe to travel, the Imam of Borongloë temporarily was also authorized to register divorces.

The maintenance of these four types of personal registers was poor. Registers of a few years back were in such a deplorable state that it was no longer fruitful to consult them. Before these registers can develop into a Registrar's Office, a good many improvements will first have to be made.

Land-tax Registers

114 217 651 423 In the land-tax registers each plot of land whose boundaries are very precisely indicated is to be found with the name of the person who pays the tax on it. This may be the Indonesian owner. A woman's plots are regularly recorded in the name of her husband or, if she is unmarried, in the name of her oldest brother. Younger brother's plots are frequently entered in the name of the oldest.

Registration of land is done by kampong territory. It is possible to calculate the average landownership per head and per house. It is impossible to say how many are "large landowners" -- assuming that one would want to consider someone who possesses more than five hectares as such, for instance, for by entering a part of his land in the name of his wife or children, the total ownership of one man can no longer be traced through these land registers.

The land-tax service places the taxpayer and the Indonesian owner practically on a par. Jurisprudence, however, does not simply connect with Indonesian property rights the fact that someone is entered in the land-tax registers.

114 217 423 651

/251 cont./ The land-tax registers make a distinction between lands in Indonesian possession and lands that have been taken in pawn. In a calculation of the averages of the sawah areas, these two types of land must be added together. The land-tax registers are in excellent condition.

The Indonesian Notary

114 217 675 425

The so-called Inland Notary, kept in the adat community office, which before the war began to assume an increasingly important task, was still not up to prewar /252/ standards in mid-1949. In 1940, 318 transactions were registered in Borongloe, in 1946 and 1947, 36 and 56 respectively.

The purpose of this institution is to further legal certainty. Parties which enter into a transaction, can report this to the head concerned, and the latter is then obligated to enter this transaction in the register, and at the same time to give to both parties a summary of what was recorded by him.

In the columns are recorded in order: name and place of residence of the purchaser; name and place of residence of the seller; a description of the article; then its boundaries are indicated if it is land, and its characteristics if it concerns a buffalo; the sum that is paid or -- in case of an exchange -- the article with a similar description; and finally, the further agreements that are made subsequent to this transfer.

The adat community head makes an entry of the transaction if the local well-informed head of the kampong where the land is situated or from which the buffalo comes tells him that he has heard no objections against the transaction. The institution was popular because the native courts of law especially attached much value to the summaries produced by purchasers or pawnees at their sessions.

The personal care and interest for this institution on the part of the local heads varies greatly, and it is upon this that the number of transactions recorded appears to be directly

114 /252 cont./ dependent. Comparison of the figures accordingly
217 indicates little concerning the actual number of transactions
675 carried out in the respective territorial sections. A general
425 impression can be derived from this register of what is transacted in a certain region. But no conclusions can be drawn with respect to the number of transactions.

Of the 31 transactions recorded in 1948, 6 concern the transfer of a sawah; 5 the transfer of a piece of dry land; 16 the sale of buffaloes, and 2 the transfer of a sewing machine.

The number of buffalo sales probably approaches the actual number most closely, since in the case of transportation -- which is necessary in the sale to one residing outside the seller's adat community -- a buffalo pass is necessary, and some heads exercise a certain pressure for registration in the registry /253/ of the Indonesian Notary when such a pass is issued. The land transactions do not approximate the actual number by an estimated tenth part.

Misdemeanor Registers

114 In the register of misdemeanors (Rappor Kedjahatan),
217 which is also kept in the adat community office, the violations
674 and misdemeanors that are reported there are entered, and at the same time those against whom the evidence is reported. In the first six months of 1948, 15 were reported there, that is: 9 buffalo thefts, 2 maltreatments, 1 threat with the badik, 2 minor thefts, and 1 assault on a woman. Eight of the 9 buffalo
[177] thefts remained unsolved. This register was not introduced until 1948; little can as yet be said about its effect.

Registers of Legal Matters

114 The registers of legal matters which are divided into civil
217 and criminal, are kept in the adat community office of Borongloe
671 when they concern "minor" matters that come up before the

114 /253 cont./ Minor Native Law Court (Hadat Ketjil) of
217 Borongloë. The registers of "major" matters handled by the
671 Native Law Court (Hadat Besar) of Goa are to be found in the provincial office in Sungguminasa. In the civil registers are listed name and place of residence of the parties; the demand and the answer; the statements by the witnesses, the decision of the judge, and a single consideration in which is stated how the judge arrived at his decision. Relatively the same applies to criminal matters. These considerations are not directly comparable to those found in the registers of government judges.

Community-Labor Register

114 The kampong head has a register with the names of the
217 men in his kampong who are subject to government corvée,
651 nowadays community labor. This, however, does not list the total number of men able to work because a few kinsmen of the head and a few kampong functionaries are exempted from such labor, and because many heads are inclined to extend the number of exemptions according to their own judgment in order to strengthen their position in the kampong. This register is poorly kept. Old registers are not preserved.

/254/ Overnight Register

114 The kampong head keeps an overnight register (buku
217 bermalan) in which the person who spends the night in a kampong
486 is recorded by his name, his place of residence, the duration of his stay, and name of his host. Its purpose during the turbulent years of 1946 and 1947 was to exercise a certain control over strangers who came into the kampong. Now that this control is no longer so important, a name is entered only now and then so that the book will not be completely blank when a checkup is made. More than 90 per cent of overnight stays were not noted, so far as I was able to observe. The register therefore is of no use in measuring a certain horizontal mobility.

/254 cont./ Registration Register

114 The Registration Register is, in view of its makeup, probably designed to give a picture of the number of able-bodied 217 men and the tax to be rendered by them in each kampong 161 territory.

[65] Next to the column in which the name of the man is recorded, there is one showing the number of his wives, his children, buffaloes, and horses; his profession, his age, the amount he must pay in income tax, and so forth. Unmarried and able-bodied young men have their own place in the register. The youngest of these was nineteen years old.

This register cannot serve to indicate the total number of residents because houses in which a widow lives with children are not recorded. If a young man is around nineteen years of age, he receives a place in the register, but not his mother and younger brothers and sisters. Houses without a male head of the family are therefore not included in it.

The register apparently was not kept up regularly. Some newborn children were not entered, and some deceased were not written off. I was told by the administration that the total number of those entered increased by 10 per cent after the distribution of kain was done on the basis of this register. This 10 per cent appeared to consist mainly of unmarried women and girls.

Compared to my own card system of the residents of /255/ Bontoramba, 17 men (or boys) and 104 women (or girls) were not registered, altogether 121, or around 15 percent, for a total of 803 residents. The increase of 10 per cent just mentioned had already taken place then.

The estimated age is recorded only for the men entered in the register. The observation made in the 1930 Census Report, that age estimates are unreliable was here confirmed. A man of 47 years appeared to have a son of 38. Several men would have been fathers in their twelfth year. The oldest man of the kampong was estimated at 66 years of age. In these

114 /255 cont./ estimates there appeared to be a clear preference
217 for certain numbers which, in my opinion, make it risky to
161 draw further conclusions from this. Eleven men were estimated as 40 years of age, 10 as 50, and 9 as 52; but according to this estimate, only 2 men were 39 years old, only one 41 or 42 years old, while there were supposedly no men of 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, and 59 years of age residing in the kampong.

School Registers

114 The school registers, which are kept very accurately by the
217 head of the school and checked by inspectors of the Department,
871 are in very good condition.

Each child is entered in the register according to name, sex, name of the father, and name of the person paying the tuition; date of entrance, grade promotions, date of leaving school, and reason for leaving school. The children's place of residence is not entered in the register.

Up to 1945 the public school in Bontomanai was the only school in the adat community of Borongloë with its more than 14,000 inhabitants. This school was established in 1923 but led a rather precarious existence until 1936. The number of pupils was small. In the second half of 1935 a new director of the school was appointed, and the number of pupils immediately soared steeply. The number of newly enrolled pupils numbered:

1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
12	70	37	78	64	17

Altogether, therefore, 278 children were enrolled, of whom 197 (72 per cent) were boys, and 81 (28 per cent) girls. The decrease in 1940 is due to the circumstance that the Inspector believed /256/ that there were too many pupils at the school and that the instruction was suffering from this.

For the instruction at this three-year public school there was, in addition to the school director mentioned, a single assistant instructor. The two men divided up the three classes in such a way that one class in turn was free or else worked by itself.

114 /256 cont./ Of these 278 children, 60 received a graduating
●217 diploma. The rest left school for various reasons which are
871 recorded in the school's register. For 95 the reason given was laziness; for 49, their own request; for 29 illness; for 23, transfer to another school, for instance in connection with the parents moving; for 14, lack of money; and for 8, the fact that they were too small.

Laziness has reference not only to the achievements at school, but also to attendance at school, and children who live as far as two kilometers or more are with greater difficulty induced to cover this great distance every day, than those who live near by in the vicinity.

Under "own request" many girls are included who are regarded by their parents or other kinsmen as too big to walk on the street. Girls above twelve years of age, but frequently even those over ten, are preferably kept at home.

The poor payment of tuition was a reason for removing a child from school, particularly during the last two years. At that time the school had sufficient pupils. One does not need to jump to the conclusion that poor people's children were here especially prejudiced in the opportunities for development. Frequently, these parents are no poorer or richer than others, they just won't spare the tuition money.

The fact that pupils were too small was only given as a reason for leaving school in 1939. This must be regarded as due to the fact that the number of pupils was considered to be too large and because the Inspector believed that instruction was suffering from this.

125 In 1949 an attempt was made to discover the residence of the 278 pupils enrolled from 1935 through 1940. This attempt must be regarded as a failure. In 1949, 104 children were still living in the same kampong; 12 had moved to a kampong outside Borongloë, 1 to a kampong outside Goa, and 7 were dead. Of the great majority (154) the place of residence was /257/
[115] unknown. I assume that by far the greatest part of these no longer

871 /257 cont./ The children who come from there must walk over muddy footpaths. Parang Banua and Bontoa are cut off from the other kampongs by a large river, the Djeneberang. The large number of children from Parang Banua is therefore striking. Here live many kinsmen of the adat community head who, as he said, always urged his kin group to send their children to school.

The total number of residents of a kampong, the communication routes, /258/ and the example set by a head thus constitute the less important factors influencing school attendance, aside from the distance that has to be covered. A new school provides direct proof of this.

In 1945 a new school was opened in Bontoramba. In July, 1949 it had an enrollment of 226 pupils, of whom a small number at that time already had left school again. Of these 226, there came:

from Bontoramba	60 (26 boys and 34 girls)
from Pagentungang	61 (40 boys and 21 girls)
from Buttadidi	53 (36 boys and 17 girls)
from Songkolo	35 (20 boys and 15 girls)

All three of the last-named kampongs border directly on Bontoramba. The new school director did not know the place of residence for 17 pupils. It is not recorded in the registers.

114 217 Herewith, the most important registers have been discussed. The most reliable and at the same time the ones that were best kept appear to be those registers for which a special service is responsible (school and land-tax registers). The least reliable and the ones that were most poorly maintained were those that had been put in the hands of the kampong head (overnight and community-labor registers). The condition of those in the hands of the religious officials (imams) or of the adat community heads is dependent upon the sense of neatness and order of the keeper concerned, upon the standing

1:Chabot--343 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

114 /258 cont./ that he enjoys and which places him in a position
to realize certain aspirations with respect to these registers,
217 and finally upon the orders and the control of their execution
that proceeds centrally from the Kali to the imams, and from
the administrative officials, now the Self-government members,
to the adat community head.

/259/ Bibliography

113 As a starting point for this bibliography, I used the
114 Bibliography of Indonesian Peoples and Cultures by Raymond
Kennedy (1). A number of gaps were filled, and the list was

1. Yale University Press,
New Haven, 1945.

brought up to date to January, 1950.

For practical reasons, Kennedy's division into "Celebes General" and "Makassarese-Buginese" was not followed, nor was the distinction between publications in Dutch and other languages used.

Not all the works cited by Kennedy could be consulted. It is possible, therefore, that a number of works were included which relate to North or Central, and not to South Celebes.

With a few exceptions, the publications that have appeared in the Adatrechtbundels have not been cited again separately under the name of the author.

123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
181 schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this point. I said that they needed business education, and they saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kampong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it. In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told them about the Javanese using these without giving up Mohammedanism, and although they could see the point they responded in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over Dutch because it is an international language. They said that all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can understand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but

368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
● 217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case.

1:Alkema & Bezemer--432 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Atjehnese OD4 Makassar OG6
Sumatra OD1 New Guinea OJ1
Halmahera OH12 Orang Laut OB4
Bajao OA8 Moluccas OH1
Madura OE6

I 224 [262] [385 cont.] among the animals fish is much more important than meat. One kind of wild animal that is hunted primarily for its meat is the deer, but even so [386] the great deer hunts, such as those in the Preanger and on southern Celebes, are held more for pleasure than as a means of obtaining meat. There is actually no category of persons on the archipelago whose trade is hunting, except in some areas that are harassed by tigers, where there is a kind of professional tiger hunter, and on New Guinea and the surrounding islands, where the hunting of birds of paradise, parrotlike birds, and crowned pigeons is actually a means of livelihood for many.

MK [224 517] I [463] N I [223]

I 226 [463] Fishing is of much greater importance than hunting as a means of livelihood. While in general only a few persons make hunting their chief occupation, the situation is quite different with regard to fishing; everywhere on the coast one finds persons who live solely by fishing and commonly even whole villages of fishermen. The inhabitants of various small islands of the Riau-Lingga Archipelago and in the Moluccas (in the broad sense) subsist almost exclusively by fishing. This can also be said of: the coastal inhabitants of Madura, a large part of Atjeh, Palembang, and some parts of Halmahera, and, as a fishing people par excellence, the Badjo or Badjau [Bajau], the sea nomads, who live on the east coast of Borneo and further eastward.

O Ml S Md A H B [226]

Ml N 227 As fishing implements, there are: all kinds of nets, rods, lines, palings, and traps; a peculiarity on some islands, the Moluccas among others, are long fishspears; on New Guinea bows and arrows are also used. Throughout the archipelago there is fishing with toeba, a fish poison obtained from some poisonous parts of plants and thrown into the water to drug the fish and make them easier to catch. Derris elliptica Bth. of the Leguminosae family, a subfamily of the Papilionaceae, is used primarily. At low water, a dam is made in the river; the toeba is thrown into the water higher up the river. The fishermen, with much hullabaloo, drive the half-drugged fish to the dam, where they are caught in great numbers. A toeba fishing-

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[122 cont.]

g. Tournaments

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The tournament, watangan or sodoran and sĕnèan, belongs exclusively among the amusements of sovereigns and high personages and is performed on the alun-alun. For the sovereign, this festivity takes place on Saturdays; for the regent, it may be done only on Mondays, hence the name sĕnènan = something that happens on Monday, itsnain or sĕnèn. All the participants at a tournament are dressed in ceremonial attire, and the horses, too, are outfitted handsomely with the prabot watangan (2),

2. Note.

ceremonial harness, which is also used at wedding ceremonies. The combatants are armed with long, blunt lances, sodor or watang, and before the tilting begins they ride in pairs around the alun-alun a few times to the music of the gamelang. Then the two front riders leave the procession, execute [123] an about-face, and ride toward each other, with the intention of breaking each other's lances or of unseating the opponent. Then they go to the rear of the cavalcade (1). Now the second pair

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1. Veth, Java, Vol. I, pp. 585 ff.

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follows, and so on. Clowns also appear at the tournaments; seated on skinny horses and armed with tremendously long lances, they cross the alun-alun in all directions and actually nothing but burlesque the whole sĕnènan. A much appreciated joke at the end is tying life-sized, costumed dolls on unsaddled horses. Fireworks are tied under the tails and lighted, whereupon they gallop around terrified, and the dolls move about in the silliest postures. Actually it is a barbaric, silly joke. A popular sport for high personages is deer hunting, for which a number of deer are driven into an enclosed space and then

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hunted with saber, lances, or snares by the well-to-do. This sport is also held in high esteem by the Dajak, the Makassarese, and the Buginese (2).

2. Tijdschrift v. h. Binnenl. Bestuur, 1887, pp. 150 ff. Sal. Muller, Verhadelingen, etc., op. cit., p. 432, Pl. 55. Matthes, Ethnologie v. Z. Celebes, p. 110.

h. Tiger Fights

J 541 On Java, any spectacle at which animals fight one another is called adu-adu Ng., abĕn-abĕn Kr. Tiger fights are among the most important of them, and they, too, take place on the alun-alun of the royal residence, where a buffalo is made to fight a tiger. Before the fight begins, the buffalo stands in an enclosed space, while the tiger is confined in a cage at the side of the field. At a signal from the sovereign, the door of the cage is raised and the tiger is driven into the battle field where the buffalo, who has been released, awaits him. As a rule the battle begins immediately and usually ends with the defeat of the tiger. If the animals have no [124] desire to fight, they are incited to it by burning straw thrown at the tiger and an infusion of Spanish pepper showered on the buffalo.

Another kind of tiger fight is the rampog- or rampok-matjan. A circle of men three ranks deep stand at a distance in a circle around the caged tiger with their lances couched. The tiger is driven from his cage by setting it afire, and as he tries to gain his liberty by jumping over the lances, he is caught and killed on them.

In former days, criminals armed with a blunt kris fought tigers. If they were fortunate enough to slay them, they were considered not guilty and were set free.

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts
●224 were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

● 224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

2262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other
513 for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
682 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

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His father's photograph shows him in former years with it.
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[386 cont.]
I 226 227 expedition is a kind of folk sport, since there are always many participants.

[387] A special kind of fishing is the troeboek fishing, which has been practiced since time immemorial by the inhabitants of the Brouwersstraat (between the island Bengkalis and the coast of Sumatra at the estuary of the Siak River). These people [illustration appears here] form a kind of association, headed by the S [463 791 776 226] Djindjang-radja, a woman who at certain times functions as a shaman to conjure up the spirit that rules over the troeboek.

The troeboek, a kind of shad, is caught for its roe (telor troeboek). I S J

[388] Fish nurseries are also found in the archipelago, in 228 231 fishponds for both salt-water and fresh-water fish. Fresh-water fishponds are found everywhere, especially on Java, western Java in particular, but also on the west coast of Sumatra and in the Tapanoeli Residency on Sumatra. The fish nurseries are made with dams near the banks of rivers, a section of which is fenced in, or in ponds and little lakes. It is customary in the Preanger, instead of using the sawahs for a second crop after the rice harvest, to use them as fishponds. Salt-water fishponds, used chiefly for the spawning of bandèng, are found especially on the Md north coast of Java, particularly in the Surabaja Residency, in MK the Djoewànà (Joana) district of Semarang, and in Batavia, as [228 231] well as on the coasts of Madura and the southern coast of Celebes. The ponds at Gresik (Grissee) in Surabaja sometimes have a surface of about 20 hectares and are usually not smaller than two hectares; they are divided into a number of sections by dams.

A 228 A special place must be given the pearl and mother-of-pearl fishing; these are practiced primarily along the coast of the Aru Islands, where in particular the banks of the eastern part, the so-called Achterwal, are very rich in pearl-shells and yield a A [636] mother-of-pearl that is famous as the best on the market; the pearls, however, are inferior to those of Ceylon. Since 1905, the right to fish for pearls and mother-of-pearl in these areas has been leased by the Government to an Australian company,

[Text continues on p. 435]

782, 231

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

/For description of the sacrifice of buffaloes at death and other feasts, see also category 764./

428 471 602 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong

1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there- [241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

● 231 556 612 2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes, goats, horses) among the three groups is as follows:

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 471 558 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 556 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be regarded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

[386 cont.]

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A [636]

[Text continues on p. 435]

Malays AN5
Batak OD5
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7

M1 [125 cont.]
Bt the Malays, as is shown by the name sabung; hence, one finds
541 it exclusively among those of Mandalling. Besides the Malays,
MK the Makassarese and Buginese are also ardent lovers of this sport.
541 Among them cockfights take place not only on festive occasions
231 and marketdays, but almost daily. They raise and maintain their fighting cocks with the greatest care, and their infatuation with them goes so far that a special nobility has been created for these animals. This nobility can be acquired by the bird's own victory or by those of his ancestors. If a cock has particularly distinguished himself during a fight, his descendants are named after him and his pedigree will be faithfully kept. Before an animal fights, one must check to see whether or not he belongs to the nobility. If he does, then there is still the question as to whether his patent of nobility is of a more recent or more ancient date, because the cocks of ancient nobility are highly esteemed and large amounts are bet on them. Makassarese and Buginese writings incessantly mention cocks as examples of courage and heroes are repeatedly compared with fighting cocks. Here, too, the cocks are provided with artificial spurs. One can appreciate how sharp they are by knowing that they are made primarily from old English razors. The betting during the fights
MK sometimes runs very high. Eight thousand guilders has been bet
[525] on a cock of ancient nobility (2).

2. Matthes, Bijdrage t. d. Ethnologie v. Z. Celebes, pp. 116 f. De Serrière, Tijdschr. v. Ned. Ind., 1873, Vol. I, p. 92. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 131.

B1 Besides southern Celebes, cockfights are also held on Bali.
541 This amusement, however, was introduced to the Balinese,
[126] who learned it from the Malays, as was also the case
I among the Javanese, Makassarese, and Buginese. We should
541 add that according to No. 10 of the General Police Criminal
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M tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at
175 large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the
565 people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]
[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and
793 their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession
838 of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles.--Analyst]
●231 This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any
881 bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati.
304 But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there
574 for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the
182 Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I re-
771 minded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own
181 idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy
having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the
gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of
boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only
to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood
clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circum-
cision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with
a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but
but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the out- 567
side they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 535
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are
none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including
two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to
have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the
line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have
the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble
The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere
chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-
way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles
and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau ODIO Toradja OB11
Bali OF7 Makassar OB6
Borneo OC1

the individual body, health and the rules of magic in life, the possession of goods, the relationship to offspring and to married couples, belong practically everywhere to the life-circle of persons, which is protected against encroachment.

B. INDONESIAN TERMINOLOGIES

The various injuries have their own names—sometimes original names, in the case of a closely related group of actions, such as all sorts of theft, although the native names for delicts are very elastic in their meanings, such as "dago dagi" (Minangkabau), meaning disobedience toward those in adat authority, and "kagau gau" (Buginese), meaning to do something bad.

The fines for delicts are established in a specific relation to the offense, which cannot be further explained; for example, three plates for an ordinary insult, three plates and a pig for a serious insult, ten plates for insulting a chief (among the Lawangan Dyaks). This is one sample of the relation between the delict and fine taken at random from thousands of others, all as inexplicable as this.

The fines for delicts frequently show their magic character in their insistence in naming the goods which are owed by the delinquent (so many buffaloes, so many slaves, for instance) and then, without objection, allowing these goods actually to be replaced by objects of small monetary value or by a sum of money.

The fines for delicts have their specific designation in various law-areas, for example: "bosi sebelas kepala tajau" (West Borneo), a pot of the value of ten heads (kepala—head, in Malay) and twelve detached heads, which is the fine not for one sort of delict but for a group of various delicts (probably equal in degree). The Toraja distinguish between offenses committed with the mouth, for which the fine is based on payment in chickens; offenses committed with the hand, for which the fine is based on the value of goats; offenses committed with the whole body, where the fine is based on payment of buffaloes. According to the seriousness of the offense, the actual fine for delict consists, for instance, of a chicken with three things in addition, or of a buffalo with five things added to it, etc. In the Balinese desa, many offenses are punished by a money fine. Thus each law-area has its specific delict and reaction pattern. It seems to be a general characteristic that in cases of theft (and other offenses against property) the fine consists of a payment of twice or several times the value of the stolen property.

462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The 462 household always constitutes the center of these activities. 592 Male members of the household work together at these jobs. [476] Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a single house are insufficient for a certain job.

● 241 By no means does every house have its own plow. 592 Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

[556]

1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangenre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

[602] is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

[609 427] although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

476 Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each 602 other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

428 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through
471 inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong
602

1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there-
[241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

231 2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes,
556 goats, horses) among the
612 three groups is as follows:

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one
471 individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more
558 than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be re-
556 garded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

471 /44 cont./ In kampong Borongpalala, for instance, the total
556 sawah area amounts to approximately 450 hectares. The area of dry land is very insignificant here. Of these 450 hectares, around 160 hectares are in the hands of residents of Borongpalala, and around 290 are in the hands of people who live outside Borongpalala. Approximately 3 hectares of the latter amount belong to a number of small farmers of the Bontoramba type. The rest, almost 290 hectares therefore, belongs to a few kinsmen of the Prince /45/ of Goa, who in part live in kampong Karuisi 15 kilometers away from Borongpalala, and in part in Bone, 250 to 300 kilometers away. This kampong is clearly acquainted with large landownership. Deputies (koasa) of the large landowners direct operations there and collect the proceeds. These conditions will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Harvest Ritual

241 The tie between kampong residents and their land finds
346 expression at the harvest festival, which is held at a certain
778 place in the kampong territory, "the Lord of the Land" (Patanna pa'rasanganga) so-called. At this spot stands an old mango tree, and at its foot lie a few large, flat stones. Next to it a "little house" (saukang) has been built. It rests on four posts; the floor, 1.5 square meters, is about 1.0 meter above the ground; the walls are composed of completely transparent braiding; atop leaves serve as roof covering. In the center a fifth post extends about 20 centimeters through the floor, and this is called the "lopped-off house post" (benteng polong). Tree, stones, and the little house together form an important element of the sawah ritual. Usually, both before the planting as well as after the harvest, but also on other occasions of the rice growing, offerings are presented there, coupled with simple and essentially household festivities. Only the harvest festival will be described here.

241 /45 cont./ When all the sawahs have been completely harvested, the day for the ritual is set. This is the job of the [793] pinati (1) of Bontoramba, who is also the person who carries

1. Pinati is the title of the functionary who is usually charged with the execution of the ritual. Compare B.F. Matthes, Wb., p. 111.

out the actual ritual on that day. Around ten o'clock in the morning, those who wanted to take part in this harvest ritual had already begun to gather at "the Lord of the Land." The [821] ritual must take place before the sun begins to descend again, because, so it is believed, the rising of the sun benefits the growth of the rice. The women brought bowls of offerings with them. Every house is expected to bring an offering, it is 241 782 said, and one proceeds from the assumption that everyone is interested in the harvest. When the ritual began, I counted only 45 offering bowls from 42 different houses. Thirty-four of these 42 /46/ houses belonged to the Kapala group, 1 was occupied by members of the Mangenre group, and 5 belonged to the Rest group. Two bowls were from people outside Bontoramba who owned land in this region.

The second offering bowl from one and the same house, in two out of three cases, was designated for the second family living in that house.

In the three out of five cases in which the Rest group brought 471 an offering bowl, it appeared that no one from the house con- 241 cerned had been recorded in the land-tax register. One of these 782 concerned a follower who brought the offering for the sawahs of his master, who lived elsewhere; the second concerned one who worked sawahs belonging to a kinsman residing in Buttadidi; the third case is that of one of the kampong functionaries who

471 /46 cont./ had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
●241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his participation in the life of the kampong at this communal festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
[626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated, this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
773 "Lord of the Land," the following story was told. /47/

1. Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga," niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land," called Besenga.
2. Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

539
773 /47 cont./

8.	Mingka antu sallang batua alolokintu timboranna pa'rasanganga ri poko taipaja;	But this stone will later move to the south of the country, to the mango tree. /48/
9.	Punna andjoremmondjo batua papparekang tomma' balla', nasalloa' andjoremma' antu lammantang.	When the storm arrives there erect a house for me so that I will be able to live there.
10.	Le'baki appasang allannja' tommi.	When he had said this, he ascended to the sky.

773 171 The story appears to be a short edition of the tomanurung stories familiar all over South Celebes. These are stories concerning people descended from the sky (1). In this case

1. See Friedericy's discussion, pp. 469ff and 506ff.

the narrator has also given an explanation of the name Besenga in the same story. This combination is customary.

241 796 Now we shall try to give a description of this brief harvest ritual (2).

2. For a description of the essentials of the ritual, see pp. 81, 82.

Around half past twelve in the afternoon, the Pinati thinks that it is time to begin. He sits down under the mango tree next to the stone lying there, with his face turned to the south. About 40 bowls with offerings have been placed on top of this stone and next to it, as close together as possible. All of these contain glutinous rice with a hard-boiled egg pressed into

241 /48 cont./ it and half a baked chicken (djangang panggang)
796 on top of it. The Pinati winds a white cloth around his own headdress and places incense in the already burning incense vessel. Beside him stand a glass of water, a little bowl with
[264] water for washing his hands, and another little bowl with some betel and areca nuts, like those which are put next to the meal of honored guests. They are for the recipient of the offerings that are about to be made. Furthermore, there is a little bottle of oil and a little basket with puffed rice (bente) by his side.

Now he first places his hand on the stone and mutters briefly. Then he takes the little bottle of oil, holds it momentarily in the smoke above the incense vessel, and drips a circle of oil counterclockwise onto the stone, which is flat on top. Inside this circle he places, one after the other, three handfuls of puffed rice. Each hand is first held for a moment above the incense vessel. Now the Pinati takes the incense vessel in his right hand, and with his left hand he smokes the stone three times. Then he moves his right hand /49/ with the vessel over the stone, three times counterclockwise, and once after that clockwise. Then the incense vessel is put down again, and the Pinati quietly places a few fingers of his right hand against the stone, again briefly mumbling a few sentences.

Now he takes up the incense vessel again and describes a circle with it around the stone and all the bowls placed on top and to the side of it. A number of women help in passing the vessel around, taking special care that the incense vessel travels around all the bowls. In this manner it is passed around from hand to hand, three times one way, and once the other way. After each trip around, it thus returns to the hands of the Pinati, who then briefly smokes the stone, essentially to mark the point from where it started. After this he successively opens two parappo (1), holding them momentarily above the

1. See p. 84.

241 /49 cont./ incense vessel, and then lays them down on the
796 stone next to each other. The Pinati moves the incense vessel again, now three times one way and once the other, in a circle above the two parappo, and then puts it down by his side. In so doing, this part of the ritual is completed. For a moment the Pinati remains quietly seated. From the time he dropped some incense into the vessel to this moment, seven minutes have elapsed.

Now he sits down in the saukang, facing north. A small number of bowls with offerings are placed around the lopped-off center post. A few older women occupy the rest of the space in the saukang.

The Pinati provides the incense vessel with fresh fuel, holding the oil bottle over it briefly and dripping it in a small circle on the top part of the post. Within this circle he places three handfuls of puffed rice, each time holding the hand first in the smoke for a brief instant. Subsequently, he moves the incense vessel in a circle three times one way and once the other way over the lopped-off post and throws a few handfuls of puffed rice -- always after having first held them in the smoke above the incense vessel -- over the bowls with food. After that he opens a third parappo, holds this, too, in the smoke for an instant, and then lays it down beside the post. Then he moves the incense vessel again, three times one way and once the other way over this parappo, laying some fingers of his right hand against the top of the lopped-off center post, and mumbling briefly. Again he scatters /50/ a few handfuls of puffed rice over the food bowls and throws a few kernels over his shoulder. With this the actual ritual is concluded. This part of the ritual, which took place in the saukang, was also completed within seven minutes.

241 The bowls with offerings were then taken away and
796 placed before the men, who had arranged themselves in rows
264 on mats, according to their standing. The women kept a
554

241 /50 cont./ number of bowls for themselves. They ate in small
796 groups seated around the bowls without any special order
264 according to standing being observed in so doing.
554 Some pinati at the ritual take a few fingers of rice plus the extreme end of a chicken leg (only the bone) from each bowl and place this by the parappo. In this manner something
[769] has been put aside for the ancestors from each house.

Men now let their cocks fight again as they did in the
[541] morning. Meanwhile the Pinati goes around and touches
241 everybody who wants it with a mixture of oil, earth, and finely
796 rubbed rice, as well as something else which is his special secret. The parts of the body suited for this are the forehead, the neck, and the navel. The purpose is to cause these persons
[769] to share in the prosperity (pitjuru') of this ancestor through the earth with which he came in contact (nibarakkakki) (1).

1. It is good practice to take for this purpose earth from as close to the stone as possible and as soon after the conclusion of the ritual as possible (see photograph). 1

After the meal many stay to watch the cocks for a while. Only gradually do they return home. Only a few pisang and betel leaves, some pieces of areca and rice kernels remain by the stone under the tree and in the saukang next to the looped-off center post. The wind easily drives the dried-up leaves asunder; ants and birds make off with the rest. The oil spots alone remain visible as a sign that the ancestors were honored.

Horizontal Mobility

166 Three aspects of horizontal mobility will be described here. First of all, the relationship of place of residence to place of birth; secondly, the migrations which take place during a unit of time in one certain kampong territory; and

1 [see End Plate 7.-Analyst]

782 /76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 778 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The [241 746] annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place here.

Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably 241 of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere. 634 In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament 778 sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 A summary of the above yields the following result:

602 182 By worship community we understand a group of people who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

571 /109 cont./ whose personal qualities were of little account
634 among the Makassarese, relied almost entirely upon ties created by preceding generations. That he was able to maintain himself as head during these times is merely due to the support of his father, the former head, and to that of the Self-government of Goa.

The kinsmen of the adat community head live distributed
554 over three kampong territories. In his group of relatives it
571 is always pretended that the number of followers living with
602 and among the kinsmen in these kampongs is very large. This
634 is done to make the social standing of the group appear as great as possible. After all, the possession of many followers indicates that a group rises considerably above those around them. In effect, in the adat community head's group of relatives only eight houses with followers were found. The occupants in each case had a special tie with one of the head's kinsmen. They performed the customary tasks for the head and cooperated at the festivals of other members belonging to this group of relatives.

According to reports, the number of followers of the
554 karaëng group is very large, especially the number of those
565 whose previous generation also worked for this group of
571 relatives. The karaëng are each supposed to have had one or more followers who frequently lived in the neighborhood of the master (1). This conception of the situation corresponds

[241]

1. It is related that here working the sawah is entirely in the hands of followers because people do not like to see a karaëng working in the sawah.

585
539
[241]

/189 cont./

2. Young bamboo shoots are protected against goats and buffaloes.

91. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea: Apa kitjini' rinakke, nakke le'leng nakke kodi, nakke tja'di simbolengku.	And the bride says: What do you see in me? I am dark and ugly, and my hair knot is small. /190/
92. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea: Manna le'leng manna kodi, manna tja'di simbolennu, titti' matangku, kala'busang pangngaingku.	And the bridegroom says: Even though you are swarthy and even though you are homely, and even though your hair knot is small, you are the apple of my eye; after you I will love no other.
93. Nakanatosseng kelonna Daëng bunting bainea: Sikatutuiki' tope, narisassa mole-mole, taënamonne, parekanna maloloa.	And the song of the bride goes again: Together we shall take good care of our common sarong; we shall wash it repeatedly; my work as a young girl has now come to an end.
94. Nai'ngasemmaki' maë.	Come in, all of you (1).

1. Literally, "Come upstairs, all of you."

The Wedding Ceremony According to Moslem Rite

585

After this address or, in the case where this address is not recited, when the dikir is held up at the foot of the house steps,

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

241
342

Landscape in Goa. Sawahs and groves alternate. Page 19.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

241
291

During the harvest; a group of women. Page 199.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 1]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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838
416

Bissu of Segeri during the plowing ritual on the ornament sawah. In the photograph, the bissu are recognizable by the fact that they wear glasses. Pages 101 and 208-209.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 11]

House status marks: little is known about the rules con- 342
cerned with the number of piles, but much is known about 114
the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written 554
in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me 565
say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now
too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew 773
most of the names and events in the legends of origin, includ- 591
ing the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose.

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline 177
in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the paka- 535
rena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices 527
came in. For example, one of the men said that they were 574
having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between 186
Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite 173
ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is 778
only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language 197
spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much 241●
of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and 262
it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are
[462] women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion
262 when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco,
●241 Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts.

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I 517
got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The 181
Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did 167
not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if 186
he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is 178
general and there is not much to say. The death punishment 681
is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the 796
common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even 805
included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They [241]
knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern.(In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: 574
I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and 852
two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of [562]
men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much 176
new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus 874
chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third 401
grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from 403
bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

462 /144 cont./ whose older members supervise the younger
476 ones, and at the same time protect and lead them. This group forms a unit with respect to the group of men, but it does not act jointly otherwise.

462 The activities of women tie them to house and yard. Among their tasks are pounding rice, preparation of daily meals, festive meals, and offerings. Furthermore, they are charged with the spinning of yarn, weaving of sarongs, laundering and maintenance of clothes, and the care of small children. Except at harvest time women do not work in the sawahs (1).

[243]

1. A poor district, such as the vicinity of Takalar where plantings frequently have to be done several times because the first attempts fail, constitutes an exception. There the women help with planting.

[443] Older women who need a job on the side, sell home-made cookies at pasars and festivals. Sometimes they keep a small coffee warong /shop/.

177 At the present time a comparatively large number of
462 these activities have been taken away from the women. Spinning practically no longer occurs. Commercial yarns
[283] have taken the place of homespun products. During the Japanese period a temporary revival of spinning was note in a number of districts where the imported yarns could not fill the demand. Weaving decreased because of the large
[286] import of cheap sarongs. Only better ones continued to be woven at home. Where rice mills are established, pounding
[252] at home becomes an unnecessary drudgery (2).
[256]

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

585 /193 cont./ comment. But if he hesitates or turns away, he is urged to accept the food. For, ultimately, the older people like nothing better than to see him lose, and it is believed that he loses if he does what his wife demands of him, namely when he accepts food from her.

The First Joint Bath

Again a few days later the couple is bathed together for the first time. Here, too, ritual and play are of more importance than the fact of the bathing itself. Together, the couple sit -- the woman wrapped entirely in a sarong -- on the house steps, which in daily life forms the link with the attic but which for this special occasion has been placed on the floor in the pannjambungi (1). Under the rungs of the ladder lies a cleaver

[342]
[251]
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1. The attic is an important place in the house. There the rice is kept. In case of shortage of living quarters, the young girls are sometimes housed there. The ancestors descend through it when they are implored to do so in a ritual manner. The ladder to the attic has a special form. The two uprights proceed from a single branch that rests on the floor and which splits into two, approximately 40 centimeters above the floor.

as well as one of the sections of the loom, objects which man and wife respectively always need in performing their daily activities. According to informants, /194/ the significance of this is to further the wish that man and wife will now also

587 /36 cont./ relationship is to be conceived as salimara'.
835 Defining it as salimara' means that such relationship is considered in connection with the bad consequences for the country. It signifies that such a relationship is found "very bad."

Household Tasks

462 Rice pounding, weaving, and cooking are female occupations par excellence. However they are not entirely
[592] household affairs.

For the 129 houses, 75 blocks for pounding rice were
252 592 counted (2). On the average, therefore, more than one rice-

[556]

2. The Kapala group is relatively the richest: for 81 houses it numbered 53 blocks. The Mangenre group numbered 7 for 18 houses, and the Rest group 15 for 30 houses.

pounding block exists for every two houses. The blocks lie near the houses. A house apart has its own block, but where the houses are close together, as is usual where the inhabitants are close relatives of each other, there one block may be used jointly by as many as three houses. Common use of one and the same block is a matter of course where the /37/ users are kinsmen. It attains the nature of a favor if this is not the case.

286 It is safe to assume that around 20 years ago, at a time
592 when sarongs were still woven at home in greater numbers than is the case today, the number of looms was also greater. Then each house probably possessed one loom apiece. At that time it would, therefore, have been possible to contend that sarong weaving was a family affair. In 1948, 101 looms were counted for 129 houses (1), a number of women no longer have

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177 /144 cont./ 2. As yet there is no rice mill in Goa. In the colonists' kampongs, 200 kilometers north of Macassar, the men do the pounding for the landowner, but not for their own consumption. Rice-pounding wages are high.
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461 The spare time which women gained was not used
855 toward new objectives. It was devoted to small children who are not let out of sight for a moment. In the house or in the yard their own mother or one of the neighbor's girls
461 is always with them. During the rest of the time women
574 visit each other. This promotes companionship and strengthens their mutual ties. They exchange kampong and family news and drink coffee on these occasions. These visits are always paid in little groups of a number of older women and a few younger ones, nicely dressed, accompanied by one of their closest male kinsmen.

/145/ Men's work is in the sawahs in the broadest sense,
462 from manufacturing agricultural implements to carrying in sheaves of paddy. Furthermore, it is their job to work in the garden, to construct and repair the house, as well as to do all the little tasks in which wood or bamboo must be
443 cut down or worked. They run errands at the pasar (1) and
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1. In early July, 1949, the visitors to the Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) were registered as 62 women and 904 men.

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

612 /64 cont./ is likewise made between the offering presented
778 to the ancestors in the attic and that which -- on the occasion
184 of the same festival -- is delivered into the water. At a
796 festival in the Kapala group the numbers were 6 and 7 respectively.

The Rojong Song

533 The rojong song constitutes another significant element
796 of the ritual. Old women hum the sounds unintelligibly and monotonously; the exact words frequently are not known to them. This song occurs at wedding feasts and other important solemnities in the related group, and it is coupled with the beating of drums (ganrang). The rojong song recorded in Borongloë before the war has disappeared. The woman who gave it to me was overcome by all kinds of misfortune. She was not prepared to repeat it to me.

Food Taboos

612 In a single related group there is awareness, however
262 feeble, that the members of the group may not eat a certain animal (2). In Goa it is still generally known, perhaps,

2. Dr. Chr. Nooteboom drew my attention to this phenomenon for the first time in 1939.

that the members of the karaëng group (the nobility) may not eat the meat of the white buffalo.

In the related group of the head of the Borongloë adat community the realization faintly continues that a certain type of eel may not be eaten. To explain this the following
773 story is told: A woman who had violated a prohibition was
612 punished for this with the task of carrying water in a basket
262 from the river to a certain place. The basket, however, did

773/64 cont. / not hold /65/ water. An eel appeared which curled
612 up inside it and in this way closed off the seams of the basket
262 with the slime of its skin, and in that way the woman was able to carry out her task. Out of gratitude she there upon vowed that she and her descendants would not eat the eel and its descendants.

[184] However, neither in the Kapala group nor in any of the other groups in Bontoramba were people able to produce such a story. Nor were they able to name a certain animal that a number of relatives were prohibited from eating.

Pantasa'

778 In the attics of Makassarese houses one frequently finds
769 a pantasa' (literally, "bedstead"). This is a little house on posts, from 70 to 100 centimeters tall, hung with mosquito netting. It has a small entrance going up to the front of the house (sapana) such as only the nobility possesses. In this little house one can see a small pillow and a little mat.

The care of these pantasa' primarily involves having a candle burn by its side every Thursday evening at sundown (malang Djuma') and always having ready a glass filled with water, a little bowl with betel and areca nuts, and a cup of water for washing one's hands, such as is customary at every meal. It is believed that the ancestors (pattautoaang) descend here. Therefore, care is taken at all times to leave whatever is customarily presented to an honored guest.

In or near these pantasa' is to be found a small closed basket (baku paballe, literally, "medicine basket"). A number of objects belonging to the ritual are kept in it. Next to the pantasa' one finds, in some cases, a large open basket (salosso), where the larger ritual objects are kept.

[648] It is told that formerly almost all the houses had their pantasa', but that in 1905 the Dutch troops destroyed a great number of them because they were used in blood sacrifices, which always had renewed opposition as a result. It is further

857/140 cont./ be able to run away again more easily. Little
867 boys are allowed to be somewhat rowdy and boisterous during a festival, but girls are forbidden such behavior: "Are you
[262] a boy?" an older girl then snaps at her. Little girls may not eat a certain kind of fish so that later, when they are grown up, they will not become man-crazy. At various festivities
[777] they receive "pitjuru," luck-bringing /141/ charms so that when they are grown up they will marry and have many children. The sexes are sometimes separated as early as the
[871] age of seven to eight years when children go to the religious instructor (guru ngadji), where they learn to recite the Koran. Then the girls receive instruction from the guru's wife in the back of the house.

One of the first frustrations of children after weaning
593 is caused by adult men, especially the father. When a man
867 enters the house, women and children withdraw to the back part of the house. When there are guests, care is taken that the children make no noise. When an important man is in the house, this rule applies even more strictly. Little children who then make noise are threatened with: "He is angry at you." An old woman repeated to a three-year-old who quietly sat next to her, "He sees you, he is looking at you." The importance of the situation was imparted in this fashion; and a certain fear as well as a certain veneration for the superior found expression in this way.

867 The difference in /social/ level between children is
554 revealed partly by what is less tolerated in one than in another. When a karaëng comes for a visit to the house of the adat community head, his little son may run around and perhaps even sit down behind his father, but the children of kinsmen and servants remain in the back rooms, and the women take care that they are quiet.

864 A little girl learns from early childhood that it is not good to show herself naked: "Where is your sarong?" she is asked. This applies to boys only one to two years later.

105 /239 cont./ the vertical tendency is strong, and integration is either not present at all or else in a very weak form. In kin groups like that of the adat community head, that of the kapala and that of Mangenre, the striving for integration is time and again interrupted through oppositional striving. The vertical tendency and thus, at the same time, the disintegration of the group can best be observed among the prominent members.

In a kin group where an ornament is present, integration can always be more clearly shown than in one where the ornament is absent. Kin groups lacking an ornament seem incapable of forming a power center of significance. Stability, on the other hand, is found only where the vertical articulation is fixed. The vertical tendency inherent in the /240/ kin groups constantly has as a consequence the renewed disintegration of these groups.

262 South Celebes is a land with a large surface, in relation to its population, suited to wet rice cultivation. If the rice harvest has failed, maize is available to take its place. There seems to be no fear of a threatening food shortage among the Makassarese and Buginese.

855 Small children are well cared for over a long period of time by their mothers and female housemates. By the same token, there seems to be no fear of receiving insufficient care.

867 One of the first things a young person learns is the fact that he is restricted in his movements and that he must be
155 quiet when a man, even his father, is present in the house. Upon the arrival of a male guest the women and children withdraw from the front room, and the children are reprimanded if they make noise. This happens to a greater degree when a higher person comes to the house. Here are the first frustrations for the children (1).

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven ore or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose. 342 114 554 565 773 591

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the pakarena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting? 177 535 527 574

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna. 186 173

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there. 778

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing. 197

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day. 241 262

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

2262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are
[462] women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly
● 262 there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco,
241 Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts.

342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouthwash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

OG11 Toradja OG11
Western Toradja OG12
Makassar OG6
Mandar

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[The Basin of the Poso]

/40 cont./ When the Mandarese returned to their land, they gave a multicolored flag to the To Kadomboekoe and said the following: "You are now Mohammedans, and if your descendants eat the meat of pigs we shall fine them 40 young female slaves." The grandfather of Papa i Melempo, who was Chief of the tribe when the Government came, was the last Mohammedan. Tampabanda (as he was called) lies buried near the former village of Aboki, and in his grave was also placed the only Koran in the country. The To Kadomboekoe claim that they returned to Heathenism because there was no one who could teach them to recite from the Koran.

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On their way back, the Mandarese must have traveled across the area called Ampibabo (on the west side of Tomino Bay), which until a few years ago recognized the sovereignty of Mandar (Tjenrana). A few of the To Kadomboekoe followed the Mandarese there and had descendants in Ampibabo, so that even now there is kinship between the two regions. When the abovementioned flag had become unusable in 1895 because of age, it was taken to Ampibabo, and through the intercession of the Chief of this place a new one was obtained from Mandar. The To Kadomboekoe, however, did not recognize in any respect whatever the supremacy of Mandar.

/41/

32. The history of the To Pajapi.

WT
101
[131]

Now it still remains for us to speak about the inhabitants of the district that lies to the west of the Poso River. Part of this land was formerly inhabited by a Toradja tribe, the To Pajapi, which has now as good as disappeared from Central Celebes, except for a small remnant. The history of this tribe is a sad one.

The To Pajapi (pajapi is the name of a tree) are a Toradja tribe about which the Bare'e speakers can not tell much. This is probably to be explained by the fact that they belonged to the West Toradja group, as the linguistic investigation determined.

576 /11/ A stranger is first stared at quietly, "in order to get used to him," as it is said; one looks at his face and judges whether he is "good" or not. Once established, this judgment, whose criteria have not become clear to me, is not subject to much modification.

Nobody seemed to find it strange that I participated at a 123 festive meal in long trousers and not, like the others, in a 576 sarong; but it was regarded as impolite that I kept my shoes on, and it was found odd when, at a subsequent time, the sarong fit was "wrong." I am left-handed and therefore ate with that [264 hand, but the touching of food with the left hand was observed 514] with disgust, because it is considered that one uses one's left hand in cleaning after defecating.

In themselves these are all small things, but they concern forms of social intercourse which are carried out as a matter of course and thereby furnish emotional security. The foreigner who takes no account of this is offensive, and it is impossible to say beforehand which offense will be felt as so troublesome that his work will suffer from it.

Informants

123 The strict separation of the sexes in this society makes it difficult for a male investigator to work regularly with a female [576] informant. The great mobility of the men also makes regular [166] work with a man difficult. For instance, it was impossible for me to have daily contact with a number of individuals over a long period of time in order to give an account of their life.

[115] The men who functioned best as daily informants were not those who were of the highest standing in their community, but precisely those who, afflicted with a "clerical" mentality in the good sense of the word, were in a position to work regularly and possessed a sense of actuality and detail. Since my stay in Borongloë after the war lasted for only six weeks both times, it was possible for me to adapt myself to this typical mobility by not residing longer than six days in a row with one and the

241 /48 cont./ it and half a baked chicken (djangang panggang)
796 on top of it. The Pinati winds a white cloth around his own headdress and places incense in the already burning incense vessel. Beside him stand a glass of water, a little bowl with
[264] water for washing his hands, and another little bowl with some betel and areca nuts, like those which are put next to the meal of honored guests. They are for the recipient of the offerings that are about to be made. Furthermore, there is a little bottle of oil and a little basket with puffed rice (bente) by his side.

Now he first places his hand on the stone and mutters briefly. Then he takes the little bottle of oil, holds it momentarily in the smoke above the incense vessel, and drips a circle of oil counterclockwise onto the stone, which is flat on top. Inside this circle he places, one after the other, three handfuls of puffed rice. Each hand is first held for a moment above the incense vessel. Now the Pinati takes the incense vessel in his right hand, and with his left hand he smokes the stone three times. Then he moves his right hand /49/ with the vessel over the stone, three times counterclockwise, and once after that clockwise. Then the incense vessel is put down again, and the Pinati quietly places a few fingers of his right hand against the stone, again briefly mumbling a few sentences.

Now he takes up the incense vessel again and describes a circle with it around the stone and all the bowls placed on top and to the side of it. A number of women help in passing the vessel around, taking special care that the incense vessel travels around all the bowls. In this manner it is passed around from hand to hand, three times one way, and once the other way. After each trip around, it thus returns to the hands of the Pinati, who then briefly smokes the stone, essentially to mark the point from where it started. After this he successively opens two parappo (1), holding them momentarily above the

1. See p. 84.

241 /49 cont./ incense vessel, and then lays them down on the
796 stone next to each other. The Pinati moves the incense vessel again, now three times one way and once the other, in a circle above the two parappo, and then puts it down by his side. In so doing, this part of the ritual is completed. For a moment the Pinati remains quietly seated. From the time he dropped some incense into the vessel to this moment, seven minutes have elapsed.

Now he sits down in the saukang, facing north. A small number of bowls with offerings are placed around the lopped-off center post. A few older women occupy the rest of the space in the saukang.

The Pinati provides the incense vessel with fresh fuel, holding the oil bottle over it briefly and dripping it in a small circle on the top part of the post. Within this circle he places three handfuls of puffed rice, each time holding the hand first in the smoke for a brief instant. Subsequently, he moves the incense vessel in a circle three times one way and once the other way over the lopped-off post and throws a few handfuls of puffed rice -- always after having first held them in the smoke above the incense vessel -- over the bowls with food. After that he opens a third parappo, holds this, too, in the smoke for an instant, and then lays it down beside the post. Then he moves the incense vessel again, three times one way and once the other way over this parappo, laying some fingers of his right hand against the top of the lopped-off center post, and mumbling briefly. Again he scatters /50/ a few handfuls of puffed rice over the food bowls and throws a few kernels over his shoulder. With this the actual ritual is concluded. This part of the ritual, which took place in the saukang, was also completed within seven minutes.

241 The bowls with offerings were then taken away and
796 placed before the men, who had arranged themselves in rows
● 264 on mats, according to their standing. The women kept a
554

241 /50 cont./ number of bowls for themselves. They ate in small
796 groups seated around the bowls without any special order
264 according to standing being observed in so doing.
554 Some pinati at the ritual take a few fingers of rice plus the extreme end of a chicken leg (only the bone) from each bowl and place this by the parappo. In this manner something
[769] has been put aside for the ancestors from each house.

Men now let their cocks fight again as they did in the
[541] morning. Meanwhile the Pinati goes around and touches
241 everybody who wants it with a mixture of oil, earth, and finely
796 rubbed rice, as well as something else which is his special secret. The parts of the body suited for this are the forehead, the neck, and the navel. The purpose is to cause these persons
[769] to share in the prosperity (pitjuru') of this ancestor through the earth with which he came in contact (nibarakkakki) (1).

1. It is good practice to take for this purpose earth from as close to the stone as possible and as soon after the conclusion of the ritual as possible (see photograph). 1

After the meal many stay to watch the cocks for a while. Only gradually do they return home. Only a few pisang and betel leaves, some pieces of areca and rice kernels remain by the stone under the tree and in the saukang next to the looped-off center post. The wind easily drives the dried-up leaves asunder; ants and birds make off with the rest. The oil spots alone remain visible as a sign that the ancestors were honored.

Horizontal Mobility

166 Three aspects of horizontal mobility will be described here. First of all, the relationship of place of residence to place of birth; secondly, the migrations which take place during a unit of time in one certain kampong territory; and

1 [see End Plate 7.-Analyst]

342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably
● 271 politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouthwash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

123 chosen to remain in office he then goes back to where he
609 came from. This evidently was quite something to them. I always added that this was neither better nor worse, but just a different way of doing things. I think I put the point across. I said that in the United States we had large houses and big buildings because the weather was so cold. But basically the principles were the same. I said that they used bamboo for struts and supports while we used steel. They used clay to work where we use cement. Then I brought up the point that they knew considerable about the United States as a result of having seen many moving pictures. On the other hand, we know nothing about Makassar.

●272 At this point, without any pressing business, the Kepala kampong called for some coconut water. We had quite a time about the word coconut milk in English. Someone was told to strip a few coconuts and the coconut water was quite good, although I could see that it would spoil rapidly. It was served in glasses, though Rahim asked first if I preferred it from the
[833] nut directly. In Bontorio it is said that this coconut water causes impotence, but the men drank it.

563 The assistant showed me some silver filigree work. It
326 struck me as mediocre, but I said that it was fine. Later van
439 der Wetering, Secretary of the Centrum Cultureel Stichting [Cultural Foundation Center] in Makassar, said that it was poor and made for the tourist trade. They use a kind of tamarind acid to clean such silver work. It is actually quite banal. One fellow said that the Chinese brought the silver
435 from Hongkong and gave it to the smiths. Later they bought the finished article back and sold it. The fellow who was the constructor of the building said that there was much trouble nowadays. He needed a truck but could get one only by paying f.80 per day. But he could make only f.75 per day. When I commented: apa boleh buat [what can be done about it?] they laughed.

829 We talked about mobility and change from generation to generation. I said that in the United States a son seldom followed the trade of his father. Although this was not too clear they seemed to be surprised. They implied that if the father was a smith, his son would be one also.

609 After a hearty farewell, we went back to the Karaëng. He
156 was there, and there were still many people around. We went in and noted that the atmosphere was entirely different. He is a kind of United States business man in type. He is close mouthed and position-proud. Perhaps he was just embarrassed. However, I missed the give and take that was so

342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not
764 pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always re-
513 moved. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate.
625 The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well
102 things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaeng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]

368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

527 /148 cont./ dressed in red jackets, nicely made-up, and
571 decked with jewelry, pounding with precise movements, eyes cast down. After some time they are replaced. Under the surveillance of a couple of older women, four others descend from the house and take over the pounders while the first team again goes up, always with an escort and with eyes cast down. From behind the barred windows of the front rooms -- on this occasion the entire house is the domain of the women -- they peep outside where in the half-light of the yard the men walk around, sit, talk, and smoke (1).

[273]

[554]

1. Little drinking is done. If there is rice wine (ballo'ase) present, the number of bottles is limited. Only the higher guests receive a bottle and share some of this with the others. Serious drunkenness does not occur. Makassarese who drink ballo' proceed to tell taller and taller tales and become increasingly provocative in their remarks. At such times they avoid the company of a higher person.

527 It is reported that formerly a group of young men from
571 another kampong, attracted by the provocative sounds, would
177 once in awhile make an attack and try to run away with one
571 of the young girls. This would then give rise to a general brawl. The young men of the house group would then defend their young sisters and cousins against an attack from outside. Nowadays such a thing no longer occurs. The festival has become a comparatively dull display since fighting and

Makassar OG6
Ceram OH9
Buru OH8

Ambon OH4
Moluccas OH1
Javanese OE5
Borneo OC1

[9 cont.]

I A MO 273 Sagwire, when fermented, cannot strictly be called an intoxicating drink. The natives know how to make intoxicating drinks, however. First, there is koliwater, which is used in the Moluccas and especially by the Ambonese. Koliwater is made by distilling sagwire in a very primitive way. Two kinds are distinguished, koolwater-kapala and koolwater-kaki, first and second quality, or as we would say, single and double offerings (2).

2. Van Hoëvell, Ambon, p. 138, note.

Bo J I 273 An intoxicating drink made from rice is more common, however. Glutinous rice (Oryza glutinosa), the Malayan pulut and Javanese kĕtan, is used primarily. The process is known among the Javanese, the Malayans, the Dajak, etc. The Dajak, who make it more than the others, do it as follows. First the rice is cooked and then put in a pot with some yeast, ragi. This mixture stands for a few days, exposed to the sun. Then water is added, and it ferments for a couple of days. The liquid is then strained through a cloth. This liquid is the popular drink called tuwak. The Malays prepare a drink called tapai in about the same way, adding ragi to pulut. On Java this drink is called badag when made with ordinary rice and brom when made from pulut (see note, p. 650).

MK 273 The Buginese and Makassarese make a similar drink called brom (3). All these drinks are very intoxicating and

3. Matthes, Mak. and Boeg. Woordenb., see brom.

I Bo Bu A C 273 cause drunkenness, especially after standing for some time. The Mohammedan peoples, however, generally do not indulge in intoxicating drinks, being restrained by the prescriptions of the Prophet, who prohibited them for his followers. [10] The Dajak, however, use tuwak to excess; as do the Ambonese (1)

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

595 578 /170 cont./ which this rule was taken could not be traced down, just as it was not possible to find the Makassarese text.

595 The two wives each has her own house. In 24 of the 27 polygamous marriages, the two houses were even in different kampongs. If it is said of a man that he owns two houses, this means that he has two wives. The wives live each in her own house together with their children and a single kinsman, leading their own lives. They never see each other. They are thought to ignore each other. When they go to pay visits, kinsmen take care that the one does not come where the other is. At festivals the second wife always yields to the first, but in actuality she always gets just as much of a chance to be present, even though it is just for a short period of time. In practice, the two women know everything about each other that can be regarded of any interest at all. [521] Female "friends" tell the news, especially the bad news, that each wife wants to hear about the other. In the course of many years the sharpest edges are often worn off this relationship. The children of the one go to the house of the other with their father. An instance where the two women at a greater age visited each other from time to time remains an exception, however.

It is expected that the husband takes his first wife's feelings into consideration and that he will do nothing that could remind her of her rival. An old example is that a man must [593] put away the contents of his betel box before he comes to the [576] other wife, because filling this box is, all the way up to the ● 276] highest social circles, a special task that a woman performs for her husband, so that a woman, upon seeing the fresh betel leaves, is immediately reminded of the other woman (2).

595 /170 cont./ 2. Little betel is chewed by the generation that is now thirty-five to forty years of age or younger.

[178 ●276]

Nor does he ever name the kampong where the other wife lives as his destination when he leaves. To speak the truth would be an unforgivable rudeness. But a man who, in the opinion of his first wife, already was too much away from home was told: "When a man goes out a great deal, a wife is lazy with the cooking."

/171/ Co-wives display a stronger than normal desire to attach their husbands to themselves, in comparison with monogamously married women. They make sure that the meal is ready when he comes home, that a clean sarong lies in readiness for him, and that his guests are especially well entertained, since a man finds it pleasant if he is known as a good host. On the other hand, they know how to make their anger apparent to him by the same means, by letting him wait for his food, by neglecting to care for his clothes, and so forth. Among older men it can be observed that they stay for a longer time with the same wife. In the majority of cases this appears to be the first wife.

[593] [574]

The second wife is always lower than the first; at least she is regarded as lower. This circumstance makes it easier for the first wife to be content with her existence. The great dread of a woman who was not related to her husband appeared to be the fact that now she would become the second wife because he married one of his nieces. As regards descent, however, she was regarded as his equal, and there was in every respect an acceptable reason why his niece should not be regarded as his equal.

595 606 607

The opposition of the first wife is not the only reason why a second marriage comes about only with difficulty. Another reason is based upon the opposition of the relatives.

[11 cont.]

3. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 179.

I 276 is chewed at all times and often during the night when one is awake. The use of a betel quid after eating is the rule. We must mention here a disagreeable feature of betel-chewing. The various ingredients [12] of the quid give the saliva a foul, brown-red color that is imparted to the gums and lips. The latter are therefore stained a blackish red by the continuous spitting. The native, however, finds this beautiful. A Javanese poet once compared the thus decorated mouth of his beloved with the cleft in a pomegranate that had burst from ripeness (1). "Lovely," said the Makassarese singer of his

M J [276 832]

1. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 569.

beloved, "lovely is the opening of the mouth of my daeng" (2).

2. Matthes, Mak. Chrestomatie, p. 652.

We want to note how the natives attach superstitious value to the red saliva from betel-chewing for countering sickness. Spitting saliva from betel-chewing on a sick person is commonly done. In general betel plays an important role in the domestic life of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago. Offering and accepting betel is a friendly gesture. Every guest who comes is therefore offered betel. On Sumatra and in other areas of the archipelago, whenever a Government official visits a village, the women customarily hand him the betel bag or the areca box with some ready-made betel quidsin it, which he is obligated to accept. Naturally, he does not have to use them; he can unobtrusively put them aside later.

S I 574 276

Offering betel is not only a welcoming gesture to guests, a token of peace and friendship, but also precedes any

Sumatra OD1
Atjehnese OD4
Makassar OG6
Gorontalo OG4
Borneo OC1

[17 cont.]

Vol. XVII, p. 427, and Vol. XXXI, p. 361.

A S 276 it is found among the Malays in the Palembang Highlands and Lowlands, in Jambi), and especially among the Atjehnese (3)

3. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 176.

M G 276 although not as commonly as among the Javanese. The Buginese and Makassarese are also very addicted to opium smoking, as are the Gorontalese of northern Celebes.

B 276 The Dajak [Dyak] of Borneo, the Alfoer tribes, etc. are free of the use of opium. It can be said in general that the pagan tribes do not know opium smoking, but instead indulge in drink. It is the opposite among the Mohammedans. They have tried to compensate for the lack of stimulation from intoxicating beverages, which were forbidden by the Prophet, through the use of opium.

I 276 [735] We need not discuss the influence of opium smoking on the constitution since this is sufficiently well known. Opium smoking, however, not only exerts a baleful influence on the health; it also ruins the well-being of thousands and destroys the happiness of innumerable families. [18] Poverty and unnerved bodies are the consequences of it. A native proverb rightly says of the opium addict: "first he eats opium, and then the opium eats him." Having once surrendered to opium, it is very hard indeed to abstain from it, just as hard as it is for the alcoholic to stay away from drink. It is known that opium is frequently used by the native when he is going to undertake something special, for example, going to war. In our wars with the peoples of the Indies, it has been repeatedly shown how dangerous a crowd excited by opium can be. This is the way many islanders started smoking opium. Mr. van Hasselt mentioned that many Malays of the Palembang Highlands told

S 276 721

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574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

[160 cont.]

I 278 755 824 What is done with animals is also done with plants. Because the Dracaena terminalis is so strong and always grows again when it is clipped, the leaves of this plant are used throughout the whole archipelago for both religious purposes and medicines. Who in the Indies has not seen the lank stems with red or green leaves that the people carefully leave standing in a cultivated field? The Dracaena, as well as other plants that have the same characteristic of tenacious vitality, is used to add to the mana of man.

Other plants are used for the same purpose because of their name. It is believed that the nature of the plant is in the name, and so name and substance are identified with each other.

T 278 To give some illustrations, the Toradja have a plant, lontoeroe, which is used as a sedative because toeroe is "to sleep."

A 755 278 In Atjeh, in order to help someone back to health, he is cooled by sprinkling him with water that has been mixed with rice meal. The sprinkling is done with a brush made of a certain plant, sisidjöoe, "cooling."

M 755 278 Ratong-rara, the blood of the rara, plays an important role in the healing art of the Makassarese because rara means "firm" and is thus specially suitable for making one's vitality firm.

I 754 278 It is possible for one to be robbed of mana, in which case the therapy lies in getting it back or in breaking the influence that caused the sickness.

I 776 754 793 753 [161] Just as primitive man has the same explanation for all sickness, lack of magic power or lack of mana, or the presence of one aura or another, the magic power of spirits, gods, demons, or persons, especially priests who hinder the action for the sake of their own mana, for their own vitality, so also does he regard death, not as the result of natural development, but always as the consequence of outside influences. It is the personified spirits of smallpox, cholera, fever, etc. that are the cause of death. "Aja noe ngaheureujan, there is someone bothering him (or her," say the Sundanese of a sick person. The

S 753

462 /144 cont./ whose older members supervise the younger
476 ones, and at the same time protect and lead them. This group forms a unit with respect to the group of men, but it does not act jointly otherwise.

462 The activities of women tie them to house and yard. Among their tasks are pounding rice, preparation of daily meals, festive meals, and offerings. Furthermore, they are charged with the spinning of yarn, weaving of sarongs, laundering and maintenance of clothes, and the care of small children. Except at harvest time women do not work in the sawahs (1).

[243]

1. A poor district, such as the vicinity of Takalar where plantings frequently have to be done several times because the first attempts fail, constitutes an exception. There the women help with planting.

[443] Older women who need a job on the side, sell home-made cookies at pasars and festivals. Sometimes they keep a small coffee warong /shop/.

177 At the present time a comparatively large number of
462 these activities have been taken away from the women. Spinning practically no longer occurs. Commercial yarns
[283] have taken the place of homespun products. During the Japanese period a temporary revival of spinning was note in a number of districts where the imported yarns could not fill the demand. Weaving decreased because of the large
[286] import of cheap sarongs. Only better ones continued to be woven at home. Where rice mills are established, pounding
[252] at home becomes an unnecessary drudgery (2).
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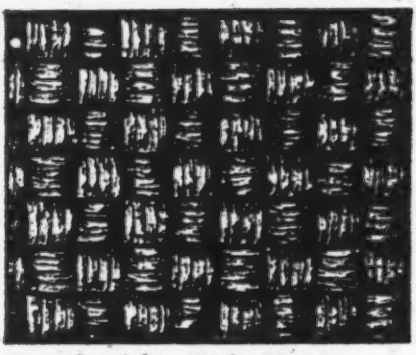
[486 cont.]

The simplest kind of plaiting is the well-known one over, one under (balak-balik), the pattern that is most used for basketry, the walls of houses, bridges, etc. There is also the anjam-kèpang, which is done in the same way, but one plaits two over, two under, or three over, three under. A third method is the so-called anjam lembangan, where the work is done by alternating single elements, two elements, etc., up to six elements.



Straight, Tight Plaiting
Photo. Jasper -- Mas Pirngadie

A special method of plaiting is the so-called trawangan work (drawn plaited work) (1), whereby, using plaited work of single elements with pandan as the basic material, rectangular figures are formed by folding the edges down or forcing them in. This method of plaiting is used chiefly for mats. They thus appear to be decorated with lace.

1. See the illustration on p. 543.

In addition to the ordinary method of plaiting, which is also used for basketry, there is a method of making baskets in the Indies through the use of ringed plaited work (2). It is made with a number of rings, usually of rattan but sometimes of pandan, which are bound together with interlacings. It is found primarily in Singaparna. It is not plaited work in the true sense. It is more specifically called "twining." Besides [487] Singaparna, where rattan is the material used, a more intricate method of twining is used in Buginese basketry. The material used here is the lontar leaf.

2. See p. 543.

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[285]

Timor OF20 Makasser OG6 ● Atjehnese OD4
Toradja OG11 Batak OD5
Borneo OC1 Minangkabau OD10
Ceram OH9 Redjang-Lampong OD12
Sumba OF17 Java OE1
New Guinea OJ1 Bali OF7

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352 [493 cont.]
285 Bawéan, Bangka, Riau, Bali, Lombok, Madura, Borneo, and
J some islands in the Moluccas). The mats to sleep and sit on
R and the prayer mats (the latter, of course, only in the Moham-
Bt medan areas) all show a rich diversity in form and color as well
Mn as in pattern. Magnificent specimens are to be found every-
A
353 where in Atjeh, the Batak lands, the Padang Highlands,
285 Bengkoelen, and the Lampoengs. Java, too, has its mats, but in comparison with those of the areas named above they are modest and cannot be compared with those from Sumatra.

I Interesting boxes in trawangan work are found in the
R
415 Lampoengs and Bengkoelen. On Borneo and Sumatra there is
285 an abundance of all kinds of beautiful things.

Mk Java and Bali also have an abundance of utilitarian arti-
J cles, but not much of it is decorative. The basketry of
Bl Singaparna has deteriorated rather than improved. The ringed
● 285 plaiting of southern Celebes is something else again; Singaparna is satisfied with black and white, but the Buginese prefer to use all kinds of aniline dyes.

Tm Timor has its own rich variety of colors and forms, espe-
285 cially in the Portuguese part, which are hardly surpassed by southern Celebes.

I The Manufacture of Clothing from Pounded Tree-bark
287 (foeja). A home industry that is rapidly disappearing and is
N still found among only a few peoples is the making of clothing
S from pounded tree-bark. It is still found where weaving is
C unknown, but it is unlikely that it will continue there much
Tm longer.
Br
Tr
[287] It reached its greatest development among the peoples of central Celebes, the Toradja; it is also found among some Dajak [Dyak] tribes, [494] on Ceram, in a part of the Timor Archipelago, in western Sumba, and among some Papuan tribes. The following articles of clothing used by these peoples are made of it: jackets, sarongs, headcloths, bags, betel pouches, and loincloths. As in every branch of industry, here, too, one finds the desire for beautification

563 I then asked whether there were other stores in the kampong. He said there were several, mostly belonging to Chinese. Rahim said the Chinese live in a few houses along one street. He pointed them out saying that the Chinese, or at least some of them, had been there for a long time and speak Makassarese well. But, though they marry Makassarese girls, the children of such marriages never do, but instead follow their fathers' line. Evidently they marry Chinese. Thus it appeared that the Chinese breed mates for their own folk by first mating or marrying with local girls. Rahim added that although Chinese men married Makassarese girls, Makassarese men never married Chinese girls. This is understandable, as there are no Chinese girls until the second generation. Then they are considered Chinese and marry Chinese. I must ask about the feeling toward the Chinese on various points. Rahim went to
000 this kampong school, and then to an intermediate school in Makassar, and then, I suppose, to a higher school.

123 As we left the store the lads asked if I would take them to
512 the mosque in my jeep. The old man especially said that it
562 was a long walk for him. Indeed it was so. In fact, I wondered if he would have done it if there had been no jeep. Four of them, including Rahim's father, piled in, and I took them to the mosque. This is Friday, and many people were walking in that direction. Rahim said that it was taboo for women, and there were no women going.

346 The mosque was quite a fine one, white, with (amazing!) an
177 old cremation urn at the top of one tower. Van Heekeren said this was usual. These urns were imported from China four to five hundred years ago, and were evidently used for ashes in Hindu days. But it is remarkable to me that one should be on top of a mosque!

● 285 I saw some very fine baskets in a store. One was varicolored with a round top which had words plaited in around the border. Perhaps I will buy it later.

342 Thus went the first day or at least the first morning. I will leave things alone for a while. And on Monday I will meet my assistant. My general impression of the houses in the kampong is one of a mixture. The good houses are built mainly of wood and thatch, but there are several of these which are poor and are falling down. Van Heekeren said that bamboo is scarce, hence the use of wood. And maybe that accounts for the lack of good repair in some cases. The people are pleasant and polite, I have been pleasantly impressed. I see very few women around here and wonder where they are. One sees many more in Java. And those one does see here, though often very fine, are not generally so handsome as the Javanese or Sundanese.

M 838 548 had looked boldly at me, unlike most women here. Maybe she was really a girl, but a prostitute, but on the other hand it may have been a homosexual. I know I was impressed by the frank stare and thought I noticed something a bit odd about the person.

The doctor told me that one day a soldier came in with gonorrhea and that he was on the trail of the woman carrier. So there are prostitutes here.

M ● 285 435 On the way back I stopped to look at an orchid fiber basket woven with a pretty design and colors. The price was f. 0.60. Andi wanted a photograph of me to keep, so I gave him one.

C 117 I left Watampone on Sunday, October 9, two weeks late. I will be able to get a ship going to Ambon on October 14 or 15 which is good, because it means I will have lost only two weeks.

Makassar: I went to the KPM and found that the Raeal sails for Ambon on the 14th or 15th. I can stay there until December 17, returning to Makassar December 20. Then I will sail to Sumbawa on December 23, arriving December 24. I still do not know of any later sailings. This means I will cut Sumbawa short, but have a full two months period in Ambon. I also went to Fort Rotterdam and talked with Rahim.

C 172 114 [171] I had a talk with van Heekeren who is delighted at the results of his trip to a neolithic site in Galumpang. He is somewhat irritated because the government will not give him more money for this research. They seem to spend most of their funds for restoring monuments. This checks with my complaint about Dutch archeology. Formerly they spent lots of time and money on Hindu-Javan remains but little on the prehistoric. Van Heekeren tells me that he has to spend a great deal of his own money. His budget is very low, but even at that he cannot get more funds. He has two other sites located along the Karama River. He said that the layers are not very thick, made up mostly of limestone and rubble. He said that these are the first neolithic sites to be worked in Indonesia. He had all of the stone materials out on a table. Included were arrow points, adzes (he said that they were the first ones found in Indonesia [??]), axes, grinding stones, and a remarkable all-stone tapa beater with grooves, which he said is like the beaters found in the Philippine Islands. There were also lots of sherds, with pretty designs. Many of these designs are similar to those used by the Toradja today, especially on cloth.

587 /36 cont./ relationship is to be conceived as salimara'.
835 Defining it as salimara' means that such relationship is considered in connection with the bad consequences for the country. It signifies that such a relationship is found "very bad."

Household Tasks

462 Rice pounding, weaving, and cooking are female occupations par excellence. However they are not entirely
[592] household affairs.

For the 129 houses, 75 blocks for pounding rice were
252 592 counted (2). On the average, therefore, more than one rice-

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2. The Kapala group is relatively the richest: for 81 houses it numbered 53 blocks. The Mangenre group numbered 7 for 18 houses, and the Rest group 15 for 30 houses.

pounding block exists for every two houses. The blocks lie near the houses. A house apart has its own block, but where the houses are close together, as is usual where the inhabitants are close relatives of each other, there one block may be used jointly by as many as three houses. Common use of one and the same block is a matter of course where the /37/ users are kinsmen. It attains the nature of a favor if this is not the case.

286 It is safe to assume that around 20 years ago, at a time
592 when sarongs were still woven at home in greater numbers than is the case today, the number of looms was also greater. Then each house probably possessed one loom apiece. At that time it would, therefore, have been possible to contend that sarong weaving was a family affair. In 1948, 101 looms were counted for 129 houses (1), a number of women no longer have

286 /37 cont./ 1. Here again the Kapala group appeared to be comparatively the best provided. In its 81 houses, 73 looms were found; in the 18 houses of the Mangenre group, 11; and in the 30 houses of the Rest group, 17. In a few houses I observed two looms.

looms in their own houses and are therefore dependent upon kinsmen [illegible] of one. Wherever the household is incapable of fulfil[illegible] certain task, the latter is taken over by the related [illegible] It is safe to assume that the lack of yarn durin[illegible] five consecutive years, in any case until 1948, th[illegible]ar of this registration, was the reason that no new looms were acquired, while disuse caused many of them to deteriorate. The remaining 101 will therefore probably be used up after a few years.

602 476 One can observe regularly that female relatives "get" from each other a household article or a few ingredients for a meal. In such a case one does not speak of borrowing, and it is not regarded as such, for these are all everyday matters. Without these items one is helpless, and therefore they use them among each other. Soap, rice (beras), and a saucepan are apparently equally common articles, but these definitely do not go from hand to hand every day. What is stated here applies to female relatives; among them this mutual assistance is a matter of course. But they have a [609] different attitude toward a non-relative. Should she come to get something several times in a row, there are many ways of making clear to her that this is little appreciated.

462 The men have the task of bringing home from pasar, garden, or sawah whatever is necessary for daily existence. They cultivate the sawah and garden. They provide the women with

462 /144 cont./ whose older members supervise the younger
476 ones, and at the same time protect and lead them. This group forms a unit with respect to the group of men, but it does not act jointly otherwise.

462 The activities of women tie them to house and yard. Among their tasks are pounding rice, preparation of daily meals, festive meals, and offerings. Furthermore, they are charged with the spinning of yarn, weaving of sarongs, laundering and maintenance of clothes, and the care of small children. Except at harvest time women do not work in the sawahs (1).

[243]

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[286] import of cheap sarongs. Only better ones continued to be woven at home. Where rice mills are established, pounding
[252] at home becomes an unnecessary drudgery (2).
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I 286 weaver. It is hollowed out on the inside, and a narrow strip is cut out along the entire length. The woven material can be kept in the hollow part after it has been rolled around a stick. The unused part of the warp is wound around a plank which at the same time forms one end of the loom. This plank, of course, must be firmly secured. Some kind of foundation is necessary, which, however varied, must keep the plank steady. Usually the warp-beam is placed in two blocks, split at the top, whose foot pieces rest on horizontal planks so that the warp-beam cannot move. [506] The back piece of leather of the first type of loom is replaced by a wooden yoke that serves the same purpose in weaving.

The weaving is done in the same way as with the first loom. In a sitting position, the woman throws the shuttle between the threads, and when she has woven a piece as wide as the plank she rolls it up and lets the warp-beam out a notch. To do this, however, the weaver must get up each time.

A third and much more efficient type of loom is one with which the weaver, by means of pedals, draws the even and uneven threads up and down with foot movements. She can sit on a bench, and the tiring movements connected with tightening the warp are eliminated. This loom much more closely resembles the old European hand-loom. It is used on the west coast of Sumatra, in southern Celebes for narrow fabrics, and on Surabaja, too, the [illustration appears here] loom with a weaving stool is known. A loom with pedals that is worked while standing is used in the Principalities and the eastern corner of Java for weaving bands.

M S [286]

I [177] The District Officer, J. E. Jasper, introduced a British-Indian loom in the subdistrict Menganti in 1907, but we do not know the outcome.

Weaving is the most widespread branch of applied art throughout the archipelago because of its close connection with particularly vital utilitarian articles, namely, clothing. It is therefore, so "interwoven" with existence that religious belief

[520 cont.]

I 286 J S MK ML K 286 In the archipelago it is found primarily: on Java, in the [illustration appears here] residencies Kediri, Rembang, Semarang, and Pekalongan; on Sumatra, especially Pajakoemboeh; on southern Celebes and the eastern Moluccas, Kisar particularly. The bands are used primarily as waistbands to hold the sarong and as kris bands, as well as for loincloths.

Mn 286 The trimmings from the Padang Highlands can be called a peculiar form of band weaving.

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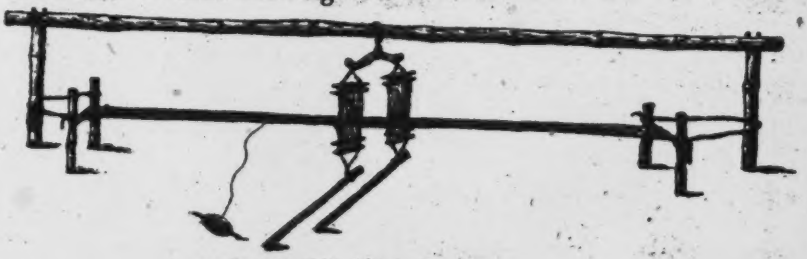

Apparatus for Weaving Bands
Photo. Jasper and Mas Pirngadie

Batik. Like the ikat work, batiking is also a reserving process, but with the difference that the ikat dyeing is done before the weaving while batiking is done on the finished cloth. In the second place batiking differs from ikat work in that here the dyeing process must be a cold process since the reserving-material is wax, which would melt in a hot liquid.

I 174 286 [521] According to some, the meaning of the word batik stems from the period when the custom was to drip starch on the cloth to be processed. In any case, batik comes from the stem tik, which is a sound imitating the fall of a drop. According to Dr. Juynboll, another word from this stem is ambatik, touching cotton with the tjanting, the little syringe by means of which the wax is applied to the cloth to be processed.

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

generally agree in this matter. She said that there could not 164
have been a law compelling colonization as there is not enough 743
room to care for all the lepers here, who number in the thou- 758
sands (though India and Africa are worse off). So, many
lepers are still at large. Generally, those who enter are those [753]
who either fear infection spreading to their relatives, or those
whose relatives won't have them around, or those whom the
kampong compels to leave their local community. But they
have a happy life in a way, and this impresses the native mind,
because they get free and good food, good houses, etc. The [461]
nurse said that there is some trouble in getting them to work
as they will not do so unless they have to. Nevertheless, they
do all the work needed and the place is well cared for, in fact,
spotless. She said that psychologically there was little trouble
with the native lepers but that Europeans almost went crazy.
I saw only one Eurasian little girl. They weave their own [286]
clothes. I saw a backbar loom here [in the leper asylum at
Bolombaru--Analyst] and another in the old man's house. All
girls can weave, and practically all sarongs are homemade. I
saw some beauties. And now I know how the weaving is done.
The colors are really amazing. They weave a long narrow
strip, perhaps thirty inches, and cut and sew to make a sarong.
This takes from three to seven days. One military doctor
comes here three times a week. The rest of the work is done
entirely by the patients. The nurse said she liked her work and
seemed to be in excellent spirits. I told her that I would give
them old detective books. An old man [a patient in the leper 159
asylum, Balombaru--Analyst] (photograph) said that he had
formerly been captain of a prau. He had made a fine model of
one like his for his son, and was quite proud to show it off. He
said that he had sailed wherever there was trade, and that
formerly he might be away from three to four years. He said
that he had gone to Surabaja, Cheribon, Semarang, Batavia,
Padang, Singapore, Siam, Penang, and even China. He had
once had a chance to go to the United States (how?) but did not
go. He showed me a picture of himself when he was in Java in
the old days. It showed him, his former wife, and another
couple. All were wearing horn rimmed glasses (property
of the photographer?). He was dressed in a dark coat,
wide "slicker" pants of the twenties and a necktie. He was
not at all hesitant about talking of his former wife. He
said that this one was still in Java with one child. He said
he had only one male child by his present wife, but that he
had many other children by others. He even seems un-
certain as to how many wives, exactly, he has had. There

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
● 286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323 462] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly
262 there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco,
241 Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts.

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

2262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other
513 for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
682 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

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At the time when the people in this area still made their clothes out of foeja /beaten tree bark/, they fetched from this hill the stones from which were made the little hammers (ike) with which the tree bark was flattened. The headman under whose leadership the move had taken place bore the name of Samba-langi, "covering the sky." The village was strong because it was surrounded by three earthen walls. Samba-langi continued to be invoked for a long time by people from Wotoe who brought buffaloes to Lake Poso: "Samba-langi, give us health, and do not let the buffaloes die on the way."

Now the story goes that the son of Samba-langi, once when he was bathing in the Kalaena, saw maize leaves and other refuse floating in it. This convinced him that there must be people living upstream. He followed the river upstream and came to the country now known as Saloe-maoge. There he saw a bamboo container hanging on a sugar palm, in which palm wine was collected. The people of Lampenai drank some of the liquid and then placed salt and sugar at the foot of the tree as the price for the enjoyment. After that they returned home.

When Samba-langi learned of the vicissitudes of his son, he ordered him to go back to the land upstream and to try to contact the inhabitants of Saloe-maoge. After they had again placed salt and sugar at the foot of a tree, they hid in the bushes in order to see who came to get these delicacies. Before long there appeared a man who was totally naked and who fled immediately when the coastal inhabitants showed themselves. Nevertheless eventually they managed to establish contact with the man and his fellow tribesmen. Coastal and mountain inhabitants made friends with each other. When the question came up as to who was the younger (inferior) and who the older (superior), the mountain people said to the people from the coast: "Of course you are our superiors, and we shall show you honor, because you wear trousers and a jacket, while we wear only a loincloth."

Iban 066
Makassar 066
Gorontolo 064
Sangirese 069

[517 cont.]

I 291 cotton garment in various colors for the lower part of the body, a similar jacket, and a sort of corset or rattan rings, all mounted I in small, vertically placed rings of beaten copper, which tightly [301] fits the body (2).

2. T.J. Bezemer, "De Binnenlandsche Stammen van Borneo [The Interior Tribes of Borneo]," in De Volken van Nederlands Indië, I, p. 283.

M [518] An important independent weaving industry is found 288 on the small island of Saleyer, just off southern Celebes. Bright 531 colors are very popular, and checked and striped patterns are preferred.

G Of the weaving done on northern Celebes we shall mention 286 only the Bèntenan kain. Bèntenan is a little place on the south- 291 east coast of the northern peninsular of Celebes. The fabrics are named after this little place, but they are also made in other places. They are woven cloths, sometimes ikat, sometimes not, which originally seem to have been used only by mothers to carry their babies on their backs, but later, by sewing together three of these quite narrow kain, they were used also as sarongs. In contrast with most of the cloth woven in the archipelago, the Bèntenan fabrics are nearly always tubular cloths woven with a circular warp. The patterns are geometrical figures and are G very similar to the ikat fabrics of the more easterly part of the [292 archipelago. For example, they bear human figures with raised 565] hands (1). Originally, little Bèntenan cloths were used to cover

1. See Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch-Indië, II, pp. 270 ff.

the seats of notables and priests.

S The beautiful koffo fabrics come from the Sangir and Talaud 286 Islands. Nothing shows the relationship between weaving and 291 plaiting better than the koffo cloth. "The pattern of the Sangirese 531

858 /142 cont./ first menstruation, the girls are "caged"
867 (nikappara'); the separation from the other sex is thereby completed. From now on she is also subject to the many restrictions in social relations which obtain between men and women in general and between unmarried men and women in particular. "She is already staying at home" (ammantammi ri balla') is an indication of the age of a girl when she is around ten years old. At this time she enters the group of women, where she belongs to the young girls
[291] (tau lolo), who are also called "the red jackets" (badju' edja), after the conspicuous red jacket of slightly transparent material which they wear.

867 She learns that she must withdraw at the arrival of male visitors, that she may not be conspicuous, and that she must lower her voice. The girl who enters the front room (kale balla') even though there are guests is told off with a disapproving "she dares." A girl who talked loudly was angrily asked: "Who do you want to hear your voice?" If
[864] a girl shows her desire for a man by being conspicuous and by talking loudly, she is considered late (man-crazy), one of the most undesirable qualities in a girl.

857 A young girl only leaves the house in the company
867 of older women. Little excursions are holidays for her. She dresses carefully for these occasions; she makes herself up, blackens her eyebrows and the hairline on her forehead,
855 /143/ and powders her face. The older women guard and protect her. In their presence a young girl is safe. If she is alone at home or in the yard and a man enters the yard accidentally, a dangerous situation is created because this encounter, regardless of the intention of both parties, is
[626] considered a breach of established forms of social intercourse. If a neighbor woman were to see and talk about it, so that the girl's brother hears of it, the latter would feel siri' and act accordingly.

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Landscape in Goa. Sawahs and groves alternate. Page 19.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

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During the harvest; a group of women. Page 199.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 1]

342

Makassarese houses.
(Photographic Archives Ind. Institute.)

[291]
[417]

Makassarese houses.
(Photographic Archives Ind. Institute.)

[end plate 2]

i:Chakot
E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.

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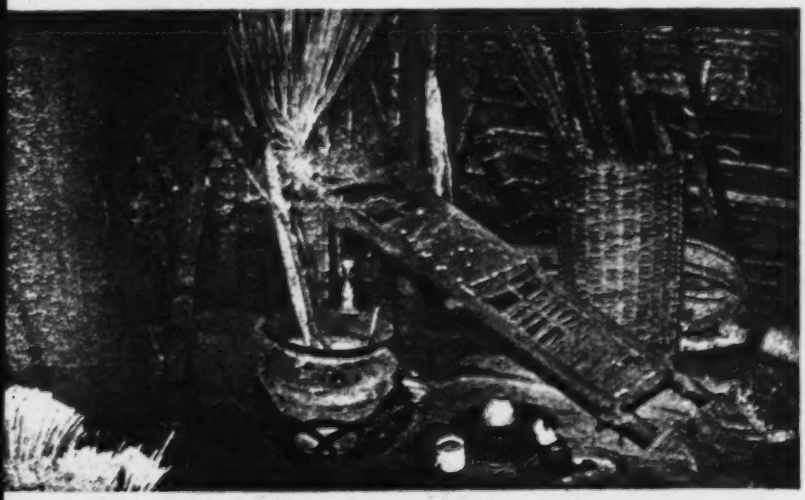

The little ancestral house (pantasa') in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END PLATE 3]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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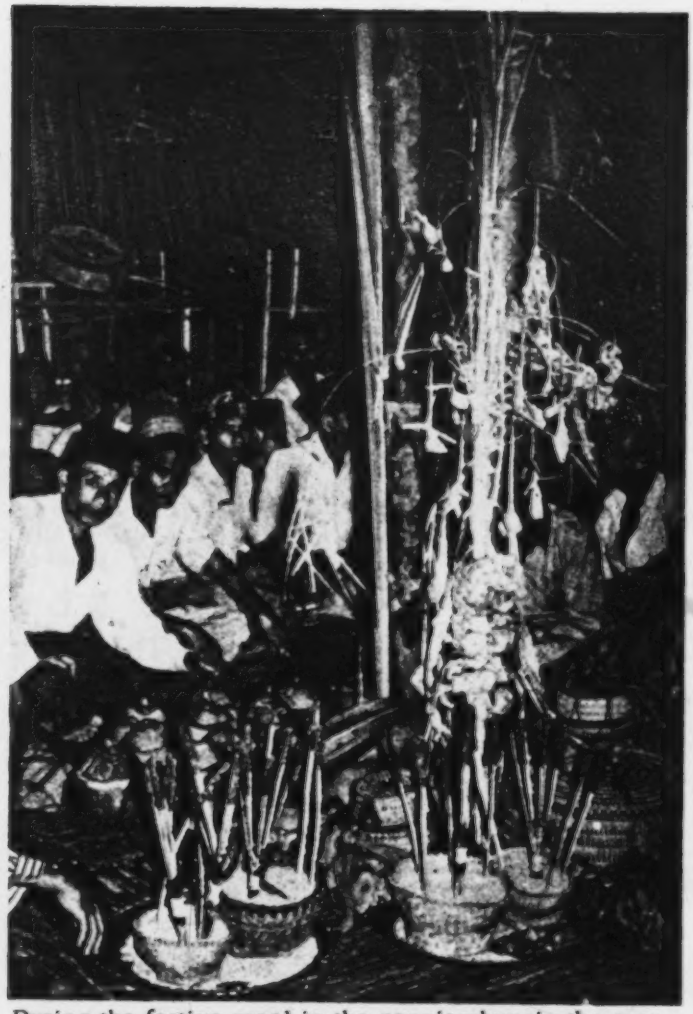

During the festive meal in the pannjambungi, the men sit in rows according to their prestige. Pages 195-196 and 243. In the foreground one can see, among other things, the coconuts, whose contents will be poured over the bridal couple at their first common bath. Page 265.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 6]

1: Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1947. During the procession.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

After the inauguration, many try to obtain a bit of the earth next to the investiture stone. Compare page 66.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 7]

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During a circumcision festival held for a son of the adat community head, he and his little sister also have their teeth filed.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

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On the occasion of the same festival, the old Imam also cuts the children's hair in a ritual manner.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

[end plate 9]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar
OG6

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Bissu of Segeri during their dance, in which they are in a trance and attempt to press a kris into the body. Pages 208-209.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 10]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Bissu of Segeri during the plowing ritual on the ornament sawah. In the photograph, the bissu are recognizable by the fact that they wear glasses. Pages 101 and 208-209.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 11]

[94 cont.]
631 of these territorial institutions is quite different from that of those found in other parts of the archipelago. From olden times on southern Celebes there has been [95] a kind of
643 feudal nobility, the Karaëng among the Makassarese and the Aroeng of the Buginese, with the members of their families, the Anakaraëng (Makassarese) and the Anakaroeng (Buginese). The criterion by which a Karaëng or an Aroeng is recognized as chief or ruler by the population is the possession of the so-called
[293 778] "regalia," which in southern Celebes are called ornaments (in Buginese, aradjang; in Makassarese, kalompowang). [Illustration appears here.] Among these objects there are a few of value, but also a number that are quite worthless, little bones, little pieces of wood, small stones, etc., and an article that is considered the most important, the gaoekang. It is a stone or a little stick that was found by the original owner, long, long ago in a particular
[142 291]

Buginese from Southern Celebes
Photo. Kol. Instituut Amsterdam. Coll. Veen.

[293 778] concealed place, or which he received under mysterious conditions. The worship of these regalia has something of the nature
793 of fetishism; among the prominent Karaëng there are even

Javanese OE5
Sumatra OD1
Redjang-lampong OD12
MaKassar OG6
Gorontolo OG4

I J 291 [41 cont.]

highly developed people of the archipelago, the men make their appearance at ceremonial functions, such as weddings, with the upper body bare, and this is also done in the court costume. In the Palembang Highlands, too, the bridegroom S [291] makes his appearance with the upper part of his body bare (1).

G M R-L

1. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 26.

291 576 Also, for example, in the Lampong districts, when boys and girls gather to sing pantun to each other, the adat prescribes that the boys appear with bare upper bodies or be fined. The Makassarese and Buginese uncover the upper body as a sign of respect (2), which also seems to be the case among the

2. Indische Gids, 1880, Vol. I., p. 970; Vol. II, p. 327.

Gorontalese. Leaving the upper part of the body bare is therefore truly national. The peoples of the Malay Archi- I 291 pelago adopted the garment that covers the upper body from the Arabs, if not earlier from the Hindus. This is a kind of jacket of various cuts. As a rule it closes around the neck with a stand-up collar and otherwise hangs open and loose down to the hips, while the wide sleeves barely extend over the elbows. Frequently, however, it is closed in front and open only at the neck so that it must be pulled on over the head. The Malay name is badju [baju], from which our M [Dutch] baadje (incorrectly baaitje) is derived. The word I badju is probably derived from the Persian bāzu (3); the Javanese J 291

3. Van der Tuuk, Tobasche spraakkunst, p. 403, note.

Ng. name for this garment is klambi or kulambi; in Kr. it

MK I J 291

[41 cont.]
is called rasukan. This jacket is generally worn over the naked body, [42] at least among the poorer Javanese (1) and Malays (2),

1. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 604.

2. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 23.

Makassarese, etc., whereas the more prosperous wear a shirt or undervest under it (3). Among a few peoples, such as the

3. Matthes, "Ethnographische Atlas," Mak. Wdb., Pl. 15, Fig. 1.

Makassarese (4) and the Malays (2) [see footnote above], it is

4. Hardeland, Dajaksch-deutsches Wörterbuch, see klambi.

MK MN J B 291

always closed. Among others, such as the Dajak (5), it is

5. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 604.

usually open, at least when it is a klambi; the badju is always closed among them. The close-fitting shirt or undervest mentioned above has various names: Javanese kutungan (5) [see footnote 5 above], Malay badju dalam or banijan (6),

6. Van der Tuuk and Van der Wall, Maleisch Woordenboek, see badju.

Minangkabau-Malay badju bunien (2) [see footnote 2 above], Makassarese badju ilalang (7).

7. Matthes, Makassaarsch Wdb., see badju, and atlas, Pl. 15, Fig. 1.

[42 cont.]

l. Trousers

I J 291 The peoples of the Malay Archipelago have adopted trousers from the Arabs. As a rule, however, they are worn under the kain or sarong. The general name for trousers in Malay is sĕluwar or, more generally, sĕrāwal, in Javanese sĕruwal. Sĕrāwal may have come from the Arabic seruwal or from the Persian saluwar. Sĕrāwal could have come from sĕluwar, however, by a simple transposition.

Sĕluwar or sĕrāwal is the long trousers, also frequently called tjĕlana, the Javanese tjĕlānā, the Sanskrit calana, very long trousers, fitting tightly around the ankles, part of the war and court attire. The name is derived from a skirt of lower class women of British India.

N M A J 291

The common men very often wear short trousers that come to the knees (Javanese katok). A peculiar kind of trousers that is very common on Sumatra is the sĕrāwal atjeh (sĕrāwa atjeh), the Atjehnese trousers, which extend over the knees and have a very low seat, like the pantaloons of the French Zouaves. The Makassarese [43] also wear these trousers and call them saluwĕrá atje (1). Other peoples, however, detest the use of trousers, especially the less civilized, for example, the Niassans (2).

1. Matthes, Makassaarsch Wdb., pp. 606 and 658.

2. Van Rosenberg, Verh. Bat. Gen. v. K. en W., Vol. XXX, p. 31.

Malays AN5
Java OE1
Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Javanese OE5

M/ [51 cont.]
J on Sumatra also know this object; it is used very commonly
I among those of the Palembang Highlands in particular (2).
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301

2. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 27.

MK
M/ Furthermore the Makassarese children and Dajak [Dyak] girls
B wear it. Among the Malays, as in the Sunda lands, it is called
291 tjaping (3), [footnotes 3-5 are combined under footnote 5] among
301 the Makassarese djimpang (4), among the Dajak saping (5).

3-5. Van der Tuuk and Van der Wall, op. cit., see tjaping. Matthes, Atlas Mak. en Boegin. Wrdb., Pl. XV, Fig. 28. Hardeland, op. cit., see saping. Van der Tuuk, Bat. leesboek, IV, p. 212.

Jn Boys' clothing. Boys do not wear such plates. Sometimes,
M/ however, boys wear an object hanging down in front to serve more
I or less as a covering for the genitals, but primarily as an orna-
291 ment. This ornament consists of a penis made of metal, kontollan,
301 and the boys wear it hanging in front of the pudenda. It is used, for example, among the Makassarese, but only by the well-to-do. The article is then generally made of gold and is called laso-laso. It is also known among the Javanese. It seems, however, that among them the boys wear the ordinary genital plate hanging down in front, which is like the women's plate except that it is provided with a klontongngan, a little rod. This rod represents the penis, as the word klontongngan indicates. It is also generally known among the Malays (6).

6. Van der Tuuk and Van der Wall, op. cit., see tjaping.

Batak OD5
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

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[51 cont.]

It is not difficult to answer the question as to what the origin of this ornament is. It is reported of the Batak that this object is definitely used now as an amulet that the children wear in front of the genitals (7), from which, we believe, one can conclude

7. Neumann, Tijdschr. Ned Aard. Gen., 1886, more extensive articles, 2, p. 30.

[52] that formerly the other tribes among whom we found it also attached this meaning to the object. In my study on the ithyphallic images of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago, I noted the fact that among the most civilized peoples the penis, and among the more highly developed peoples a representation of the penis, is used to drive off evil spirits, particularly the pontianaq, whereas the imitation of the penis serves primarily to counter the influence of the evil eye (1).

1. Wilken, Bijdragen t.d. T. L. en Vlk. v. Ned. Indië, Vol. XXXV, p. 393 ff.

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The first garment worn by the children of the more highly developed peoples, the Javanese, Malays, Makassarese, and Buginese, is the chest-protector, which is fastened around the neck and stomach with bands. The name of this garment is oto or otoh, in Javanese oto, and in Makassarese and Buginese otó (2). Among

2. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 603. Van der Tuuk and Van der Wall, Maleisch woordenboek, see oto. Matthes, Makassaarsch and Boegineesch Wrdb., see otó.

the less civilized, as well as among the still wholly uncivilized, the children are dressed as adults as soon as they reach marriageable age.

S
838 Van der Veen said that there are only a few real hermaphro-
824 dites here, but that there are many homosexuals. And here
792 is something! Boys who show feminine tendencies are fed maize because it is linked with the earth (female principle), and not rice, because the latter is heavenly and connected with the male principle.

000 Ambon: I met an insurance man at the Rotary Club meeting in Makassar, at which I spoke. His name is Kaihatu. He is from Oma, on Saparua, I think [Haruku]. Anyway, he said that they have quite a bit of pela [ally, in the sense of institutionalized friendship] practices there. One cannot marry a person of a fellow pela village. Thus Oma and a village on another island [Saparua] are in a pela relationship to each other. This involves a great amount of mutual aid. Although one can not marry a person from the other village it is evidently possible to marry in one's own village. Kaihatu said that even in a far away place such as Java, if a man of Oma meets one from a pela village he will help him in all ways possible. And he will never think of marrying. This custom is still strong, and even the moderns have no idea of breaking it. He also said that there was much black magic and that such beliefs are firm. I will see him later.

M
609 South Celebes: On my way back from Malino I was stopped
126 by two lads at Lebon pasar. They were on their way from
●291 Makassar to the village where the Goa radja lived. They were selling clothing and asked me for a lift saying that there were two men. But soon two more appeared, and finally there were seven. All got in the jeep with their luggage. They were jolly and friendly. They pointed out a special black cape worn by nobles (but not only by nobles; perhaps only by women?) on the road. This type of cape is really beautiful, even out in the country. At one point they asked to stop and bought two large bunches of bananas. I asked them why. They said that the bananas were for me! And these the "surly Makassarese". I took a fast photo of them [with a Polaroid Land camera] and they were overjoyed. I gave one to them, and they are going to make copies for all. They posed with considerable pride. The kraton [court] of the radja was white walled, but inside it looked like the ordinary native houses.

M
[115] South Celebes: the following information was obtained
181 from van Heekeren of the archaeological service and Abdul
609 Rahim, Guru, an assistant of Cense and Chabot. They said
177 that the Makassarese and Buginese are very conservative. They claim that they will not change much. Thus, if they are asked why they do not use the potter's wheel, for example,

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaëng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had
576 a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
593 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).
123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room
177 under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
● 291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaëng stands there but says nothing. Beside

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

C third man in the Aru Pitu, who, together with the Arumpone
565 and the Makadangetana, form the self-government council of
634 the State. With them sits the Sulewatang Udjung, Minister of Information. The same general pattern holds in Wadjo and Soppeng. Each minister has a function, for example, police civil, etc. The Tomarilalang is a young fellow, tall, and good looking. He seems intelligent and quiet; though really dumb as I found out later.

C I talked with the Tomarilalang about changes, for example,
565 in clothing. I later found out from the Dutch police advisor
557 that the Arumpone fears the Tomarilalang, and others as
578 well, for possible intrigue. I also found out later that the Makadangetana, the old stocky fellow with a mustache who was formerly only a kampong chief, rose slowly until he became even Minister of War. So there is mobility at least within the higher class, and maybe within the middle class.

C I talked a great deal with Thierens, a young intelligent
647 Dutch controleur. He is sympathetic toward the native at-
563 tempt, and like most Dutch now working with them seems to be of the high and democratic type. For example, Thierens asked what I thought was the case among the conservatives who still hold on in Batavia. He saw much trouble ahead for the natives, and I agree. He said that now all the Dutch here are assistants to native officials. The police advisor later said that they were advisors only. I got the idea that the old ways were completely gone. I noticed the great respectful attitude of the Dutch toward native upper classes. They are now the second men. But, as far as I could see, the natives were also very polite. At least this seems to be so in South Celebes.

M Next day we went to the kampong of Bukaka which is al-
124 most inside Watampone. It has a population of about 3,000.
●291 I went to the house of the Kepala kampong in my jeep with
596 Sulewatang Udjung and Andi. Sulewatang Udjung is always
609 well dressed. He wears an elaborate, ornate closed jacket
574 and sarong, and on his head the horsehair and gold bordered songkok. He is an old fellow with a bad case of tuberculosis and Thierens warned him to be careful. But when I visit him he offers tea and awful gummy Buginese cake, and I must eat it. A large crowd lives in his house. There is much evidence of an extended family. He said he had eight children and thirty grandchildren. It seems that most of them are here. They are pretty good looking and rather well dressed. This is an indication of why they need political jobs. Andi, for
000 example, works in the Office of Economic Affairs. The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

2262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

● 291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are
[462] women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion
262 when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco,
241 Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

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During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the
old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today.
The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general
the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones
tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have
been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in
pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know
that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and [439]
import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is
hardly worth speaking of.

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. For- 436
merly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C.[pro- 178
bably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East
India Company)--Analyst]coins and also kepeng. Now they
still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was
some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me.

As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including 177
four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were 489
three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. 493
There is much travel by bus today.

As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic 428
and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main 562
thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance 591
it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that 611
the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one.
But the girls generally get the house. This is important be-
cause the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though
there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more proper-
ty than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Never-
theless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's
house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his
kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal
state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he [578]
might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not
right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the
thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really ex-
cited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would
fight, and even knife him.

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 ● 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Before the commencement of the Dikir on the occasion of the Maulud festival in Laikang. Dikir is men's work; a girl is jokingly chased away. Page 193.

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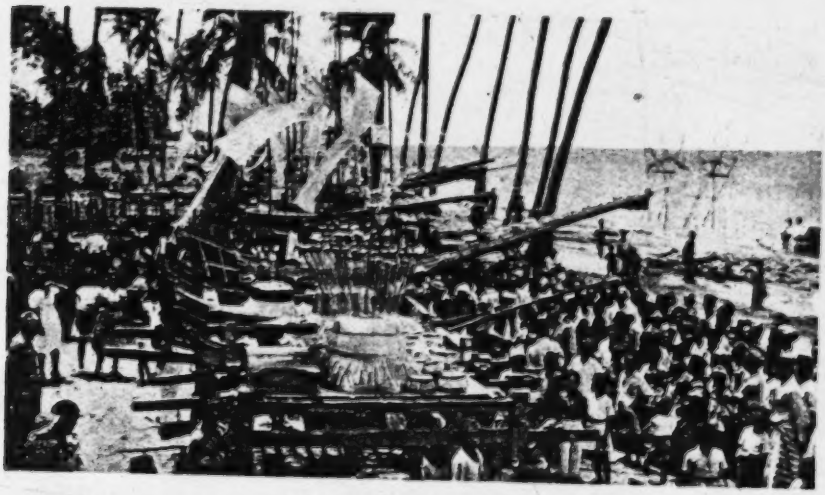

General view of the Maulud festival in Laikang. The scaffolds are sent in by kampongs. In their size and construction the competitive spirit between kampongs finds expression.

[end plate 4]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

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The Imam of Borongloë (center) marries the bridegroom (right); to the left in the foreground is the father of the bride; to the right in the background the back of the bride can be seen. Pages 259-260.

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Bride and bridegroom amidst the women and children waiting for their first joint "meal." Page 263.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 5]

Batak OD5
Celebes OG1
Moluccas OH1
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7

[119 cont.]

Bt 534 Finally, we should include a description of the Batak orchestra to the extent it differs from a Javanese orchestra. We have chosen the Batak orchestra in particular because it is assembled according to fixed rules. A complete orchestra consists of: 1. four gongs, ogung, of various sizes, played by two men; 2. nine gordang, which are beaten with sticks by two men; 3. two odup (tambourines, each played by one person with the hand); 4. the sarune, the flute; and 5. a hawar-hawar, cymbals, played by one person. The whole orchestra consists of eight persons, from which comes its name Si-radja na-uwalu. Such fixed rules are not found among all peoples, however; among most of them, only those instruments that happen to be Mo available are assembled. When there is a bonang, it is the C central feature, for example, in northern Celebes and in the 534 Moluccas. One would look in vain for regularity in their music; it is only a boring ting-tang or an ear-deafening drumming.

Song and Dance

Mo MK Song and dance are linked with music on the Outer Bl Possessions, too. As a rule dancing is not a profession for I women, although there are exceptions, such as among the 535 Makassarese and Buginese, in Palembang, and on Bali. In Palembang they are called pelandok = chevrotain, and they MK wear a [120] peculiar costume, while among the Buginese and [292] Makassarese they are called padjoge. Every native has the right to dance with the padjoge for a payment of 10, 30, or 60 pennies and is then called pangibing. The adat prohibits one MK from walking amidst such persons when they are dancing. If 689 a native commits such an outrage, the pangibing will stab him 535 with a kris; if a Hollander should do it, then people shrug their shoulders at such ignorance (1).

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

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As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
● [292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

we went to de Graaff's house for a conference. He called in the information man who was also in noble dress. He was old and lean and impressive. His name is Sulewatang Udjung. There were a few others including his son, Andi Pabara. They decided that the best kampong would be near Pampanua, but I said that that would be too far so they then decided on one on the border of Watampone, Bukaka. Andi was chosen as an assistant. There was much talk and the controleurs came in, Kollewijn and Thierens, both fine men and the Buginese should be glad they have them. M 124 [115]

I made long speeches in Dutch and Malay (how silly of me to have thought that I could use English here!) regarding the need in the United States of knowing more about Bone, United States customs, my project, and so forth. Everyone seemed well impressed. The Dutch acted very fine and spent all morning helping me. After much encouraging talk we went to the Arumpone the biggest "medicine" in South Celebes. He lives in a not too impressive house. There is no palace here. The Sulewatang said later that he formerly had the present house of the Assistant Resident. And that house was also not up to Standard Oil standards. The Arumpone's house has an equally large pavilion separated into two parts, in one of which sits the great aradjang and in the other the guests. The Arumpone talked quite a bit of American journalists, especially those who had visited Bone before dying in a plane crash in India. He showed me a photograph of himself taken with them. The Assistant Resident said later that the Arumpone said he was impressed by my speaking in Indonesian and had been critical of the journalists who come here and do "research" without any language facility. The Arumpone is a dignified fellow about fifty, wearing a uniform which looks somewhat like a general's, and a fine yellow songkok. He had two gold pens. He said he was going to Buton tomorrow, and seemed very proud. He said I must come again and take a photograph (that camera!). He is reputed to be a conservative. Also, he is not up to the blood of the deposed and exiled-to-Rantepao former arum. Later Thierens said to me that the Arumpone here lived in fear of intrigue, and that when one of the Aru Pitu [the seven princes of Bone] was around, he shuts up. Thierens also said that this was not too different from the intrigue against the arumpone in Bontorio. The present Arumpone is the head of the Hadat tinggi (House of Lords with veto power) in Makassar. This Hadat tinggi is for all of South Celebes (Sulawesi Selatan). The second man in the Hadat tinggi is the Goa radja. I met the Tomarilalang, the M 123 565 M 565 292● 578 C 565 634

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
●292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo killings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been
771 at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
184 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
●292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

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342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

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342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouthwash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
● [292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

although he told me that they were "his people". He said 535
that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would 565
be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He 567
said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may
not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one [435
of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must 582]
pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And
even later, when they are no longer able to perform as
padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry.
The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and
he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner
who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the
kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as
padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prostitutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are
not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fifteen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot,
and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese dancing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be
a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, deadpan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They
are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and
chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fascinated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically
doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job
because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth.
The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and
their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented
out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with
cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also powdered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older
and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother
said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There 574
were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the 431
birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty 181
of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about be- 576
fore the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around
in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and 567
finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer [292]
came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very
humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been
ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought
immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I
have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic examples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese 535
in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and 181
there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead- 152
pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the sim- 832
ple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the 292
local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have
much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light
banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was
when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected
because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face to-
ward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward
prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The
high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And
the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under
them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in
festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and 124
finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Moham-
medan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living 163
children per woman was three, but that the average number
of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average
number who die to each woman is two. They say there has
been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not
much if any difference according to class. This I do notice,
that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is 861
the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. 828
I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that
they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says
there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a
child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex]
(and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted
that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary
people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. 562
They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, 584
women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women 883
never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) 181
If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or some-
one else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not
usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders
doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change
noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional
pair coming from school together, but this is carried out
for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampong wears one. However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it. In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles. Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem to be alternates of all sorts. They call me padika tuan, as I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone. (This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Makassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was formerly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when approaching their superiors or when passing them. They squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with them. They wait until they are asked a question. And every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the Kepala kampong meets me or says goodbye he holds our right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very best place. The Kapala kampong and other common guests sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked the Kepala kampong who was waiting in the car to come onto the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

M 173 643 M. [292] /122 cont./ said: "I shall become Mohammedan as soon as my pigs are gone." He (Matinroë ri Malangke) died before he achieved this through his livestock. A ceremonial jacket of his, of black cotton with long sleeves, is still kept by his grave at Pao, not far from Malangke. His son, Matinroë ri Goa, "he who rests in Goa," converted to Islam and moved to Palopo. This move is said to have been inspired by the wish to live under more pleasant circumstances and to be able to cultivate sawahs and to erect a masjid. Malangke, however, was also suitable ground for this. The move is probably connected with the wish to break completely with the heathenish past. Our informant named for us the following Datoes of Loewoe': After Matinroë ri Goa, Tompotika came to power. After him: Matinroë ri langkanae (palace), Matinroë ri Kaloekoe-bodo, M. ri Sambamparoe, M. ri tangana Loewoe' (in the middle of Loewoe'), M. ri Kamomberoe, M. ri Limpo-madjang, and Datoe Kambo Daeng ri Sompa, a woman who died in her thirties.

M [551]

T 173 T [177] Among the East Toradja the name Sawerigading is little known. The memory of the contact with the Hinduized immigrants lives on in the traditions concerning Lasaeo, a mythical hero who for a short time founded a little realm at Pamona on Lake Poso, but finally went to Waiboenta in Loewoe'.

10. The rights of Wotoe over the Toradja. The tribute to Loewoe'.

T 648 643 T 648 631 From the above it appears that Wotoe had the oldest rights over the East Toradja, and that these rights were passed on to the Datoe. Yet the Toradja have always considered the Chief of Wotoe their immediate head. Homage for the Datoe was brought to this Chief, and he took care of its delivery. Whenever the Datoe sent an envoy to the East Toradja to convey one order or another, this envoy always traveled by way of Wotoe, from where the Chief sent someone along as his deputy, because otherwise the Toradja would not recognize the envoy as such. At the end of the last

1: Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1947. During the procession.—
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

After the inauguration, many try to obtain a bit of the earth next to the investiture stone. Compare page 66.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 7]

[94 cont.]
631 of these territorial institutions is quite different from that of those found in other parts of the archipelago. From olden times on southern Celebes there has been [95] a kind of
643 feudal nobility, the Karaëng among the Makassarese and the Aroeng of the Buginese, with the members of their families, the Anakaraëng (Makassarese) and the Anakaroeng (Buginese). The criterion by which a Karaëng or an Aroeng is recognized as chief or ruler by the population is the possession of the so-called "regalia," which in southern
[293 778] Celebes are called ornaments (in Buginese, aradjang; in Makassarese, kalompowang). [Illustration appears here.] Among these objects there are a few of value, but also a number that are quite worthless, little bones, little pieces of wood, small stones, etc., and an article that is considered the most important, the gaoekang. It is a stone or a little stick that was found by the original owner, long, long ago in a particular
[142 291]

Buginese from Southern Celebes
Photo. Kol. Instituut Amsterdam. Coll. Veen.

[293 778] concealed place, or which he received under mysterious conditions. The worship of these regalia has something of the nature
793 of fetishism; among the prominent Karaëng there are even

[95 cont.]
793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These orna-
[293 ments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of
778 the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was
[714 the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and
other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were
reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had
the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his
property. [96] His power was extended more and more because
he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this
gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was prob-
[636 ably the only native jurisdictional community on southern
634 Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and
given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people,
however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their posi-
tion from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornament-
[631 ships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form
larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as
well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.
565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and
Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes,
the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom
formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among
the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature
644 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because
many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treat-
ment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng,
sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became.
The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural
work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In
exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client
in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary
and could be severed by either side.
[614 Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the
582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy
583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

1:Alkema & Bezemer--644 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia
Makassar 066

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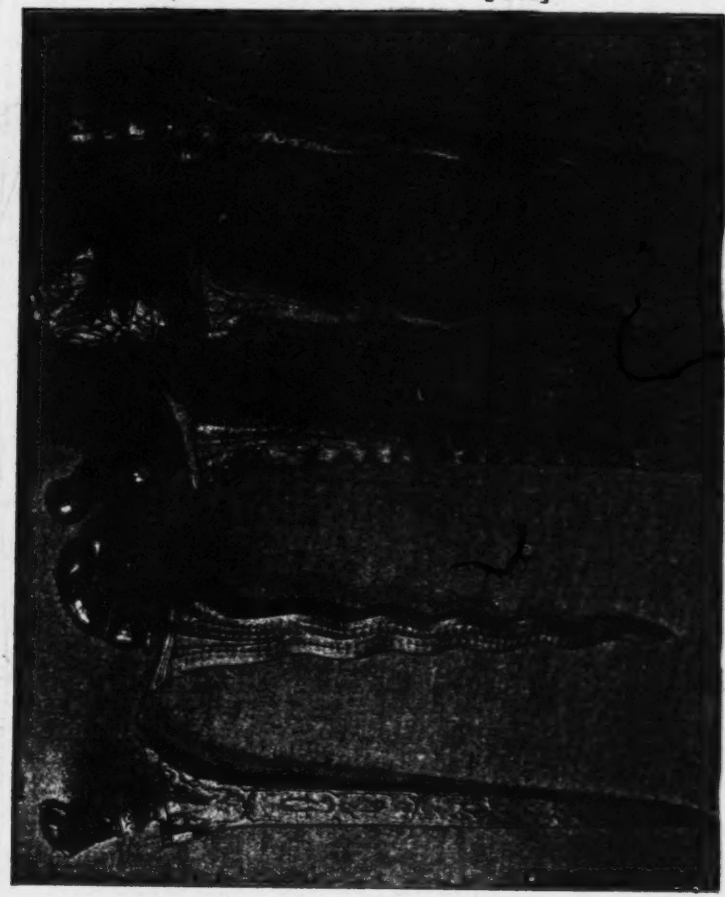

Krises with Pamor Work from Southern Celebes.
Museum Rotterdam

Borneo OC1
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

[53 cont.]

Br I 287 Many peoples of the Malay Archipelago make their clothing from tree bast treated this way, not only the tjawat, but also the badju [baju]. Even those who are acquainted with the loom still use clothing made of tree bark, at least for work in the fields. Such garments are most common among the less developed peoples, such as the Dajak [Dyak], the Alfoer of the eastern parts of the archipelago, and the still almost savage tribes.

I 286 294 291 177 Besides tree bark, all kinds of fabrics are used in the archipelago for making garments. The natives probably learned weaving from the Hindus. The least developed tribes use the fibers of various plants and also young bamboo for weaving; the most highly developed, however, use the fibers of the cotton plant exclusively.

In recent times, however, European linen is used more and more, but the native in any case prefers his own fabrics. Kain, sarongs, slendangs, and headcloths are generally of local manufacture, at least to the extent they are the only ones people can afford, however well European manufacturers have learned to imitate native designs. Besides European cotton textiles, woolen MK and silk materials are also used, at least by notables and the well-MI to-do.

J I 293 174 Before we leave clothing, we shall say [54] a few words about the use of the pajung or songsong, in many cases an indispensable part of the daily costume, although not actually a garment. The pajung or songsong is a parasol of native manufacture. The right to use it is usually held exclusively by the nobility or people of rank or respect, such as sovereigns, princes, and officials. The parasol, with a long handle, is held over the head of the one entitled to use it by a servant. The color or colors of the pajung, gold, red, green, blue, and yellow, the distribution of these colors in stripes and borders, and partly also the knob indicate the rank of the person it shades. The peoples of the Malay Archipelago undoubtedly adopted the pajung and its use as an indication of rank from the Hindus. The pajung, of course, is not found among the uncivilized tribes. It is used only

Javanese OE5
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

MK
MI [54 cont.]
J among the Javanese, Malays, Makassarese, Buginese, etc. The
I Government, too, has adopted the use of the pajung as a mark of
293 distinction. The Government has awarded the right to carry the
174 pajung to the native chiefs and officials on Java, to the chiefs of the Ambon Residency, to the native chiefs among the Minahasa, etc.

J The highest in rank is the golden or yellow pajung, which
293 on Java is carried by the sultans of Solo and Jogjakarta (1).
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1. Veth, Java, Vol. I, pp. 613-614.

[55]

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Chapter 3. Houses and Household Equipment

a. Nomads, living in trees; b. Village settlement pattern, composition of villages; c. Houses on piles, their layout; d. Houses on the ground, their layout; e. Peculiar shapes of houses; f. Palaces, regents' houses; g. House decoration; h. Household equipment.

a. Nomads, Living in Trees

Before we discuss the dwelling in the narrower sense, the house, we want to deal first with the question as to whether there still are tribes in the Malay Archipelago who do not have residences and whom we should therefore call nomads. This question can be promptly answered in the affirmative. Naturally, only the
I least developed tribes spend their lives wandering from one place
[222] to another. It has been reported that most of these tribes only build wretched huts here and there, merely a lean-to made of branches and leaves. In most cases these huts are built between the heavy branches of high trees.

[417 cont.]

565 number of titles for the other princes and royal persons, but we
643 shall not discuss them here. The most common title for a noble
554 person who does not belong to the royal family is daëng among both peoples. This title originally indicated someone of high birth, but later it was assumed out of self-conceit and lost much of its importance. Buginese and Makassarese who have a right to this title, however, are very proud of it, and when they have risen to some office, they would rather be addressed as daëng than by their official title. Daëng is also a title for women. A native always addresses his wife and older sisters by it, unless they are of royal blood, thus are karaëng. Another noble title, although less exalted than daëng, is the Makassarese [418] kare. We have already seen how people from the common class are addressed.

643 Just as we have noted for the Javanese and Sumatran
293 sovereigns, every ruling sovereign here has his decorations, called kalompuang, or the so-called ornaments. They consist of various objects, such as long krises, guns, shields, badju rante = coat of mail, betel boxes with cuspidors, parasols, etc. Among all the objects, however, one is the most important. It is called gangkang and is generally a strange sort of thing that according to tradition was found in a mysterious way where the seat of the state was established. Thus, there is a gangkang that is a wild tuber of peculiar shape; another one is a small golden image, and in still another one can recognize an old, worn-out
793
778 paintbrush. All these ornaments, and the gangkang in particular, are venerated; feasts are even given in their honor. Also, priests are appointed to take care of them.

The sovereign derives his authority from those ornaments.
643
778 For example, to remove the sovereign during a revolt, an at-
669 tempt is made to gain possession of the ornaments. If this succeeds, he has been virtually deprived of his authority.

7:Alisjahbana E-3 (1952-1953)1954 OB1 Indonesia OB1
(ca. 1900) Sundanese OE7
Makassar OG6

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consisted of many objects, such as kris (creeses), banners, spears, shields. A group of golden ornaments, called the upatjara, were carried in a procession at the celebration of Garebeg. (See above.) These regalia were collectively called pusaka. Almost each item had a specific function, such as to avert epidemics, droughts, etc.[3]

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The regalia of the Buginese and the Makassarese, called the gaukang were believed to have similar characteristics. Here it was a general belief that the regalia was the basis of the ruler's power. Without these regalia, a Makassarese or Buginese ruler would not be able to come to power.[4]

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The regents, the highest nobility in the Prijangan, also possessed regalia. Ordinarily it consisted of kris, betelnut-sets, statues, shields, umbrellas, etc. and it was hereditary within the family. These hereditary ornaments were called pusaka too; a special room was customarily kept apart for them. Although these pusaka were treated with reverent care, the Makassarese and Buginese concept of the regalia's power did not exist.

Dutch sources pointed out that during the early contacts with the native chiefs, the pusakas were displaced on almost all occasions. In some areas they were also carried in a procession with the aim of blessing the tjatjah. In some areas the water with which the pusaka was cleaned was believed to possess curing power.

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3. J. P. Duyvendak, Inleiding tot de Ethnologie van de Indonesische Archipel. (Groningen/Batavia: J. B. Wolters, 1946).

4. H. J. Friedericy, "De Standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie, vol. 90 (1933), pp. 448-602.

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323 462] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly
262 there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco,
241 Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts.

Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.

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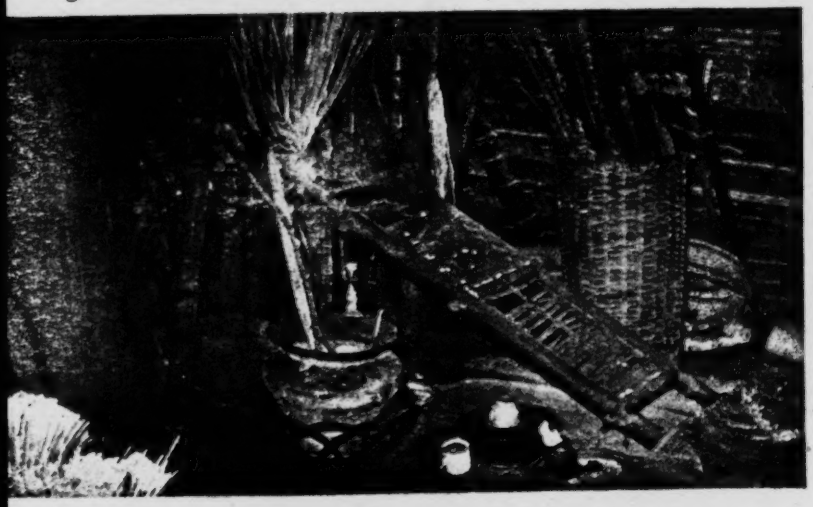

The little ancestral house (pantasa') in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END PLATE 3]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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During a circumcision festival held for a son of the adat community head, he and his little sister also have their teeth filed.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

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On the occasion of the same festival, the old Imam also cuts the children's hair in a ritual manner.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

[end plate 9]

Nias OD11
Minangkabau OD10

Javanese OE5
Bali OF7
Batak OD5
Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1

I [28 cont.]
301 cylinders and eardrops. The former are certainly the most
Ms original. They are cylinders or disks of different materials,
Bt which [29] vary greatly also in size and thickness, depending
Br on the material from which they are made. The Malay name
Bl
J for the disks is subang; a name that with some variations is used
301 for this ornament on the different islands: Javanese suwěng,
Balinese subeng (1), Batak sibong (2), Dajak [Dyak] sowang,

1. Van Eck, Bal. Wrdb., p. 141.

2. Van der Tuuk, Bat. Wrdb., see sibong.

Makassarese subang (3). Sometimes they are only furled leaves,

3. Matthes, Makassaarsch Wrdb., see subang (here, it is definitely an ear ornament for women).

usually from the lontar palm. Balinese women, for example,
Bl often wear nothing in their ears but a furled leaf the size of a
Bt
N beer-bottle cork, as is the custom also among the Niassans,
301 and the Batak champions, too, adorn themselves with such an
ornament (4). The subang are usually made of wood, but also

4. Van Hoëvell, Oorlogvoeren der Bataks [War among the Batak], p. 8.

of bone or horn, and the front surface is often decorated with carving or covered with thin gold, silver, or copper plates. The
Br plates may have exactly the same circumference as the
Mn cylinder, or they may be larger. Among the Minangkabau
301 Malays, for example, they are extraordinarily large (5), while

5. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, pp. 17-18.

Gorontolo OG4 Minangkabau OD10
New Guinea OJ1 Borneo OC1
Makassar OG6
Javanese OE5
Batak OD5

[29 cont.]

Mn Br among the Dajak they often measure three centimeters in
301 diameter. On the other hand, this subang is very small among other tribes. The Makassarese subang consists only of a little
MK J pin or stick of gold that is stuck through the ear lobe; the one used by the Javanese is nothing but a little stick of buffalo horn
301 or copper (6). The kĕrabu also belongs in the subang category;

6. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 608. See also Jacobs, Int. Archiv f. Ethnographie, Vol. IV, p. 163, Pl. 13, Fig. 10, showing a suwang of the Badoej [Badui].

it is a little stick with a gold or silver knob that is screwed on the stick with a nut. This kĕrabu, whose name is derived from our [Dutch] krab [crab] with the meaning "ear-crab," is worn
Br G primarily by chiefs and prominent people.

MK Besides the use of ear disks or ear cylinders and [30] ear
Bt J sticks, there are also earrings or eardrops, which, as the name indicates, hang from holes in the ear lobes. The common
I 301 Malay name is anting anting (menganting = hang down) and the same word is used in Javanese, Batak, Makassarese, Tonsawang, Tonsea, and Tompakewa, while among the Gorontalese it is nganti-nganti, among the Toemboeloehers wĕling, and among the Dajak anti-anting. The Makassarese sometimes call this ornament bangkarā.

I The use of earrings is about as general as that of the
NG subang; sometimes they are used exclusively, for example,
301 among the Papuans. Among them ear disks are not worn as much as earrings; only a few tribes of Lakahia who lack rings wear a small piece of hard wood (1). With regard to the ear

1. Nieuw Guinea in 1858, p. 45.

disks, it is the size of the ornament that attracts attention; with regard to the earrings, it is not only the size of the rings,

2: Wilken--53 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Javanese OE5 Gorontolo OGH
Makassar OG6● New Guinea OJ1
Gorontolo OGH Land Dyak OC8
Batak OD5
Mentawi OD9

I [33 cont.]
G the Gorontalese (8). Among other tribes, the neck ornaments
NG
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8. Riedel, Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.- L.- en Vk., Vol. XIX, p. 131.

Mt consist of heavy strings of animal teeth or even sometimes of
Bt human teeth, for example, among the above-mentioned
LD Papuans (7) [see footnote 7 on preceding page] and the Dajak
301 of the west coast of Borneo (9). The [34] Batak call gold

9. Veth, Borneo's Westerafdeeling, Vol. II, p. 258.

ornaments saitan, showing that they formerly must have been made from tusks (1). Where there has already been contact

1. Van der Tuuk, Bataksch leesboek, Vol. IV, p. 150. Id., Bataksch Wdb., see sait.

with foreigners, the neck ornaments are often made up of various strings of beads or stones of different colors. Thick copper wire is also often used for making neck ornaments. The great number of such ornaments that are worn is particularly characteristic. This is the case, for example, among the Batak, the Dajak, and the Mentawei Islanders.

e. Finger Rings

J
I
301 The use of finger rings is no less common: Malay
Bt tjintjin, Batak sinsin, Dairi tintin, Dajak tisin, Makassarese
G tjinjtjing or tjintjing (with the palatal n), Buginese tjitjing,
MK Alfoer of the Minahasa sisim (Tombulu). There are quite
● [301] different names on Java, such as ali-ali, supé, lepen, kalpiko,

Malays AN5
Java OE1
Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Javanese OE5

M/ [51 cont.]
J on Sumatra also know this object; it is used very commonly
I among those of the Palembang Highlands in particular (2).
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2. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 27.

MK
M/ Furthermore the Makassarese children and Dajak [Dyak] girls
B wear it. Among the Malays, as in the Sunda lands, it is called
291 tjaping (3), [footnotes 3-5 are combined under footnote 5] among
301 the Makassarese djimpang (4), among the Dajak saping (5).

3-5. Van der Tuuk and Van der Wall, op. cit., see tjaping. Matthes, Atlas Mak. en Boegin. Wrdb., Pl. XV, Fig. 28. Hardeland, op. cit., see saping. Van der Tuuk, Bat. leesboek, IV, p. 212.

Jn Boys' clothing. Boys do not wear such plates. Sometimes,
M/ however, boys wear an object hanging down in front to serve more
I or less as a covering for the genitals, but primarily as an orna-
291 ment. This ornament consists of a penis made of metal, kontollan,
301 and the boys wear it hanging in front of the pudenda. It is used, for example, among the Makassarese, but only by the well-to-do. The article is then generally made of gold and is called laso-laso. It is also known among the Javanese. It seems, however, that among them the boys wear the ordinary genital plate hanging down in front, which is like the women's plate except that it is provided with a klontongngan, a little rod. This rod represents the penis, as the word klontongngan indicates. It is also generally known among the Malays (6).

6. Van der Tuuk and Van der Wall, op. cit., see tjaping.

[94 cont.]

R-L 411 292

Prunkwaffen' [Criticism of Schmeltz' Indonesian Ceremonial Weapons'], " Ind. Gids, 1890, Vol. II, pp. 1808 ff.

side, sometimes on the left (4) [Ed., footnote 4 is missing]. For court attire it is always worn on the right side, because then a large chopper and a small knife are worn on the left as symbols of readiness to chop down a tree or to cut grass at the slightest command of the sovereign. If one is wearing the kris against the back, it is required as a matter of politeness that when visiting some one it be pushed to the left side so that the point of the sheath is visible in front and the hilt remains hidden behind the left shoulder.

J 411 773 174

The kris is greatly venerated by the peoples who use it, especially the Javanese. The kris is so important a weapon in the eyes of the Javanese that there are various legends concerning its origin. Usually the introduction of this weapon is attributed to the famous mythological hero, Raden Pandji. Raffles, however, mentioned [95] a legend about an old prince from the Hindu period, Sakoetram or Sapoetram, who came into the world with a kris at his side. Javanese historica accounts are full of legends about holy and miraculous krises. Krises are prominent not only among the Javanese, but also among the Malays, the Buginese, and Makassarese, both as a ceremonial ornament of sovereigns and as pusaka or heirlooms that are passed on from generation to generation (1).

MK MI J 411 301 428

1. Veth, Java, Vol. I, pp. 612-613. Schmeltz, "Indonesische Prunkwaffen," Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr., Vol. III, pp. 107 ff.

2: Wilken--713 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Makassar OG6 ● Melanesians OK2
JIAS OD11 Philippines OA1 Minangkabau OD10
Batak OD5 Redjang-Lampung OD12
Bali OF7

Bi
RL
Mn
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[661 cont.]

1. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, LXXIII, Fig. 7.

and the Lampong. The last-mentioned call the cases singay and tangay (2); more to the east they are found among the Balinese (3).

2. Tijdschrift v. Ned. Indië, 1846, Vol. I, p. 306. Indische Gids, 1880, p. 976.

3. Catalogus Kol. Afd. Amsterd. Tent. 1883, Gr. II, No. 146.

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● 301

The nail-protector that may be worn only by princesses of Tanete on the left thumb deserves special mention. This little object is a curved oblong rectangular sheath about 15 centimeters long and wrapped in fine vegetable fibers and gold thread, which is stuck on the upright thumb and must be held in that position (4).

4. Weber, "Ethnogr. Notizen über Flores und Süd-Celebes [Ethnographic Notes on Flores and South Celebes]," p. 42, Table II, Fig. 5 (Int. Archiv f. Ethnographie, Suppl. III).

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Page 60. Speaking about the original way of supporting the penis, this section concludes: "It is difficult to say [662] whether the Malayan tribes were formerly familiar with this way (namely, fastening the penis up against the belly) of covering the genitals." Now it is true that the literature makes no mention of this point, but when one closely examines the soul-images it is at once apparent that the Malays do not differ from the Melanesians in this respect. The soul-images of the Batak, the debata idup, those of the Niassans, the adu, the hampatong of the Dajak, and the anito

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000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

/179 cont./

585 783 Steaming

Steaming (barumbung) is a ritual which prepares bride and groom for their future union. At that time they are still each in his own house. Under the house a pot with water is placed on [801] the fire, and seven different kinds of leaves are placed in it. The steam is conducted upward through a hollow bamboo pipe toward a hole in the floor in the hindmost part of the house. The bride (or the bridegroom) is seated above this hole, completely wrapped in a sarong. The bride's mother scatters puffed rice over her and moves the incense vessel around her, three times one way and once the other. While doing so, she mumbles a spell. When the bride has sat in this way for some time and has perspired profusely, she is bathed. This is repeated for three days on end. It is believed that in this way even the evil that is deep within her will come out with the sweat so that only the good will remain. It is hoped that thus she will be able to face the coming period of uncertainty in the best possible condition.

Plucking the Eyebrows

302 585 The plucking of eyebrows (bubu') is likewise done before the couple is brought together. On this occasion the bride's mother removes the hairs which would make the eyebrow "not good." It is believed that a person's character is revealed in 826 his glance, and also by the features around his eye. In view of 828 the fact that even an exchange of words between young men [834] and women is prohibited, the casting of glances is practically the only thing that can be done with impunity. The slight arching of an eyebrow and lowering of the eyelids have their significance. To be greedy of eye (balala matana) is regarded 585 as an inferior quality of a young man. In this ritual the im- 826 portance of the eye and the play of the eyes accordingly finds 832

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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During a circumcision festival held for a son of the adat community head, he and his little sister also have their teeth filed.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

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On the occasion of the same festival, the old Imam also cuts the children's hair in a ritual manner.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

[end plate 9]

1:Alkema & Bezemer--513 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Bali OF7 Gorontalo OG4
Borneo OC1
Makassar OG6
Toradja OG11
Savu OF15

G 304 846 [460 cont.] Minahasa — a little piece of wood with cloth wound around it is fastened tightly against the forehead with bands. Every morning when the child is bathed, the piece of wood is taken off, but after the bath it is fastened on tightly again. This is done for 50 or 60 days.

I [304 174 846] This custom, also practiced formerly in Europe as is shown by prehistoric skulls, must have existed everywhere in the archipelago according to Dr. A. B. Meyer in his study, Ueber künstlich deformirte Schädel von Borneo und Mindanao [Concerning artificially deformed skulls from Borneo and Mindanao], 1881; there are, however, no further reports of recent date on this subject.

Br [304]

I 302 852 778 Ritual Haircutting. In the chapter "Nature Worship," mention was made of the special power that is ascribed to the hair as the bearer of much "mana." It is therefore not surprising that the child's first haircut is accompanied by a certain amount of ceremony, such as is reported by Wilken (1) for the Minangkabau,

1. Dr. G. A. Wilken, "Ueber das Haaropfer und einige andere Trauergebräuche bei den Völkern Indonesiens [Concerning the Hair Offering and Some Other Mourning Customs among the Peoples of Indonesia]" (Revue Coloniale Internationale, IV, pp. 351 f.), and Wilken, Verspreide Geschriften [Miscellaneous Writings], Vol. III, pp. 399-550.

MK T 5 82 302 852 where only in special cases [461] is it accompanied by great festivity, among the Makassarese and Buginese and in central Celebes, where the first contact with the ground (see below) is the occasion for it, on Savu and Bali, where it is done at the namegiving, and for many other tribes in the archipelago.

2: Wilken--266 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10
Makassar OG6
Toradja OG11
Gorontolo OG4

[223 cont.]

a. Haircutting (1)

1. For more detailed information see G.A.Wilken, "Ueber das Haaropfer und einige andere Trauergebräuche bei den Völkern Indonesiëns," Revue Col. Internationale, Vol. IV, pp. 391 f.

Mn I 852 302

A no less important ceremony, one that once even had religious significance, is the first haircut of the young child, which takes place with more or less ceremony among practically all peoples, the pagans as well as the Mohammedans. We point first to the Minangkabau Malays, who call this operation mĕmangkegombaq, the cutting of the gombaq, the locks of hair. These Malays have the custom of shearing the heads of their children completely bare, except for two tufts that remain, sometimes combed and sometimes plaited and decorated with quarters [coins] [224] or amulets. These locks are cut off during the mĕmangkegombaq, which is accompanied by festivities lasting several days, and afterwards the locks are wrapped in yellow cotton and taken to the father's house. A similar ceremony takes place in Lebong and in the Palembang Highlands.

MK 852 302 554

Among the Buginese and Makassarese, too, the hair of a child is cut ceremoniously when it reaches the age of one, two, or more years, and if the child is a prince, this is done with thrice seven shears. If the child is lower in rank, but of royal blood, then only twice seven shears are required, and for children of lesser rank the number of shears is proportionately reduced; for the lowest class one pair of shears is enough for the operation.

Tr G 852 302

This custom is likewise found among the pagan tribes of the central part of Celebes, as well as among the inhabitants of Bolaäng Mongondou. The latter preserve the hair in a coconut shell, as is also done by the Gorontalese. They hang the shell in front of the house above the steps, where it remains until it falls down of its own accord.

Makassar OG6
Mentawi OD9
Timor OF20

Malays AN5
Batak OD5
Land Dyak OC8
Iban OC6
Javanese OE5

Id [237 cont.]
304 haircutting, which sometimes is done as a symbol of submission.
174 For this reason the married woman had a couple of teeth knocked
585 out to show that she had become the property of her husband.
302

After the filing generally comes the necessary second step,
B the blackening of the teeth. For this a kind of varnish, called
M1 badja by the Malays and Bataks, is used, which can be obtained
304 in various ways. The Malays of central Sumatra and of the Riouw-
302 Lingga Archipelago make badja by burning a stick of karamunting wood or a piece of the hard shell of the coconut, and the fluid that drips out is caught in an iron spoon and mixed with various ingredients. In some areas of the Padang Highlands, badja is made by burning the same kind of wood under a coconut shell
B in which a hole has been made and above which an iron spoon
LD is held. The smoke that reaches the spoon makes soot, which
Ib is mixed with oil and other ingredients. The Batak and the
304 Dajak of the southeastern division of Borneo and of Sarawak obtain
302 this dyestuff in about the same way.
J The Javanese go to work
304 in a different way to color their teeth. They use the so-called
302 bangon, a mouthwash of coconut water, into which is put a
MK glowing piece of iron that is left in it for a few days. Some-
[304 times they chew the rind of a pomegranate before applying the
302] bangon. The Makassarese and Buginese use a similar method.
Mt Some peoples do not blacken the teeth. It is not done,
T for example, among the Mentawei Islanders, the Timorese, or
A the Ambonese. All these peoples have a high regard for shiny
304 white teeth.
302

We must say a few words about the blackening of the
J [238] teeth of the Javanese, which are filed at acute angles and
304 in relief. It seems that the bangon colors the teeth only where
302 enamel has been removed. In the case of relief-filing, the front surface of the teeth is treated in such a way that the enamel is not entirely removed; part of it remains, with the result that this part is gleaming white on a black background. Those who have their teeth treated this way are generally young men who in later years will have all the enamel removed so the teeth will be uniformly black.

2: Wilken--304 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5
Batak OD5
Makassar OG6

[255 cont.]

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b. Coloring the Nails and Eyelids

We still have to mention some other practices for beautification which are used primarily by the Javanese and Malays.

In the first place, we want to mention the practice of coloring the nails red, which is generally common in the Orient among the Arabs, Egyptians, Persians, etc. The coloring used for this purpose is obtained from henna, Lawsonia alba. This plant is known on Java under the name patjar kuku and on Sumatra as hinai, the Malay pronunciation of henna.

J
[824]

Hollanders call this plant boomreseda [tree reseda], because its flowers are very similar to our reseda and both have the same odor. A mush is made from the leaves of this plant, mixed with charcoal, and smeared [256] at night on the nails of hands and feet (1).

1. Cf. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 568. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, p. 9. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomatie, p. 652. Valentijn, Oud- en Nieuw Oost-Indiën, Vol. II, Part 1, folio 165.

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Secondly, we should mention painting the eyelids, which is found principally among the Mohammedan peoples, although it is not general. Among them we can name the Malays, the Buginese, and the Makassarese, and of the non-Mohammedan peoples, the Batak.

For this, tjellak, powdered antimony, is used, which is brought from Mecca by the hadjis. The application is very simple. A narrow stripe of the dry powder is put on the eyelid with a pointed bamboo stick (2).

2. Cf. Van Hasselt, op. cit., p. 5. Meded. Zend. Gen., Vol. XXI, p. 19. Matthes, Makassaarsch woorden. see tjallá. Van der Wall, Maleisch woordenb.

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2: Wilken--307 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
New Guinea OJ1
Javanese OE5
Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1

[257 cont.]

4. Goudswaard, op. cit., p. 22.

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Among other Papuans, it is generally customary to let the beard grow and even to decorate it in a peculiar way, for example, at Humboldt Bay (5). [258] Moreover, Sal. Muller mentions some

5. Sal. Muller, Reizen en Onderzoekingen, Vol. I, p. 79. See also p. 59 and Nieuw-Guinea in 1858, pp. 170, 160 and 46.

tribes in the southwestern part who sometimes tie long strings of fruit pits to the beard hair under the chin, with little bundles of kangaroo hair or parrot feathers fastened on like tassels (1).

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1. Sal. Muller, op. cit., p. 72.

Originally all the Malayan peoples, not only the women but also the men, wore the head hair long; this is now the case only among the pagan and a few Mohammedan tribes. The Javanese let the hair grow long, as do the Makassarese on southern Celebes; the Buginese and especially the Boni, however, wear it short.

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Among the other Mohammedan peoples it is either cut off or shorn off.

Those who wear the hair long have the custom of tying the hair in a knot or bun, which, among the men is held by a headcloth. In former times the hair hung loose, as is still the case among some pagan tribes, for example, the Dajak. In old reports from the Portuguese period, we find the Javanese described as having the head bare, without a headcloth, with the hair hanging loose (2). Still today, even among prominent

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2. Groeneveld, Malay Archipelago, passim.

864 /141 cont./ Not until he is circumcised, at the age of seven to eight years, will a boy always wear a pair of pants under [304 852] his sarong. Adult men bathe in the nude, but in so doing cover their genitals with the hand. Women keep their sarong on when they bathe. One of the first things that a Makassarese woman observed with surprise on Java was the fact that there the women bathe naked in the river. A girl always appears before her mother with her sarong. Young girls do tease each other at the well, "almost," when a sarong almost slips down. But if the sarong had really slipped off, the other would have denied this and would not have [576] spoken about it any further. This is how a girl knows her friends. Only those who do not like her would talk about it to others and make her ashamed (siri').

857 Children play "marriage." They put on rags and cloths. /142/ One of them is the bride's mother and helps the others, and they make sand cakes. The children may begin to quarrel and the matter often ends by a girl getting a shove or a blow which hurts so that she cries and runs away angrily. Sexual activities were definitely not observed. When an almost three-year-old boy was asked: "Why don't you play bridegroom" (buntimmako), he closed his eyes and stood motionless. The picture of the bridegroom, but above all, that of the bride, who, dressed in her most beautiful clothes, remains seated motionless for hours on end with cast-down eyes, had made the strongest impression on this three-year-old.

857 Boys and girls tend to play together up to the age of eight 858 to ten years so long as it works out. Up to that age girls 867 are also allowed to run around freely in the yard. But even before the appearance of puberty the separation is intensified. Boys learn that they must sit still and be quiet when the old 858 men speak. "After all, you are no longer a little child," 867 they are told. Around the same time, thus long before the

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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During a circumcision festival held for a son of the adat community head, he and his little sister also have their teeth filed.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

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On the occasion of the same festival, the old Imam also cuts the children's hair in a ritual manner.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

[end plate 4]

Coastal Moro OA16 Javanese OE5
Borneo OC1 Malayans AN5
Toradja OG11
MaKassar OG6
Gorontalo OG4

I 304 881 [465 cont.]
teeth, and they are filed flat. Also, filing the teeth to a point may be accompanied by relief-filing through partly removing MR J 304 881 the enamel so that the front surface shows a diamond-shaped relief. Some peoples, among them the Javanese and the Malayans, blacken the stumps.

Opinions differ as to the significance of this custom. Some I 304 174 regard it as a mourning custom, like the practice of breaking off all or some of the teeth in Polynesia, on some of the small islands T [304] of our archipelago, and among some Toradja tribes. Filing could represent a later phase of breaking them off entirely; the teeth, as containing much "mana," were thus offered to the spirits instead of the whole body, and later this was further reduced to filing away part of the teeth. The blackening of the rest could then have served to hide from the spirits what had C MK not been offered. Only later did the custom become a kind of J G preparation ceremony before marriage. Advocates of the view 304 765 that it may have been a mourning custom point to the practice of first filing the teeth only after the death of the nearest relatives, a custom among the Minahasa (formerly), in the vicinity of Bengkoelen, in the Kedoe Residency on Java, on Salajer Island, and on the Sula Islands.

I Another view is that it arose solely from the desire for 304 174 adornment, which led to great exaggeration (as is usually the case with fashion), with the result that gradually the exaggeration came to be regarded as beautiful. The Indonesian peoples of later times undoubtedly have regarded it as an enhancement of beauty, as can be seen [466] in the Malayan poem in which the lover compares the mouth of his beloved to an opened pomegranate: the black pips (the teeth) in the red flesh of the fruit (the lips reddened through the use of betel).

This would also help explain the use of other beauty aids on the teeth among various peoples. Putting little gold pins between the teeth or in little holes bored in the teeth for this B 304 302 purpose is especially popular; among others, many Dajak [Dyak] tribes practice it.

2: Wilken--270 E-6 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Buru	OH8	Javanese	OE5
Ceram	OH9	Makassar	OG6
Watubela	OH17	Gorontolo	OG4
Aru	OH5	New Guinea	OJ1
		Ambon	OH4

J [227 cont.]
304 a rule it is left to the better judgment of the person who performs the operation, who is governed by the circumstances.

J The person who does the circumcising may be a priest,
304 but is usually a layman and is called bong. Well-to-do people
852 provide food at midnight before the ceremony, and the gamelang plays. The following morning at six o'clock the boy who is to undergo the operation, handsomely attired, smeared with boreh = yellow ointment, and covered with garlands of the small, white, and fragrant blooms of the Mimusops elengi, strung with thread is taken to a kind of tent, under which the bong performs the operation in one of the two ways. Generally, the boy is 12, 14, or 15 years old.

MK Among the Makassarese and Buginese, too, the Arabic
304 sonnat, pronounced sunná, is the name for circumcision. It is
852 circumcision here and is done at about twelve years of age by a priest who gives the Arabic formula: "Oh, God! Bless our lord Mohammed and the family of our lord Mohammed. Oh, God! Bless our lord Mohammed and his family and his associates."

G It is unnecessary to discuss circumcision among the other
304 Mohammedan peoples of the archipelago. Only the Gorontalese should be given special mention. Among them this operation is called either sonnat, the Arabic term, [228] or moluna, a native word. Circumcision is practiced among the well-to-do, and incision by the lower classes.

NG Circumcision is also found among various pagan tribes as
I well as among the Mohammedan peoples in the archipelago.
304

Let us begin with the Papuans of New Guinea. It is found exclusively among those of the east coast and probably exists there in the form of incision.

AM Of the Moluccas, we first call attention to Ambon and
B the Uliasar Islands (Saparua, Haruku, and Nusalaut), where,
C according to Valentijn, it was formerly generally practiced.
W Even today, it is found among the Alfoer of Buru, in some parts
304 of western Ceram, and on the Watubela Islands, and everywhere
A it is incision. It is different, however, on the Aru Islands, where
304

2: Wilken--275 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau 0D10
Javanese 0E5
Makassar 0G6
Gorontolo 0G4

I 304 121 [232 cont.]
done to make the boy mature and completely normal from a sexual standpoint. With circumcision one left childhood and entered the ranks of the adolescents. Circumcision is thus the same as a declaration of nubility. We have seen that this is the case among the peoples of the archipelago.

Among some peoples, circumcision takes place at a very early age, for example, among the Israelites. Here it was thought that nature had to be helped promptly. The covering of the glans by the foreskin, as an abnormality, it had to be removed at once. Originally, then, the operation had no religious significance. It only gradually acquired this. Practices derived from antiquity quickly acquire this character. Uncivilized peoples are inclined to regard what originally were simple measures for the benefit of man as willed by the gods.

c. Circumcision of Girls (1)

1. Wilken, "De besnijdenis," etc., op. cit., pp. 195 ff.

I 304 177 Besides boys, girls, too, are circumcised, but this custom is not so general. It consists of the removal of [233] the praeputium clitoridis, sometimes of the clitoris itself, or of the labia minora. In the Malay Archipelago it is found exclusively among the Mohammedan peoples, from which it is obvious that this custom was adopted from the Arabs, among whom it originated.

G Mn MK J 304 852 Girls are generally circumcised at an earlier age than boys. This is the case, for example, among the Minangkabau Malays, and among the Javanese girls undergo this operation as early as the sixth year. Among the Makassarese it is done between the third and seventh year. The Gorontalese, too, practice it. Among all the peoples named, however, it is done with much less ceremony than is the case for the boys. The circumcision of girls among the Mohammedan peoples, like

I 304 852

Enggano OD6

Gorontalo OG4
Javanese OE5
Sula OH15
Makassar OG6
Toradja OG4

M S U I 304 171 764 [236 cont.]

Concerning the age at which the teeth are filed, it should be noted that it commonly coincides with the onset of puberty or entering into wedlock. It is also worthy of note that sometimes the teeth are not filed until after the death of the nearest blood-relatives. For instance, this is the case among the Alfoer of the Minahasa, in the Kedoe Residency, in the environs of Benkulen, on the Sula Islands, and on Salayar, which indicates that tooth-filing was once a mourning custom, corresponding to the practice current in Polynesia of breaking out a couple of teeth as an act of mourning when a death occurs.

E T I 304 585

In the Malay Archipelago teeth are not broken out for that purpose, but as a necessary ceremony at the celebration of a marriage. For instance, this is done among the tribes of central Celebes and the people of Enggano. It therefore appears that tooth-filing and the tooth-breaking are parallel; in other words they are identical.

I 304 174

This is of great importance for an answer to the question of the original significance of the mutilation of teeth; although nowadays most of the peoples of the archipelago file the teeth only for beautification, it seems to me that a deeper meaning lies behind it.

I have just indicated that breaking out the teeth occurs in Polynesia as a mourning custom and is analogous to tooth-filing for the same reason among some tribes of the Malay Archipelago. This custom, however, does not stand alone, but is often linked with other self-mutilations which involve bloodshed, the blood of which should be considered a sacrifice to the dead, whereby, in giving part of the body, in this case blood, the principle pars pro toto is put into practice. The supposition that mutilation of the teeth was originally a similar [237] sacrificial act is, therefore, far from improbable.

Likewise, breaking the teeth out or filing them on the occasion of marriage must originally have been a sacrificial act whose original religious significance was later lost and it survived only as a social institution analogous to the ritual

I [585 302]

Makassar OG6 ● Malays AN5
Mentawi OP9 Batak OD5
Timor OF20 Land Dyak OC8
Iban OC6
Javanese OE5

Id [237 cont.]
304 haircutting, which sometimes is done as a symbol of submission.
174 For this reason the married woman had a couple of teeth knocked
585 out to show that she had become the property of her husband.
302

After the filing generally comes the necessary second step,
B the blackening of the teeth. For this a kind of varnish, called
M1 badja by the Malays and Bataks, is used, which can be obtained
304 in various ways. The Malays of central Sumatra and of the Riouw-
302 Lingga Archipelago make badja by burning a stick of karamunting wood or a piece of the hard shell of the coconut, and the fluid that drips out is caught in an iron spoon and mixed with various ingredients. In some areas of the Padang Highlands, badja is made by burning the same kind of wood under a coconut shell
B in which a hole has been made and above which an iron spoon
LD is held. The smoke that reaches the spoon makes soot, which
Ib is mixed with oil and other ingredients. The Batak and the
304 Dajak of the southeastern division of Borneo and of Sarawak obtain
302 this dyestuff in about the same way. The Javanese go to work
J in a different way to color their teeth. They use the so-called
304 bangon, a mouthwash of coconut water, into which is put a
302 glowing piece of iron that is left in it for a few days. Some-
MK times they chew the rind of a pomegranate before applying the
● [304 302] bangon. The Makassarese and Buginese use a similar method.

Mt Some peoples do not blacken the teeth. It is not done,
T for example, among the Mentawei Islanders, the Timorese, or
A the Ambonese. All these peoples have a high regard for shiny
304 white teeth.
302

We must say a few words about the blackening of the
J [238] teeth of the Javanese, which are filed at acute angles and
304 in relief. It seems that the bangon colors the teeth only where
302 enamel has been removed. In the case of relief-filing, the front surface of the teeth is treated in such a way that the enamel is not entirely removed; part of it remains, with the result that this part is gleaming white on a black background. Those who have their teeth treated this way are generally young men who in later years will have all the enamel removed so the teeth will be uniformly black.

2: Wilken--290 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Javanese OE5
Makassar OG6
Redjang-Lampung OD12
New Guinea OJ1

I [245 cont.]
304 head of the newborn, however, is more common in the archi-
854 pelago, although not to such an extent that it can be compared
with skull deformation among the Dajak, etc. Dr. Swawing,
J for example, says of the Javanese that the native midwives try
844 to shape the head after birth, but he adds that he very much
doubts that the shape of the head can be altered artificially by
RL gentle manipulations with the hands. Marsden observed the
844 same thing among the Redjang. There is still another people,
however, among whom artificial skull deformation seems to
MK exist, and they are the Buginese. Mr. Riedel mentions that they
304 observe this custom, but he gives no further details (1).

Riedel, Zeitschrift f. Ethnol.
Vol. VII, Part V.

NG One should therefore accept this data with caution. There
I is a circumstance, however, which confirms his information.
MK The Buginese skulls in European museums give the impression
304 that they have been artificially compressed with great force
142 from the front and back. Furthermore, it is to be noted that
skulls found among other peoples of the archipelago are highly
asymmetrical. Of course, from these few skulls one should not
immediately draw the conclusion that artificial skull-deformation
was practiced among these peoples so long as it has not been
confirmed by eye-witnesses. Dr. Meyer says that the asymmetry
of the [246] Papuan skulls that he brought back and those on the
islands of Geelvink Bay is very striking, but he would not venture
to conclude from this that it had been caused by artificial de-
formation (1).

1. Meyer, op. cit., p. 23.

M tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at
175 large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the
565 people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]
[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and
793 their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession
838 of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst]
231 This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any
881 bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati.
● 304 But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there
574 for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the
182 Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I re-
771 minded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own
181 idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 567
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are 535
none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

2262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other
513 for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
682 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
● 304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some used only for fishing, others only for trade. [501]

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that *different kinds of things were inherited* by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

M 342 565 [304] Now it is all right for others to use stones as is the case of his own house. In addition, only nobles were allowed to wear gold ornaments in former days. Papajungan knew little about tattooing although he understood what I meant.

000 He was interested in contraception and seemed impressed with my arguments for planned families. He is a smart lad and could get some place. He is very lively. He said that if he had a chance he would go to the United States at once.

S 782 231 Animals used as offerings at feasts are: buffaloes, pigs, dogs, and fowls.

S 674 In pre-war days there were perhaps two criminal cases per year in Rantepao. Now there are hundreds. Cases range from stealing and fraud through a number of other types, but usually do not involve murder. (Japanese influence on demoralization?)

S 876 Regarding schools: I notice that much time in the yard is spent standing at attention or standing in formation and in marching. When they march here, the boys are stripped to the waist. They march slowly with their arms swinging as do the British guards. Could this arm swinging be Japanese too? Anyway this is not an agreeable business. What is the use of it?

S 764 565 556 Regarding the graves: Papajungan said that the coffins in the cleft are of the people who are too poor to have a niche made for them. These coffins may belong even to nobles. Query: is van der Veen right in saying that there must be one slave per niche? Can slaves be placed in the niches without trouble?

As for the stones, Papajungan said that only the nobles can use them free. Commoners and slaves may use them if they pay a price to the nobles. But if they are poor, then they use wooden posts only. (This may be like the feast I saw on a distant hill near Rantepao where there were no stones.)

S 824 On the first day of the feast in Lempo I noticed that there were many men working at cutting palm branches. They were used for decorations of various types.

S 241 [784] Papajungan says that until now in most places there has been an absolute taboo against slash-and-dibble, or dry agriculture (ladang). It is forbidden, and would ruin the wet rice fields. But there is also a taboo against planting corn or peanuts or anything else in a dry rice field after the harvest. However, Papajungan says that the taboo is just beginning to break down in the areas around the town and he hopes that it will continue to do so as they could get more

I 635 668 666 boasting pattern in the United States and Indonesian culture. He said that they will give their "platform" in incidental speeches and on wall posters.

All of this is not too clear. Anyway, I see that Stefel, like Riekerk, thinks that the "radical" tendency in elections is encouraging. At least some Dutch officials seem to want to have "radicalism" here. Stefel says that the absence of political parties in general is a sign of political immaturity only; they will come.

M ●304 565 881 778 852 535 Makassar, October 11, 1949: I had a talk with Rahim. He showed me photographs of circumcision, with tooth filing and hair cutting as well, taken in kampong Borongkaluku of district Borolloe. This is under Gallarang, one of the nine bate of Goa.. This kampong is eighteen kilometers east of Makassar on the way to Malino. In the pictures there were three children being fixed, all of nobility. Two of them were girls, one was a boy. Also their youthful lower-class followers participated, wearing very elaborate, decorative dress too. Only nobles can afford to have these great feasts. There is a big procession, with people carrying all sorts of magical objects. This goes to the holy stone of Songkolo' (there are only three in all Goa), which is near Borongkaluku in the district of Borolloe. The stone is in a fenced-in bamboo place, like the stone at Kalé Goa. Here a man does a kris dance before an open door of the flat stone sanctuary. A woman does a holy dance in the same place. These are fine photographs. They also show a mother having her first teeth filing. This is done ceremonially only, with a gold ring. She has clamped between her teeth a piece of wood. A fowl is being held by the operator who smears the blood from it on her teeth. Then there are photographs of the boy and the two girls (look to be about 8 to 5 years old) being "filed". (Here again it is only mock filing with a gold ring; after a few years they will get the real filing with a stone). They also have pieces of wood clamped in their teeth. Other photographs show these same children getting their hair locks cut off. There is a wonderful picture of a boy's penis being clamped and cut (supercision) and another showing the bloody scar on the top of the penis. This is done with a steel knife. There is also a photograph of one of the girls being cut, but her vulva is behind a cloth sheet and the operator is working on it underneath, so that from the picture one cannot see what is going on. Another photograph shows the Mohammedan prayers being offered at one side and a pagan stick offering on the other.

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs. M 304 881 852

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heaven ones. This explains a difficult point. M 565 173 793

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace. M 778 793

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former. M 562 609

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime. C 669 643

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

● 304 They (used to?) ~~cut a~~ man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

behind where there were many houses for his many slaves. That house had horns on the gables. The sunat feast lasted six days and five buffaloes had been killed for food as well as many fowls. Many fancy cakes were served which had been left over from the feast. I saw the boy who had been cut and he is said to be thirteen, although he looked much younger. I asked about the repeated cutting, up to seven times, and Saleh said that this is usual. He looked wise at this moment, and sizing up the boy, said, "I think it isn't finished with this fellow and that he will have to be cut again!" M 881 [342] 304 565 343

I asked about the gaukang, and they agreed that the radja and the nine bate must have them. As for the others, for example the karaeng, some have them and some do not, but formerly they must all have had them. M 778 565

I asked about the charms, the djimat, and they said that there are still plenty being used in the kampong. M 751

We finally drove to the seaside where there was a bathing beach and bath houses. They say that there are many Dutch who come here and pay a fee. It is owned by the local karaeng. M 529

I had a talk with Emanuel, a student of van Voll, and ter Haar's former assistant. He looked like an Indo [i.e., Eurasian]. He is trying to get through a uniform marriage law for Christians in all of East Indonesia. He admitted that this is a difficult task because the families are so often mixed, and the settlement of property is likewise very confused. 000

I asked Emanuel about the divorce pronouncement by a man. He agreed that it was normal for a man to say it three times in order for it to become a full divorce. If it is said only once or twice the couple can remarry, but if it has been said three times it is final. He said, however, that there are two other forms in Indonesia (he said that ter Haar mentioned this). One form is when a woman gets a man to agree to give talak by offering him a settlement. This is in line with true Mohammedan law. The other kind is peculiar to Indonesia. It occurs when a woman complains to the judge that she has offered a man settlement for the requested talak, but the man has refused. The man is then called to the judge, and if he is still unwilling and all is in order, the judge himself may pronounce talak. I 586 592 C 586 592

I had a talk with engineer Resink, who is here for the Economic Affairs Department. He is an "Indo" and talks about "us" Indonesians. I get the impression he is a radical I 668

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

423 /43 cont./ noteworthy that of these 20 landowners, 12 lived in
471 kampong Romangpolong situated very close to Bontoramba, where the Kapala of Bontoramba has a large number of kinsmen.

The following figures indicate how the sawah land is
471 distributed over the various houses.

556 The inhabitants of 25 out of the total of 133 houses own
612 more than 1 hectare of sawah land. Twenty-one of these are houses belonging to the Kapala group, and 4 belong to the Rest. The inhabitants of 8 of these 25 houses own more than 2 hectares, and of these, 7 belong to the Kapala group, 1 to the Rest. Only one man has more than 3 hectares; in fact, he owns 7.5 hectares of sawah land. He owes this to his own abilities.

The relationship of individuals to their land, as is apparent from these figures, may therefore be stated quite simply. The administrative kampong boundaries (2) do not appear to be

[622]

2. The kapala collects the taxes on all land located in his kampong territory. He takes care that all men who live there and are able to perform work carry out their services. He reports offences committed in his district, etc.

relevant to the location of land which belongs to kampong residents. Landownership is not restricted by kampong territory.

311 The distance from the living quarters to the fields is,
423 generally speaking, small. The land of the majority of people is located in their own kampong and in one of the kampongs adjoining it. Those who owned land in Tjambaja also had land in Bontoramba itself. This shows that people do not purchase or work /44/ land at a greater distance away until they already own some in their immediate vicinity. The exchange of land
437 between people having land in each other's kampong of residence,
425 with the intention that both will have a piece of land close by, instead of one far removed from their house, occurs regularly.

124 They are small and pretty. They came from time to time to
576 sit on his lap and looked at me. He was serene and his
855 children were wonderful in behavior. Rahim got to the point at once and the Kepala kampong said that this fellow was the man. He indicated a rather angular fellow perhaps twenty-five years old, the kind of Adam's appled type. However, he seemed keen enough. He attended school (lower school only)
463 with Rahim. Then he [i.e., assistant to author--Analyst] got
● 311 into a trade working with a gold and silver smith. This happens to be one of the main trades of the village. Rahim said there were some farmers in the village, but there was not much wet rice land in the area. However, many people have sawah in other kampongs. Other trades in the village involved commercial enterprises, and being a prau man. A river runs by here and it is mentioned in Friedericy as the one where Goa once levied a river mouth tax on all praus. I
124 later found out that the lad was willing to give up his trade
465 for a while and work for me. He was somewhat ashamed
156 when Rahim asked him about a salary. He said he would leave that matter up to me and Rahim said that this was acting as a typical Makassarese, that is malu [timid, shy, ashamed], although I wonder if he would be so malu when talking about pay with the Chinese who runs the gold and silver business. Later I talked with Rahim about the matter of salary for this man. He told me that things were expensive now, the man had to give up his work, and so forth. He added that he needed more than three to four guilders a day
[593] for his family. And he added that if he did not receive enough his wife would complain. Evidently he must keep his wife happy. So even among the Makassarese a wife nags. Rahim is very strong on the point of getting and keeping in the good graces of one's wife. This is a revelation to me, as I thought women in Mohammedan lands kept their mouths shut. But here, perhaps, is an indication of the underlying qualities of Malayo-Polynesian women. Rahim finally said that one hundred rupiah per month would be all right. I asked about the regular pay which a smith might receive. He said that it was very good, as much as f.10 or f.15 per day. I then said that maybe f.100 was too low, and that I would go up to f.150. He seemed pleased that I was not going to be a chiseler, and said that I could pay a reasonable salary and then if I wanted to, at the end, I could give a bonus. I asked if I had better not give some sort of advance, and he agreed. Hence I gave f. 30 to be given to the assistant (named Mohammed Saleh) who will call on Rahim Thursday after Hari Merdeka.

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
764 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photograph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

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339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photograph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together his factories use eighty men.

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Then we went to another smith's not far off. This belonged to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
743 leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map)
758 [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows. These dwelling places are much better than native houses. There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the children especially get leprosy, and that when children are born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

Borneo OC1
New Guinea OJ1

Kei OH13
Gayo-Alas OD7
Sumatra OD1
Java OE1
Makassar OG6

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[583 cont.]

for its primitive painting; that of the Gajo lands for its fretwork; that of the Batak for its bird forms; that of the east coast of Sumatra for its open fretwork, which is also found on the Kei Islands. Fretwork that because of its depth is bas-relief is found on the earthenware of central Sumatra, Java, southern Celebes, Borneo, Humboldt Bay, and the Kei Islands, but the best work is that of southern Celebes (Boni).

Among the articles made, the principal ones, of course, are articles for household use, such as water casks, water jugs (gendi), pots for cooking, etc.

Many of the products of the Indonesian potteries seem odd and strange, even grotesque, to us, but they are undoubtedly beautiful to the person who makes them.

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are
[462] women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly
262 there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they
241 cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco, Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts.

Atjehnese OD4
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7

I 326 301 A [326 301]

[577 cont.]

among the Atjehnese. Wrapping a copper leg-ring with a gold alloy is done as follows: "A piece of soeasa is flattened by being repeatedly heated and then suddenly immersed in cold water until it has the proper form to be wrapped completely around the copper base which is first well moistened with a mixture of finely pounded borax and water. The sheet of soeasa is pressed tightly against the copper and is then bound all around with a cord to make it as nearly as possible the same shape as the copper. The whole is now quickly immersed in a mixture of borax and water, after which it is placed in a little fire of glowing coals. As soon as the workman sees any flowing of the metal, he pours a little water over the article to cool it. The irregularities in the soeasa are then beaten out with an iron hammer on an anvil. The heating and cooling are repeated until the process is finished" (1).

1. Loeber, op. cit., p. 65.

A M B [326]

The actual technique employed by the goldsmith and silversmith is much the same as in Europe. Fine chased work is done in various areas of the archipelago (Bali, southern Celebes, Atjeh). Beautiful bowls are to be seen, for example, on Bali, but the gold and silver covering of the kris sheaths in particular are outstanding here.

Filigree or kantille work is preferred for silver.

Filigree work is done in many areas, but the land for it is the Padang Highlands. All kinds of miniature furniture are made for the European collector, but the native work is found on the lids of bamboo tubes and on the ornaments worn by the women.

To obtain the necessary wire, the metal is drawn out as thin as possible and then pulled through ever smaller holes in an iron draw-board until the desired size is obtained.

To make the article, the wires are cut to the required length, bent to proper form, and [578] arranged, after which

2: Wilken--124 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Mori-Laki OG7 Borneo OC1
Bali OF7
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

[93 cont.]

Br 411 the Dajak and the Orang běnuwa, at least the wooden ones, are provided with iron lance-heads. The lances bear various names according to the various kinds of shafts and points they have. Br Bl J 411 The most general name is tumbak, by which the lance on Java, Bali, Borneo, etc. is known. The light, short lance, which is used more for throwing, is called lambing, Javanese lĕmbing. The shafts are of thick rattan or of wood, often decorated with bands of some kind of metal, gold or silver, or with rattan rings and human or goat hair. They are generally eight to nine feet long. Those of the Balinese, however, are the longest, often measuring four meters and more. The lance is properly called their national weapon (1).

1. Bloemen Waanders, op. cit., p. 149.

e. Daggers and Krises

I MK Ml J 411 Krises and daggers originated from the lance (2). We

2. Tylor, Anthropology, p. 192.

326 may say that the primitive dagger is merely a spearhead without a shaft. The pomiard is the national weapon among some peoples, especially among the Javanese, the Malays, the Buginese, Makassarese, etc. The Malay and Javanese name for the dagger or poniard is kris. Its shapes are innumerable, and there are just as many names because they indicate the shape of blade, hilt, and sheath. On Java alone there are more than 100.

The blade of the kris is usually three to four decimeters long and always flat, and it often has a wavy shape. The blade M-L of most of the krises is damasoened with pamor, a kind of [439 316] magnetic iron that is brought from Luwu on southern Celebes.

I [93 cont.]
MK This damascening is done by forging the iron with the pamor.
MI After the weapon is finished, it is smeared with sulpharsenide (3)
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3. This treatment has given rise to the story that krises are poisoned, a story that those who offer krises to museums like to repeat.

and lemon juice, [94] which makes the iron black and the pamor silvery-white. The hilt is nearly always made of wood, horn, ivory, or metal, worked into the most fantastic forms and among the well-to-do often set with precious stones. The sheath is always of wood and for handsome krises are, in addition, covered with a second sheath of pinchbeck, silver, or gold.

The kris is not only a weapon that is part of the battle equipment, but is also worn ceremonially, hence as a body ornament. There are various regulations for wearing it on such occasions. In the first place, the kris is often worn on the back.
J The Buginese and Makassarese, however, characteristically wear
MK the kris stuck in the front of the belt against the body (1). The
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1. Matthes, Boegin.Wrdb., pp. 289 and 738.

Javanese never carries it this way unless he has evil intentions (2).

2. Tijdschr. v. Ind. T.L.en Vk., Vol. XXVI, p. 302.

R-L The rule is that he should wear it in his belt behind the body. In
411 the Lampong districts in particular there are minute regulations
292 on this point (3). The kris is sometimes carried on the right

3. Harrebomée, Bijdragen t. d. T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind., Vol. X, p. 375.
Pleyte, "Critiek op Schmeltz' 'Indonesische

123 chosen to remain in office he then goes back to where he
609 came from. This evidently was quite something to them. I always added that this was neither better nor worse, but just a different way of doing things. I think I put the point across. I said that in the United States we had large houses and big buildings because the weather was so cold. But basically the principles were the same. I said that they used bamboo for struts and supports while we used steel. They used clay to work where we use cement. Then I brought up the point that they knew considerable about the United States as a result of having seen many moving pictures. On the other hand, we know nothing about Makassar.

272 At this point, without any pressing business, the Kepala kampong called for some coconut water. We had quite a time about the word coconut milk in English. Someone was told to strip a few coconuts and the coconut water was quite good, although I could see that it would spoil rapidly. It was served in glasses, though Rahim asked first if I preferred it from the
[833] nut directly. In Bontorio it is said that this coconut water causes impotence, but the men drank it.

563 The assistant showed me some silver filigree work. It
326 struck me as mediocre, but I said that it was fine. Later van
439 der Wetering, Secretary of the Centrum Cultureel Stichting [Cultural Foundation Center] in Makassar, said that it was poor and made for the tourist trade. They use a kind of tamarind acid to clean such silver work. It is actually quite banal. One fellow said that the Chinese brought the silver
435 from Hongkong and gave it to the smiths. Later they bought the finished article back and sold it. The fellow who was the constructor of the building said that there was much trouble nowadays. He needed a truck but could get one only by paying f.80 per day. But he could make only f.75 per day. When I commented: apa boleh buat [what can be done about it?] they laughed.

829 We talked about mobility and change from generation to generation. I said that in the United States a son seldom followed the trade of his father. Although this was not too clear they seemed to be surprised. They implied that if the father was a smith, his son would be one also.

609 After a hearty farewell, we went back to the Karaeng. He
156 was there, and there were still many people around. We went in and noted that the atmosphere was entirely different. He is a kind of United States business man in type. He is close mouthed and position-proud. Perhaps he was just embarrassed. However, I missed the give and take that was so

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
764 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photograph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

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159 are plenty of people in his house including the two very pretty young girls who do the fine weaving. Saleh said that they both had learned gold work too, and that during a rush they are able to help him and his cousin helper. When there is not so much rush, they weave. The old man said he was also a carpenter in the old days, and pointed out the houses he had built in the leprosarium. He said he was born in Laikang, where there is much salt making from sea water.

774 Saleh uses the word dewata for spirit in the animistic sense, and also understands the term sumangat.

000 Most of the day was spent in looking around. Tomorrow I will go through my notes for questions and further discussion.

871 Balombaru, September 2, 1949: This third day I thought
157 I would go through my notes, but I got sidetracked onto Saleh's answers to the schedule. This is all right, al-
326 though the going is very slow. One thing is very dramatic.
159 Saleh told me about his personal tragedy as far as education is concerned. He said that he wanted to go to normal school, but that the fee was f.65. Neither he nor his father could afford this. They tried to sell portions of their rice fields, but times were bad then and there were no buyers. Saleh said that he then went to the teacher (I gather it was the superintendent) of the normal school and asked why he must pay f.65. The answer was that that was the price of board and room. At this Saleh offered to bring a mat and sleep on the floor and to get his own food. However, the superintendent said no. As Saleh told me the story, much affect could be noted. And he added that plenty of other boys have had the same trouble. He is truly an ambitious man and would have justified any help given him. He said that he had trained lots of young goldsmiths and that they were now scattered all over. He said that he had trained so many that often one found villages around here where there were formerly no goldsmiths at all and which now consisted of a good number of goldsmiths.

[535] One thing before the schedule: I talked about the dancing
584 girls. They told me that the Makassarese are very strict regarding all girls. One might not approach a girl directly
834 but only through relatives and always in a respectable fashion. In regard to the go-between in marriage, they said that many of the girls in school today are scorning the old practice. However, an old man, cackling, said that the padjoge in the Buginese country were different. He said

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

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292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

2: Wilken--105 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Javanese OE5
Makassar OG6
Batak OD5
Sundanese OE7
Moluccas OH1

J [75 cont.]
344 curtains, betel boxes, and other household goods are, of course,
352 much more costly and more abundant than in the dwelling of the poor farmer. The regent's dwelling, as we have noted, lies on the alun-alun, with the pandăpă in front of it (2).

2. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 600.

Materials

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I As far as possible, the most durable kinds of wood are
335 chosen for the piles of the dwellings. Sometimes the piles are
342 of considerable [76] thickness. Durable wood is also used for the beams and uprights (1).

1. Cf. for Java, Meded. Ned. Zend. Gen., Vol. XIX, p. 123 ff.

The walling is sometimes of boards, but usually of bamboo that is split and then flattened and plaited, wattle as it were,
MI called sasak. Tree bark is also used. In the Moluccas, the leaf
335 stems of the sago palm, gaba-gaba, or nipa leaves are often used. As partitions to divide the interior of the dwelling, planks are rarely used, but more often bamboo, tree bark, or matting; the compartments are often separated from one another only by a curtain of white or colored cotton cloth. The floors, too, are rarely made of boards. Laths of bamboo, nibong, banana, or
S palm woods are commonly used for them. A well-made bamboo
B floor has the advantage of being flexible and pliable, hence easy
MK to walk on with bare feet and comfortable for sleeping.
J
I The roof covering, or everything that serves as roofing,
335 is called atap, Jav. atĕp, Mak. atá, Bat. tarup. Atap is made
342 from various materials; the most common is of palm leaves. Two kinds of palm in particular are used for this, the sago palm

2: Wilken--106 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Borneo OC1
Sumatra OD1
Redjang-Lampong OD12

Sundanese OE7
Batak OD5
Makassar OG6
Javanese OE5
Moluccos OH1

Sn Bt MX I J [76 cont.]

(rumbia or Sundanese kirai) and the nipa palm. This is the way
335 342 atap is made. The leaves of the sago or nipa palm consist of a leaf stem and sword-shaped leaves that commonly are as wide as a hand and about as long as an ell. These sword-shaped leaves, while green, are laid next to one another in such a way that half of one leaf overlaps half of the next one. The leaves are then folded in two around a bamboo lath from one and a half to two meters long and are fastened with split rattan. Such an atap is one and a half to two meters long and 34 centimeters wide. Besides palm leaves, atap is also made from alang-alang, or, as it is sometimes called, ilalang, a stiff grass three to four feet high. A very good roof-covering, used especially on Sumatra,
Sm M1 is the idjuk, Jav. ĕduk, in the Moluccas gemutu, the black,
335 342 horsehair-like fibers of the trunk of the areng palm. These fibers form whole pieces [77] which can simply be laid on the roof to a thickness of 10 to 15 centimeters. A roof covering of idjuk is not only extraordinarily durable, but also very handsome. It withstands the heat of the sun and moisture for 40 years, whereas a roof of alang-alang at most lasts for 15 to 20 years.

Br I Another roof covering is made with the so-called
335 342 sirappen, tiles made of rectangular, four-cornered boards with a point on the under end. Often, tree bark is used, especially among the Dajak (1) [Ed., no footnote is given]. The Government often uses this roof covering and has the sirappen made from teakwood or kaju bĕsi, ironwood. They are laid more or
R1 less like slates.

Sn J I Finally, there is a roof covering of bamboo. As is known,
335 342 344 bamboo has the shape of a tube; this is split through the middle longways, and a layer of these half-cylinders is laid on the roof with the hollow side up. A second layer is put over them with the convex side up, so that the cracks between the bamboo of the lower layer are covered. This kind of roof covering lasts two to three years. The slope of the roof, as a rule very steep, can be slight with such roofing. This roof covering is called talahab and is used particularly in the mountainous areas

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

The camera, as usual, made quite an impression. In general, rapport was good, and I came back in the afternoon to give my assistant more paper. He drew a fine rough map of the kampong and is a very good man. But I need to have an expansion of many of his answers [to RK's questionnaire]. The trouble is that it is hard for me to read Malay. I have to get around it by having it translated into Dutch! 126 124

Balombaru, September 1, 1949. Second day: This time without Rahim. I have arranged, I think, to have a man type up Saleh's notes in Dutch. I got to the house at 8:30 A.M., and looked over some pages to give to the translator. The material consists of page after page of complete census data, house by house, giving age, occupation, family connections, and so forth. I can also check the material with the accompanying map. Saleh did a fine job; he is a remarkable fellow. Rahim says that although he went only as far as the lower school, he reads a lot and is interested in things in general. 124

First, I talked over the census with Saleh, his hadji father, his cousin's helper at gold work, and the old bearded sea captain carpenter. Then, after coffee we went off on a ride around the kampong following his good map. We went first to the cement factory, run by a Makassarese named Liyu who was once a poor man but learned a lot about business and has now become the richest individual in the village. He owns the cement factory. It is located near a river, where the big praus used to be able to sail in near the old market place (twenty-five years ago). The river here is now a wide, dry bed. In the distance is Gusungdjonga where Saleh's father lives. It is an island in the wet season. I noted the remnants of a bamboo bridge going across to the other side. It was standing one hundred years ago. The cement factory, with four big kiln chimneys in two buildings together with several other buildings, uses local lime rock and wood from the nearby woods. The rock is broken up and put into the blazing ovens at the top of the fire. It comes out as fine cement. Because of the great amount of road building going on now sales are way up. On the bank of the river are many big heaps of sand, and plenty of trucks to haul it away. Also, Saleh says that there are plenty of men working here. I took a photograph of the factory. Liyu's house, a big one, is situated nearby. 339 472

Then we went to the site of the old pasar, in the center of the village. On one side we noted a row of cement houses rented by the radja to Chinese, who can't own the land. Nor 563 427

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
764 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photograph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
●339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photograph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the
782 Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
412 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers, etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This belonged to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows
[322] really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
743 leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map)
758 [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows. These dwelling places are much better than native houses. There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the children especially get leprosy, and that when children are born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

563 /59 cont./ Many young colonists return to the homeland
582 in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

563 In addition the small percentage of silariang marriages
583 is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find silariang so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of silariang marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

342 The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on
563 lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong
184 residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

186 Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the com-
563 mon language constitutes a unifying element for these colonists.

621 The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

537 /119 cont./
539 Listen to the mountain, the Bawakaraëng,
643 the never-loosening anchor,
such am I, too,
and only he who can be trusted in this way,
can truly be trusted.
If the Royal Council removes to the west,
then I will also go to the west;
if it removes to the east,
I will also go to the east. /120/
But if the Royal Council resides
with you, my Prince, in the ancestral gathering hall, then I will remain below (1).

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1. That is to say, I will not take part in the conference; I follow. Makassarese dwellings are built on posts. If the prince confers with his Royal Council, the lower people wait under the house and listen in.

Opposition

571 Fairchild's definition of the concept "opposition" gives a good picture of conditions in South Celebes. He defines it by: "resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent" (2) /cited in English/. This term will be used here.

2. H.P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, New York, 1944.

/177 cont./
Water Sprinkling (appasili)

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Appasili (1) is the name of the ritual in which water is

1. See B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 597.

sprinkled over the object of the ritual, a thing or a person, by means of a number of leafy twigs which have been tied together. It is done at various moments of the wedding festival. Thus, water is sprinkled on the vessels that will be used during the festive meals and during the /178/ setting up of the chief pole of the pannjambungi (1). It occurs also at preparations that

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1. The pannjambungi is the extension which is built onto the front part of the actual house on the occasion of a wedding festival. During this time it serves as the men's quarters and as a place where the male guests are received. At such a time the house proper, including the front room (kale balla'), is reserved for the women. I hope to be able to describe this part of the house in greater detail later. W.H. Rassers has already repeatedly pointed out the great interest attaching to this part, the last time in his study, "Inleiding tot de bestudeering van de Javaansche kris /Introduction to a Study of the Javanese Kris/," Mededeeling der Kon/inklijke/ Ned/erlandsche/ Akad/emie/

[114]

585 /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen,
788 Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde,
[114] N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/
/New Series/, Vol. I,
no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 The person who performs this ritual is frequently the
[593] "bride's mother," (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven
824 different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but some-
[801] times variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 1. These names are rapidly
824 recited, one after the other,
789 when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

585 /193 cont./ comment. But if he hesitates or turns away, he is urged to accept the food. For, ultimately, the older people like nothing better than to see him lose, and it is believed that he loses if he does what his wife demands of him, namely when he accepts food from her.

The First Joint Bath

Again a few days later the couple is bathed together for the first time. Here, too, ritual and play are of more importance than the fact of the bathing itself. Together, the couple sit -- the woman wrapped entirely in a sarong -- on the house steps, which in daily life forms the link with the attic but which for this special occasion has been placed on the floor in the pannjambungi (1). Under the rungs of the ladder lies a cleaver

[342] [251] [769] [417]

1. The attic is an important place in the house. There the rice is kept. In case of shortage of living quarters, the young girls are sometimes housed there. The ancestors descend through it when they are implored to do so in a ritual manner. The ladder to the attic has a special form. The two uprights proceed from a single branch that rests on the floor and which splits into two, approximately 40 centimeters above the floor.

as well as one of the sections of the loom, objects which man and wife respectively always need in performing their daily activities. According to informants, /194/ the significance of this is to further the wish that man and wife will now also

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Landscape in Goa. Sawahs and groves alternate. Page 19.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

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During the harvest; a group of women. Page 199.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 1]

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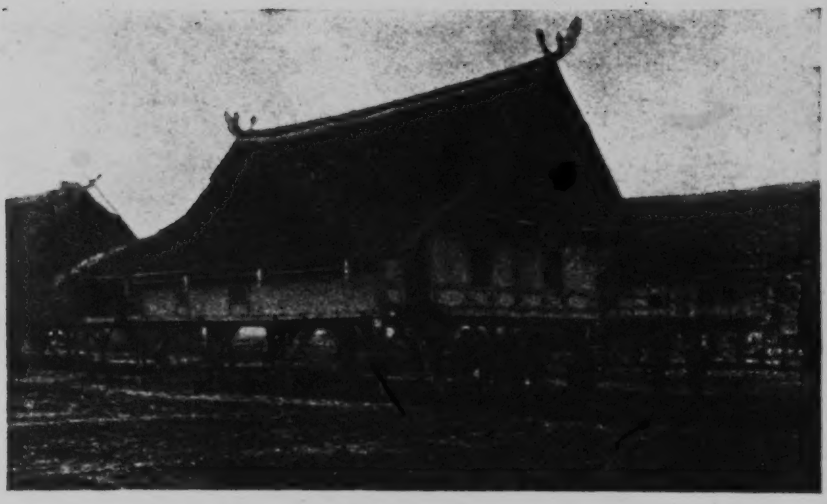

Makassarese houses.
(Photographic Archives Ind. Institute.)

Makassarese houses.
(Photographic Archives Ind. Institute.)

[291
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[end plate 2]

Batak OD5 Toradja OG11
Sumatra OD1 Flores OF9
Makassar OG6 Nias OD11
Atjehnese OD4 Bahau OC5
Moluccas OH1 Borneo OC1

I 342 N F T 342 [399 cont.] among the Toradja now, six small families; on western Flores there is one kampong, Tjeremba, which actually consists of only one dwelling that houses about 60 small families, or nearly 200 persons. On Nias, too, a number of small families are housed in one dwelling.

Bh 342 This living together in one house, however, is not to be viewed as everyone living higgledy-piggledy with everyone else. Among the Kajan-Dajaks [Kayan-Dyak], for instance, where the greatest number of persons live under one roof, the front part of such a long clan [stam] house, which at the same time forms a village, is a communal veranda for the household activities of all the inhabitants, for gatherings, etc. The rear part of the house, however, which is separated from the front veranda by a wall with doors, is divided into rooms for the small families [gezins]. One could imagine it as a village with the houses built consecutively under one roof, with the village street, covered by the same roof, running in front of it.

All the so-called family houses are partitioned in much the same way: [400] a communal part, either as a front veranda, a side or interior passage, or interior room; and the rooms for Bt the small families. Only among the Toba-Batak is there no [342] actual partitioning of the space by means of a wall or curtains; there are just the four corners of the room, intended respectively for the head of the house and his immediate family, the married daughter, the married son, etc.

The adult youths, and frequently guests, sleep in the communal part of the large family-houses.

Ml MK A S Br 342 As has already been said, the houses of the various peoples of the archipelago differ primarily in the form of the roof. The simplest form of roof consists of two slanting pieces and two vertical pieces, which are more or less a continuation of the side walls. Such roofs are found on the long houses of the Dajak [Dyak], among the inhabitants of southern and eastern Sumatra, on Atjeh, among the Buginese and Makassarese, and on most of the islands of the Moluccas. It is the most obvious form of roof, merely serving to drain off the rainwater and having no architectural goals.

2: Wilken--94 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Malays AN5 Borneo OC1
Makassar OG6 Batak OD5
Javanese OE5 Gorontolo OG4
Tenggerese OE8 Moluccas OH1
Mentawi OD9 New Guinea OJ1

I Br 342 621 162 [66 cont.] average a man, woman, and two children, thus 600 persons, all belonging to one family [familie] (1). Not only among the

1. Bijdragen T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Indië, 4th series, 5th part, p. 305. Perelaer, Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks, p. 128.

MO NG MI G Bt 342 621 591 Dajak, but also among the other uncivilized tribes one finds a number of family units living together in one great house, for example, among the Batak, the Alfoer of north Celebes (2), in

2. Riedel, Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, pp. 486 and 493.

the Moluccas, among the Papuans, and even among the so much more highly developed Malays on central Sumatra (3). One can

T J MK I 342 621 174 591

3. Verkerk Pistorius, op. cit., p. 40.

state that this way of living was formerly common. Among some peoples this situation has already given way to another in which each dwelling is the residence of only one family unit and consequently the houses are smaller, as among the Javanese, Makassarese, Buginess, and others. On Java, too, however, a number of family units undoubtedly lived together in a single dwelling. As evidence for this, the living together custom is still found among the pagans of the Tengger Mountains.

Bt T Mt MI Br I 342

As we have noted, the houses are very large. Two types can be distinguished: in the first place, the houses that are built lengthways, and, secondly, those that have been built sideways. Generally, however, they have the first form and are very long, but comparatively narrow. Among the Dajak, they may be 250 ells long, but only 20 to 30 ells wide. Boyle saw a house that was 1,000 feet (380 ells) long. This is also found

B [69 cont.]
342 Near the entryway there is the tugu, a stone niche for offerings,
782 in which the morning and evening offerings are deposited (1).

1. Jacobs, Eenigen tijd onder de Baliëre [Some Time among the Balinese], p. 87.

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Thus we see that among the Balinese, although the family still lives together communally, each household has its own residence. Among the Javanese, Makassarese, and Buginese we find houses inhabited by only one household unit [gezin], and all the members of the same family [familie] no longer live together. Also, their houses no longer stand on piles, but simply on the ground. We can distinguish two types of houses built on the ground, windowless huts and houses with windows. Those of the
J Javanese usually belong among the former. They show great
342 variety in form and layout, as is shown by the division made by
352 Mr. Poensen, who gives five different shapes. The omah grija
353 limas with a very high roof running up to a ridge is typical and very popular. (2)

2. Poensen, "Iets over de woning der Javanen [Some remarks on the dwelling of the Javanese]," Med. v. w. h. Ned. Zend. Gen., Vol. XIX, p. 120 ff.

[70] As a rule, the interior of the house is divided into six rooms. The middle one of the three that border on the right wall is called bomâ (a) and is the room in which a couch stands. This room is sometimes used as a sleeping room, but customarily it serves as a ceremonial room which is used for weddings. During the festivities on such occasions, the young couple sits there, surrounded by female guests, and members of the family. The other two rooms, b and c, on the right wall (sĕntong and sarong)

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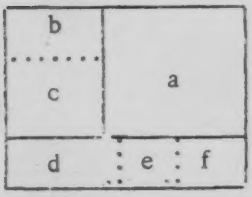
[585]



J [75 cont.]
344 curtains, betel boxes, and other household goods are, of course,
352 much more costly and more abundant than in the dwelling of the poor farmer. The regent's dwelling, as we have noted, lies on the alun-alun, with the pandāpā in front of it (2).

2. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 600.

Materials

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I As far as possible, the most durable kinds of wood are
335 chosen for the piles of the dwellings. Sometimes the piles are
342 of considerable [76] thickness. Durable wood is also used for the beams and uprights (1).

1. Cf. for Java, Meded. Ned. Zend. Gen., Vol. XIX, p. 123 ff.

The walling is sometimes of boards, but usually of bamboo that is split and then flattened and plaited, wattle as it were,
MI called sasak. Tree bark is also used. In the Molúccas, the leaf
335 stems of the sago palm, gaba-gaba, or nipa leaves are often used. As partitions to divide the interior of the dwelling, planks are rarely used, but more often bamboo, tree bark, or matting; the compartments are often separated from one another only by a curtain of white or colored cotton cloth. The floors, too, are rarely made of boards. Laths of bamboo, nibong, banana, or
S palm woods are commonly used for them. A well-made bamboo
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MK floor has the advantage of being flexible and pliable, hence easy
J to walk on with bare feet and comfortable for sleeping.
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335 The roof covering, or everything that serves as roofing,
342 is called atap, Jav. atĕp, Mak. atá, Bat. tarup. Atap is made from various materials; the most common is of palm leaves. Two kinds of palm in particular are used for this, the sago palm

2: Wilken--106 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Borneo OC1 Sundanese OE7
Sumatra OD1 Batak OD5
Redjang-Lampong OD12 Makassar OG6
Javanese OE5
Moluccas OH1

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[76 cont.]

(rumbia or Sundanese kirai) and the nipa palm. This is the way atap is made. The leaves of the sago or nipa palm consist of a leaf stem and sword-shaped leaves that commonly are as wide as a hand and about as long as an ell. These sword-shaped leaves, while green, are laid next to one another in such a way that half of one leaf overlaps half of the next one. The leaves are then folded in two around a bamboo lath from one and a half to two meters long and are fastened with split rattan. Such an atap is one and a half to two meters long and 34 centimeters wide. Besides palm leaves, atap is also made from alang-alang, or, as it is sometimes called, ilalang, a stiff grass three to four feet high. A very good roof-covering, used especially on Sumatra, is the idjuk, Ja. ĕduk, in the Moluccas gemutu, the black, horsehair-like fibers of the trunk of the areng palm. These fibers form whole pieces [77] which can simply be laid on the roof to a thickness of 10 to 15 centimeters. A roof covering of idjuk is not only extraordinarily durable, but also very handsome. It withstands the heat of the sun and moisture for 40 years, whereas a roof of alang-alang at most lasts for 15 to 20 years.

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Another roof covering is made with the so-called sirappen, tiles made of rectangular, four-cornered boards with a point on the under end. Often, tree bark is used, especially among the Dajak (1) [Ed., no footnote is given]. The Government often uses this roof covering and has the sirappen made from teakwood or kaju bĕsi, ironwood. They are laid more or less like slates.

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Finally, there is a roof covering of bamboo. As is known, bamboo has the shape of a tube; this is split through the middle longways, and a layer of these half-cylinders is laid on the roof with the hollow side up. A second layer is put over them with the convex side up, so that the cracks between the bamboo of the lower layer are covered. This kind of roof covering lasts two to three years. The slope of the roof, as a rule very steep, can be slight with such roofing. This roof covering is called talahab and is used particularly in the mountainous areas

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Javanese OE5
Sundanese OE7
Redjang-Lampong OD12
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

RL
Sn
J [77 cont.]
I of Java where heavy rains fall. It is also sometimes used in the
335 Sundanese lands and in the Redjang districts on Sumatra, where
342 it is called atok pakul.
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g. Decoration of the Houses

I Among most of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago,
342 the houses are built without any decoration. In general the
531 large, windowless houses have a very unpleasant appearance.
532 Through lack of upkeep they soon look dilapidated, especially when inferior materials, such as bamboo and tree bark are used for construction. More work in the way of ornamentation is put on the exterior of the houses in only a few areas. This is the case, for example, on central Sumatra. The houses here are often [78] artistically decorated with carving, especially on the piles, uprights, and beams, as well as on the doors and the little windows, which are rarely lacking. Often these carved figures are painted in all kinds of colors, red, white, black, and blue, and small glittering mirrors are put here and there on the exterior walls. The edges of the roof, too, are often decorated with strips of beaten tin plate, and the tanduk (roof
M1 tips) are also covered with tin plate. A Malayan house so
342 decorated often has a gay appearance (1).
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1. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving en Taal, Vol. II, p. 153.

J On Java, too, there are some decorated houses. This is
342 the case especially among the well-to-do. In Koedoe, the
531 capital of the regency of the same name in the Japara Residency, the houses generally excel in graceful carvings. The uprights
MK of the pandapa of chiefs' dwellings usually bear carvings that
342 are never painted and only rarely gilded. It must also be noted
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Makassar OG6
Gorontolo OG4
Java OE1
Sumatra OD1
New Guinea OJ1

MK 342 531 [78 cont.] that the houses of the well-to-do among the Makassarese are often built with wood of various colors, and they are assembled so artistically that the walls seem to be inlaid.

G 342 356 531 Among the Minahasa, at least the Christian population, it is customary to whitewash the houses with a kind of pipe-clay, and, by mixing this with other materials, to make a blue color that is applied to window-frames, posts, and shutters.

All this is exceptional, however.

G 353 356 372 The interior of the dwelling likewise does not excel in decorativeness. The interior is usually blackened by smoke because cooking is customarily done inside the house. Since there are no chimneys, the smoke stays in the air as long as it cannot escape through doors or cracks and covers everything with a black layer. There is, of course, no lack of vermin in the dwellings.

G S U I 343 We have now discussed the dwellings, but we must not fail to mention a small building [79] often found near the dwelling, the rice granary. As a rule it has the shape of a truncated quadrilateral pyramid standing upside down. On Java it is called lumbung, on Sumatra rangkiang. Where granaries are not built, rice is stored in the dwelling. The Alfoer of the Minahasa, for example, use large barrels made of tree bark, called sangkor, for this purpose, which hold up to 100 gantang.

g. Household Equipment

I NG 352 513 285 The household equipment found in a native dwelling is not usually very significant. In general it is difficult to name any typical objects because of the differences among the various peoples.

The sleeping place is generally a couch of bamboo raised slightly off the floor. It is covered with one or more mats, tikar, with which is used a couple of pillows, stuffed with kapok or often with rice-straw (1) or dry leaves; the latter is used only

000 many small kampongs (mostly Makassarese, though we later found Buginese mixed in too).

M ●342 In these Makassarese kampongs typical houses have cross piece thatch clamps sticking out over the ridge pole. Crossed horns and sometimes bird heads are noted sticking out in front at the tip of the front gable on some houses. A number of these houses are very neat, others, sloppy.

S 797 771 177 Malino is much like Baguio. It also has a market place.

I started at once with van der Veen. He showed me a Bible and said that he uses Puang Matoa, the old Sadang name for a deity, for God. He said there was much fuss about this in the Bible society, but he keeps it as it has already been used for a long time by the missionaries.

I met van der Veen's three assistants who are Christian Sadang. One of them is a son of one of the wives of Puang Sangalla. The latter is his stepfather. This fellow is modern and not well disposed toward the latter and to aristocratic ways. In fact, he is quite radical having little if any belief in the mana of the puang. However, the house boy, also a Sadang, is quite full of old beliefs. But he is evidently a Christian. Van der Veen says that those who followed the new religion or who are new Christians are generally quite far off from the old death beliefs and other parts of the old religion, but they still fear the magic power of the puang. Thus perhaps religion goes faster than the deep mana feeling of the people here. They speak Dutch, but better Malay.

S 565 162 554 They named men for me to see in the Sadang country. Van der Veen said there are three puang who rule the Sadang. There are only tomakaka in Rongkong. He said that the tomakaka also exert a great deal of influence and that this influence is less than that of the puang. The latter is the sun, and the allo [sun] symbol is always in evidence. This is the sun "parasol". It is especially common on the wrappings of the dead puang. I saw beautiful photographs of these. Van der Veen said that the puang and tomakaka make up about

S 567 ten percent of the population. The Sadang slaves, as I remember, make up about thirty percent, and the commoners sixty percent of the population. Maybe the slaves make up twenty percent and the commoners seventy percent. There are still slaves although the government "stopped" the practice. This is well known, and they are attached to the uppers. They are allowed to have much, however, and their masters often help them a lot. Van der Veen said that it was his impression that they differed in appearance, although he doubted this because Mrs. Keers, a biologist from a Javanese

124 Levij of the Voorlichtings Ministerie (Kementerian
Penerangan Indonesia Timoer) [Ministry of Information for
the State of East Indonesia] offered to do this providing I
would pay the expenses, using his office staff. I went with
361 Rahim and van Heekeren to Balombaru this morning.
491 Balombaru is in the adatgemeenschap [native community]
Karawisi, in which there are perhaps six other kampongs
(check). To get to Balombaru we went out [south] on the Goa
road for about six kilometers, then turned right on a side
road, and finally again on a dirt road. As the limits of the
municipality are reached the road at once appears to be full
of holes; and in the dry monsoon period there is terrible
dust. We were stopped by a police cordon and later found
out that the reason was that they expected to have a meeting
of the police school (I think) in the afternoon and wanted to
keep cars out so that there would be less dust! We went by a
side route, and first stopped at a stucco house with an office
which belonged to the district head, the Karaeng. He is an
important man in Goa. He was not in. His assistant im-
pressed me by his poise and by his quiet manner. We went
363 on, and got to the village [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] itself,
going around a plaza, a dusty kind of turnabout with the enter-
ing road coming in at right angles to the "main street" of the
kampong. Rahim said that there were side streets too. It ap-
peared that most of the houses were located along the roads.
I will see. We stopped (before this, and outside the kampong
proper) at the house of the Imam, near the mosque (I must
check the name of the main kampong where the Karaeng and
● 342 the Imam and the mosque are located). The Imam lives in a
very nice Makassar type house. We went upstairs to the
main room, which was large, and in which there was a bed
with a klambu [mosquito net]. There seemed to be several
other rooms in the rear. The floor was of wide planks not
placed too close together so that the air could come up into
the room. The house itself was of wood with atap thatch [i.e.,
of palm leaves or the like]. The Imam said he had seven chil-
156 dren. He married in 1929 in Mecca, and seemed very proud
562 of this. He brought it in at the very first chance. He is a
576 small, quite handsome man, perhaps forty years old. His
wife is pretty, has gold teeth, and looked as if she were
dressed in Javanese style. She is evidently modern in a
sense, as she came right up to us, and shook our hands.
Rahim said this was not the old style, as ordinarily women
would stay behind. She also broke into the conversation
from time to time. However, she did sit at another
table, listening. We sat at a table in the middle of

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaëng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
576 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
593 an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).

123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is
177 evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaëng stands there but says nothing. Beside

563 I then asked whether there were other stores in the kampong. He said there were several, mostly belonging to Chinese. Rahim said the Chinese live in a few houses along one street. He pointed them out saying that the Chinese, or at least some of them, had been there for a long time and speak Makassarese well. But, though they marry Makassarese girls, the children of such marriages never do, but instead follow their fathers' line. Evidently they marry Chinese. Thus it appeared that the Chinese breed mates for their own folk by first mating or marrying with local girls. Rahim added that although Chinese men married Makassarese girls, Makassarese men never married Chinese girls. This is understandable, as there are no Chinese girls until the second generation. Then they are considered Chinese and marry Chinese. I must ask about the
000 feeling toward the Chinese on various points. Rahim went to this kampong school, and then to an intermediate school in Makassar, and then, I suppose, to a higher school.

123 As we left the store the lads asked if I would take them to
512 the mosque in my jeep. The old man especially said that it
562 was a long walk for him. Indeed it was so. In fact, I wondered if he would have done it if there had been no jeep. Four of them, including Rahim's father, piled in, and I took them to the mosque. This is Friday, and many people were walking in that direction. Rahim said that it was taboo for women, and there were no women going.

346 The mosque was quite a fine one, white, with (amazing!) an
177 old cremation urn at the top of one tower. Van Heekeren said this was usual. These urns were imported from China four to five hundred years ago, and were evidently used for ashes in Hindu days. But it is remarkable to me that one should be on top of a mosque!

285 I saw some very fine baskets in a store. One was vari-colored with a round top which had words plaited in around the border. Perhaps I will buy it later.

● 342 Thus went the first day or at least the first morning. I will leave things alone for a while. And on Monday I will meet my assistant. My general impression of the houses in the kampong is one of a mixture. The good houses are built mainly of wood and thatch, but there are several of these which are poor and are falling down. Van Heekeren said that bamboo is scarce, hence the use of wood. And maybe that accounts for the lack of good repair in some cases. The people are pleasant and polite, I have been pleasantly impressed. I see very few women around here and wonder where they are. One sees many more in Java. And those one does see here, though often very fine, are not generally so handsome as the Javanese or Sundanese.

noticeable in the Kepala kampong's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim. M 156 609

I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs, a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampong had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampong's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better. M 565 342 554

At the Karaëng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa". I 192

I asked Rahim about the Karaëng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i.e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaëng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes. M 156 554

I went back to the Karaëng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaëng as well as to the Kepala kampong. Rahim said that the Karaëng was ana tino [i.e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i.e., the nine electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought. M 124 565

The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him. M 124

Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were M 541 533 177

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
● 342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[262] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that Andi could also work for me. Thus it goes. The Kepala kampong is a fat fellow with a yellow turban. He is called "Mado" which is the Buginese term for Kepala kampong, or rather, Mado Bukaka. His house is not bad, with a ramp on the side structure, but stairs going up into the main part of it. He is no noble, nor are there any bangsawan [titled nobles] in the village. When Sulewatang Udjung ordered, he called together the kali,guru [teachers], and notables (the Sulewatang later told me that family heads are also important). They are a motley crew. They came in and sat around on chairs. The Sulewatang, Andi, the magistrates, and I sat around a table. Coffee and cookies were served. They all listened well and the guru, a good looking young man, seemed especially intelligent. The Sulewatang gave an opening address and I joined in with more and more comments regarding the United States and the need for knowledge of South Celebes. They were quite silent, but one or two nodded and smiled continuously. I got the idea that they will do what they are told. They too were fascinated by my camera. Also, as usual, they plaintively asked (as asked by the Sulewatang) why things are so expensive and hard to get in Celebes, when there is obviously so much of everything in the United States. They are greatly interested in this matter. I tried to explain the fact that the dollar is high and the rupiah low, and also about the foreign exchange currency control. They got the main point. We then went over my notes (I had gone over the Friedericy notes with the Sulewatang the night before). They got the idea and it seems that they want to appear as both modern and as good Mohammedans, as they always shied away at questions regarding such things as spirit belief, old type feasts, and offerings. This was especially true of the Sulewatang, who always said that formerly such and such a practice may have been observed here and perhaps at present is still observed in the mountains, but in this place and at the present time it does not exist. I was told that such practices were mere legends now, but they admitted that in most cases the people still knew about them.

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The next day I talked with the controleur. He showed me the perkara [legal case] records of the office here. In Wadjo, Bone and Soppeng combined there are over one thousand legal cases per year. Many of these pertain to horse and cattle stealing, which is an old custom here. I saw one decision: six months in jail.

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said 829
that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He 565
said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be 565
omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two 583
individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that 565
there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but 342●
that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For 554
example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the 224
village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth. 287

There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there 326
were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a 462
great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala 463
kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were 286
woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in 256
every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one 339
place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evident- 463
ly too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and 326
specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of 851
children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, 567
in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
764 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always re-
513 moved. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate.
625 The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well
102 things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaeng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]

368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one family. They said that they had a very small house and were very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true
161 fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants
592 whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small houses have many more. The population has risen some despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk about it, but they have no money so they have to remain. When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in. I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies. They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world, but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar,
207 and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay. There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst] put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

House status marks: little is known about the rules con- 342
cerned with the number of piles, but much is known about 114
the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written 554
in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me 565
say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some
of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it
was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the
commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with
the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is
a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social
indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In
regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now
too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew 773
most of the names and events in the legends of origin, includ- 591
ing the details regarding seven ore or black men. Regarding
marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a
while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they
may go where they choose.

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline 177
in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the paka- 535
rena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices 527
came in. For example, one of the men said that they were 574
having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the
Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they
are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between 186
Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite 173
ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one,
Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name
of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is 778
only about three kilometers from here. I will go there to-
morrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It
is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite
serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for in-
vulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there
is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language 197
spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was
really a different language. They imitated it and laughed.
They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much 241
of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and 262
it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a [541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are
[462] women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly
262 there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco,
241 Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts.

●342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouthwash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

and where they have come from. For example, they tell 565
people that they were nobles where they came from. Here 567
is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power 178
of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there 696
were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. 681
If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They 567
became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they 626
have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is
a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember
it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any
event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would [684]
be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or [588]
a woman who married or had something to do with a man of
lower status.

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social 557
sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale 565
by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. 556
The social classes are set.

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it 554
would be better to say that there is some. There are many 531
cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able
to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they
may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which
were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more
wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is
practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all
the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman
and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are
numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes,
terms of address, and manners.

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable 178
flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for 554
an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted 342
only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and 565
nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly 531
use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present.
As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the
"real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide
and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one
except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved
wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used
illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so
used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in
house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was
once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampong wears one. However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it. In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles. Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem to be alternates of all sorts. They call me padika tuan, as I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone. (This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Makassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was formerly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when approaching their superiors or when passing them. They squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with them. They wait until they are asked a question. And every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the Kepala kampong meets me or says goodbye he holds our right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very best place. The Kapala kampong and other common guests sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked the Kepala kampong who was waiting in the car to come onto the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

office and even to Batavia. The trouble with Wadjo is that many letters there are left unanswered because friends of the corrupt administration are involved. But the controleur is catching them, as he gets copies in the office at Watumpone and then goes to Wadjo and asks why no answer. This is evidently the reason, or one of them, that the Wadjo folk are ready to revolt against the radja and the government. The letters are written by letter writers, who charge a fee to write them in most kampongs. M 695 661 668 212

In regard to Wadjo and Soppeng, Denzo said that the latter is pretty good and that the radja sees this is an overgangstijd [transitional period], as does his administration. Thus the situation is not so bad. But he agrees that Wadjo is awful.

Incidental: I see from the Sadang notes that the swing [During the period of rice ripening, swings are made of ratan, rope, and buffalo hide. The swings are attached to the branch of a tree. In some areas (Kesu, Sadang, and Balusu) boys and girls swing together. Swinging is done to promote the growth of the grains of rice. In some parts of the Sadang area (e.g., Rimbon), the swinging is done by women who also sing a song of gratitude for a good harvest. This custom apparently survives principally as a children's game. All references to swinging will be found in category 524. --Analyst] is used during the entire period of rice planting or rice ripening. S 524 243

I noted that the three-window front of a house, which I had thought was specifically Makassarese, is also found on Buginese houses in the mountains, for example in Soppeng. Thus all that has happened is that the Makassarese have kept it well, while the Buginese in the coastal and other areas tend to lose it. M 342 178

On the way up to Makale, I saw plenty of Toradja, including a coffin on a platform in the yard. The platform was made of bamboo. Bohn in Paloppo and my notes on van der Veen say that this is probably the Luwu group of Sadang. And Bohn corroborates that many are descendants of slaves who were brought there. They live mainly in separate kampongs from the Buginese and there are very few mixed kampongs. They have little social contact, except trading. They practically never intermarry. M 563

On the way in I noticed that the place around Rantepao is full of niche graves. Nearly every appropriate rock face has at least one, together with an ornate door. In these rather solitary ones, however, I did not notice the tautau. M 764

that once in a while the military post brings in a film, but this is rare. Most of the folks do not get to see this. This is a very important item, and now I see why they seem to be so provincial. In this respect, they are behind the Buginese, who are avidly interested in the United States. S 546 177

For the sacrifice of buffaloes, all family members contribute, and for the big feast the entire kampong makes some contribution, each person with his own assessment. S 782 596 527

It is possible, they say, to tell the age of a house by its style. Papajungan demonstrated this, hitting the thing right on the nose. In order to get the age of the house he repeated a long genealogy on his fingers giving individual names. It came out to two hundred years. Every noble has a genealogy going back to the heaven people. At one time they showered down in various places like rain. The genealogies then started. Even slaves have genealogies. S 173 565 613 773

The kampongs have sections, as in Makassar and Buginese country. S 621

As for class differences, Lethe is a tomakaka, as is Palinggi. They are high. I gather that Papajungan is also high. He said that in the old days there were plenty of wars. His father, for example, fought against the Sangalla puang. He does not believe the story that the puang could stop a war by appearing (but maybe this is only in the Makale area). He said there was little dancing or music here, and saw a difference when we talked about Java and Bali. He said that they dance and sing at feasts, but that there is not much to it. I asked about the recitation of the old man (tominaa, priest, and not slave) at the maruk feast which I saw. He said that he would be asking the buffalo favors. Thus it seems that the buffalo to be sacrificed is a kind of messenger. S 565 S 535 527 782 825

He said that various heavens showered down the nobles, who after descending intermarried at different places and this started things off. He said that the only incest taboos are between siblings, different generations, and between first cousins. Second cousins may marry, but a case is sometimes made out of this. Third cousins are all right. Incest causes the lack of rain, and so forth, and formerly the people caught living in such incestuous relationships were killed. But they have no exile rules or laws as in the Makassarese and Buginese areas. One case was interesting. In Kessu, only a few years ago an old woman who had been a slave in the Buginese area returned to the kampong and is still there. She had become a Mohammedan, but quickly reverted to Toradja religion. S 773 582 684

Regarding Bone: I remember that the Kepala kampong said that another class-linked house matter was that of stones under the piles. In the early days only nobles, and no other could use stones. The rest had to sink their piles in the M 342● 565

M
342 Now it is all right for others to use stones as is the case of
565 his own house. In addition, only nobles were allowed to
[304] wear gold ornaments in former days. Papajungan knew
little about tattooing although he understood what I meant.
000 He was interested in contraception and seemed impressed
with my arguments for planned families. He is a smart lad
and could get some place. He is very lively. He said that
if he had a chance he would go to the United States at once.

S
782 Animals used as offerings at feasts are: buffaloes, pigs,
231 dogs, and fowls.

S
674 In pre-war days there were perhaps two criminal cases
per year in Rantepao. Now there are hundreds. Cases
range from stealing and fraud through a number of other
types, but usually do not involve murder. (Japanese influence on demoralization?)

S
876 Regarding schools: I notice that much time in the yard is
spent standing at attention or standing in formation and in
marching. When they march here, the boys are stripped
to the waist. They march slowly with their arms swinging
as do the British guards. Could this arm swinging be
Japanese too? Anyway this is not an agreeable business.
What is the use of it?

S
764 Regarding the graves: Papajungan said that the coffins in
the cleft are of the people who are too poor to have a niche
565 made for them. These coffins may belong even to nobles.
556 Query: is van der Veen right in saying that there must be
one slave per niche? Can slaves be placed in the niches
without trouble?

As for the stones, Papajungan said that only the nobles can use them free. Commoners and slaves may use them if they pay a price to the nobles. But if they are poor, then they use wooden posts only. (This may be like the feast I saw on a distant hill near Rantepao where there were no stones.)

S
824 On the first day of the feast in Lempo I noticed that there
were many men working at cutting palm branches. They
were used for decorations of various types.

S
241 Papajungan says that until now in most places there has
[784] been an absolute taboo against slash-and-dibble, or dry
agriculture (ladang). It is forbidden, and would ruin the wet
rice fields. But there is also a taboo against planting corn
or peanuts or anything else in a dry rice field after the
harvest. However, Papajungan says that the taboo is just
beginning to break down in the areas around the town and he
hopes that it will continue to do so as they could get more

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
● [342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

behind where there were many houses for his many slaves. That house had horns on the gables. The sunat feast lasted six days and five buffaloes had been killed for food as well as many fowls. Many fancy cakes were served which had been left over from the feast. I saw the boy who had been cut and he is said to be thirteen, although he looked much younger. I asked about the repeated cutting, up to seven times, and Saleh said that this is usual. He looked wise at this moment, and sizing up the boy, said, "I think it isn't finished with this fellow and that he will have to be cut again!" M 881 [342] 304 565 343

I asked about the gaukang, and they agreed that the radja and the nine bate must have them. As for the others, for example the karaeng, some have them and some do not; but formerly they must all have had them. M 778 565

I asked about the charms, the djimat, and they said that there are still plenty being used in the kampong. M 751

We finally drove to the seaside where there was a bathing beach and bath houses. They say that there are many Dutch who come here and pay a fee. It is owned by the local karaeng. M 529

I had a talk with Emanuel, a student of van Voll, and ter Haar's former assistant. He looked like an Indo [i.e., Eurasian]. He is trying to get through a uniform marriage law for Christians in all of East Indonesia. He admitted that this is a difficult task because the families are so often mixed, and the settlement of property is likewise very confused. 000

I asked Emanuel about the divorce pronouncement by a man. He agreed that it was normal for a man to say it three times in order for it to become a full divorce. If it is said only once or twice the couple can remarry, but if it has been said three times it is final. He said, however, that there are two other forms in Indonesia (he said that ter Haar mentioned this). One form is when a woman gets a man to agree to give talak by offering him a settlement. This is in line with true Mohammedan law. The other kind is peculiar to Indonesia. It occurs when a woman complains to the judge that she has offered a man settlement for the requested talak, but the man has refused. The man is then called to the judge, and if he is still unwilling and all is in order, the judge himself may pronounce talak. I 586 592 C 586 592

I had a talk with engineer Resink, who is here for the Economic Affairs Department. He is an "Indo" and talks about "us" Indonesians. I get the impression he is a radical I 668

Note that the Chinese may not buy land. All of them live in the stone (cement) houses beside the leveled market place. This is known as rumah sewa and is shown on the map. It is rented out by the radja. 563 425 342

The one Toradja is a woman married to a Chinaman.

Saleh pointed out that there are many cases of commoners using the title of daeng now. However, he has ignored them in this list of names because he knows that this is merely a pretension on their part. 162 565

C. Trade and Class

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Javanese	Chinese	Total
Goldsmith	30	19	1	-	-	50
Peddler-small trader	9	32	3	-	3	47
Merchant	2	2	-	-	-	13
Leather-worker	4	39	1	4	-	48
Smith	5	3	-	-	-	8
Industry	1	2	-	-	-	3
Carpenter	1	4	-	-	-	5
Farmer	2	13	-	-	-	15
Roofer-thatcher	1	5	-	-	-	6
Coolie	-	-	-	-	-	2
Cycle-repair	2	-	-	-	-	2
Weaver	-	2	-	-	-	2
Coach-bike-shaw	1	1	-	-	-	2
Dyer	-	1	-	-	-	1
Kalker	-	1	-	-	-	1
Government	1	1	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	1
Bamboo dealer	1	-	-	-	-	1
Military	1	-	-	-	-	1
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Sailor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Sandman	1	3	-	-	-	4
Teacher	-	2	-	-	-	2
Barber	-	1	-	-	-	1
Teamster	-	1	-	-	-	1
Laundryman	-	1	-	-	-	1
Unknown	2	9	-	1	-	12
None	4	11	1	-	-	16

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We finally drove to the seaside where there was a bathing beach and bath houses. They say that there are many Dutch who come here and pay a fee. It is owned by the local karaeng. M 529

I had a talk with Emanuel, a student of van Voll, and ter Haar's former assistant. He looked like an Indo [i.e., Eurasian]. He is trying to get through a uniform marriage law for Christians in all of East Indonesia. He admitted that this is a difficult task because the families are so often mixed, and the settlement of property is likewise very confused. 000

I asked Emanuel about the divorce pronouncement by a man. He agreed that it was normal for a man to say it three times in order for it to become a full divorce. If it is said only once or twice the couple can remarry, but if it has been said three times it is final. He said, however, that there are two other forms in Indonesia (he said that ter Haar mentioned this). One form is when a woman gets a man to agree to give talak by offering him a settlement. This is in line with true Mohammedan law. The other kind is peculiar to Indonesia. It occurs when a woman complains to the judge that she has offered a man settlement for the requested talak, but the man has refused. The man is then called to the judge, and if he is still unwilling and all is in order, the judge himself may pronounce talak. I 586 592 C 586 592

I had a talk with engineer Resink, who is here for the Economic Affairs Department. He is an "Indo" and talks about "us" Indonesians. I get the impression he is a radical I 668

612 /70 cont./ subordination of the latter with respect to that of
778 Borongloë was expressed in the ritual. These festivities
796 strengthened the sense of solidarity within the adat community, and by the wealth displayed on these occasions, they raised the standing of Borongloë both in its own, as well as in others', eyes.

2. A few days before the inauguration of the new prince of Goa in 1947, the ornaments of Goa and of Borongloë encountered each other at a certain place located in Borongloë
[103] by the name of Tamarunang. The following myth is connected
539 with this place.

1. Pau-pauanna Tamarunang.	The story of Tamarunang.
2. Riolo, riwattu erona appare' kota Karaëngnga ri Goa,	A long time ago, when the Prince of Goa wanted to build a fort,
3. nanrai' assuro angngalle batu ri binangaja ri Songkolo.	he commanded his people to enter the interior in order to get rocks in the river near Songkolo. /71/
4. Naandjo tau angngallea batu narasai naalle batu aganna Barugaja ri Songkolo.	And the people who got the rocks at that time, accidentally brought back a rock such as lies near the Baruga of Songkolo (1).

●[344]

1. A baruga (see Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 195) is a festival shed. At the spot designated as "the baruga of Songkolo," no festival shed is in existence, however. The rock which lies there today is the investiture rock of Borongloë.

471 /44 cont./ In kampong Borongpalala, for instance, the total
556 sawah area amounts to approximately 450 hectares. The area of dry land is very insignificant here. Of these 450 hectares, around 160 hectares are in the hands of residents of Borongpalala, and around 290 are in the hands of people who live outside Borongpalala. Approximately 3 hectares of the latter amount belong to a number of small farmers of the Bontoramba type. The rest, almost 290 hectares therefore, belongs to a few kinsmen of the Prince /45/ of Goa, who in part live in kampong Karuisi 15 kilometers away from Borongpalala, and in part in Bone, 250 to 300 kilometers away. This kampong is clearly acquainted with large landownership. Deputies (koasa) of the large landowners direct operations there and collect the proceeds. These conditions will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Harvest Ritual

241 The tie between kampong residents and their land finds
346 expression at the harvest festival, which is held at a certain
778 place in the kampong territory, "the Lord of the Land" (Patanna pa'rasanganga) so-called. At this spot stands an old mango tree, and at its foot lie a few large, flat stones. Next to it a "little house" (saukang) has been built. It rests on four posts; the floor, 1.5 square meters, is about 1.0 meter above the ground; the walls are composed of completely transparent braiding; atop leaves serve as roof covering. In the center a fifth post extends about 20 centimeters through the floor, and this is called the "lopped-off house post" (benteng polong). Tree, stones, and the little house together form an important element of the sawah ritual. Usually, both before the planting as well as after the harvest, but also on other occasions of the rice growing, offerings are presented there, coupled with simple and essentially household festivities. Only the harvest festival will be described here.

346 778 /75 cont./ In 1939, when I came to Borongloë for the first time, a dilapidated little hut had been built over this rock. Around the same time attention seems to have been drawn to this "rock worship" by the Muhammadijah Association. Shortly after this, people of Borongloë, under the leadership of the head of the adat community and the old Imam, constructed a new cottage.

The rock is flat on top. Viewed from above, the greatest length amounts to about 60 centimeters and the greatest width to about 40 centimeters. Everywhere it is from 2 to 3 centimeters above the ground. At the time of the reconstruction, a pointed rock was placed at opposite sides of the flat rock along the extension of the longitudinal axis, at a distance from each other of approximately 80 centimeters. Each of these two rocks jutted about 15 centimeters out of the ground. In combination with the rock, they make an impression of eroded mesas on the visitor. Questioned about this, the head stated that a grave existed here although he was unable to state with certainty whose grave it was.

[769 178] The purpose of placing the two rocks seems clear. Externally, the rock worship gave way to grave worship. The demands of modern times had therefore been met by doing as they did.

634 778 At the climax of their inauguration festival, the two last adat community heads of Borongloë stood on this rock. There they took the oaths of loyalty (aru) of a number of their kapala and followers.

346 778 Right by the rock a little house (saukang) has been built. It stands on posts. The floor forms a rectangle of 1.0 by 1.5 meters; the walls consist of transparent braided bamboo. A fifth post is stuck in the middle of the floor, going right through it and rising about 30 centimeters above the floor. This is called the lopped-off house post (benteng polong). Rock and saukang belong together. Whenever offerings are made there, a parappo is placed /76/ both by the lopped-off house post as well as by the flat rock (1). [78]

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaëng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
576 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
593 an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).

123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is
177 evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaëng stands there but says nothing. Beside

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, 203
and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting 666
on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems 624
that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the 596
head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his
clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs.
Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like
Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc
splits.

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van 778
Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, 565
kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the
karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he
was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave.
As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next 574
door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and
the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people
around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a
broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-
Heekeren.

The store hasa brick underwall, and a house above. It
appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and
berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always ac-
cepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim
talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked be-
tween ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United 872
States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim 346
said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in 494
a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen 198
the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it ap- 435
peared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual
style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used
Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling,
but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth
grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further
schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong,
[i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa,
and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is
quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather
far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later.
That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I 212
asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim
said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general.
He added that there was a press in Makassar.

563 I then asked whether there were other stores in the kampong. He said there were several, mostly belonging to Chinese. Rahim said the Chinese live in a few houses along one street. He pointed them out saying that the Chinese, or at least some of them, had been there for a long time and speak Makassarese well. But, though they marry Makassarese girls, the children of such marriages never do, but instead follow their fathers' line. Evidently they marry Chinese. Thus it appeared that the Chinese breed mates for their own folk by first mating or marrying with local girls. Rahim added that although Chinese men married Makassarese girls, Makassarese men never married Chinese girls. This is understandable, as there are no Chinese girls until the second generation. Then they are considered Chinese and marry Chinese. I must ask about the feeling toward the Chinese on various points. Rahim went to
000 this kampong school, and then to an intermediate school in Makassar, and then, I suppose, to a higher school.

123 As we left the store the lads asked if I would take them to
512 the mosque in my jeep. The old man especially said that it
562 was a long walk for him. Indeed it was so. In fact, I wondered if he would have done it if there had been no jeep. Four of them, including Rahim's father, piled in, and I took them to the mosque. This is Friday, and many people were walking in that direction. Rahim said that it was taboo for women, and there were no women going.

346 The mosque was quite a fine one, white, with (amazing!) an
177 old cremation urn at the top of one tower. Van Heekeren said this was usual. These urns were imported from China four to five hundred years ago, and were evidently used for ashes in Hindu days. But it is remarkable to me that one should be on top of a mosque!

285 I saw some very fine baskets in a store. One was varicolored with a round top which had words plaited in around the border. Perhaps I will buy it later.

342 Thus went the first day or at least the first morning. I will leave things alone for a while. And on Monday I will meet my assistant. My general impression of the houses in the kampong is one of a mixture. The good houses are built mainly of wood and thatch, but there are several of these which are poor and are falling down. Van Heekeren said that bamboo is scarce, hence the use of wood. And maybe that accounts for the lack of good repair in some cases. The people are pleasant and polite, I have been pleasantly impressed. I see very few women around here and wonder where they are. One sees many more in Java. And those one does see here, though often very fine, are not generally so handsome as the Javanese or Sundanese.

Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imam of the latter is the 368
father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in
later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong [623]
council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone.

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in 622
legal cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after 692
the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he
couldn't the case went to the karaëng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village 623
is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of 203
an election when a great drum is beaten.

In addition to mosques, there are many surau, that is [346]
prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaëng is 565
not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is 368
only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaëng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank.

We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of 632
Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [run- 565
ning east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the terri- 114
tory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangan. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallarang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e.,literally, electoral college--analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaëng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan.

Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred 175
years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. 565
(See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

●346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

000 down from father to son within the ruling family. He said that Ternate once ruled over most of the Moluccas and up into the Philippine Islands. Tidore ruled mainly over New Guinea. Batjan, the other sultanate, was small and less important. This Sultan is a remarkable man and I will talk further with him when I read over my notes on Halmahera.

764 346 177 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Sixth day: I had to leave at eleven in the morning to go to Bone. I went at once to the graves of the radjas nearby and at Kale Goa. I noted that all of the tombs of the hundred-year ago type ("beehive") had an urn on top. I also noted that the mosques around here and also the shrine buildings have urns on top. (Later, in Watumpone, I noted that a mosque had, instead of the urn, a stone decoration which looked like an urn) This urn business must be a survival of the old mortuary use (or could it be a mere imitation of the onion shape of Byzantine decoration, which an urn approximates?). I had seen the beehive tombs near the Shrine of the Pigrimage the day before, as well as the large cemetery of regular graves. A bit further on I saw another mosque, and near it many more beehive tombs. I went into several of them.

764 782 778 Then I went on to Kale Goa, and on the plateau stand many older type tombs (see photographs), of rough stones, with low doors. And I also noted even older ones, near stone heap mounds. An old man said that the latter were from Hindu times, the former from the time of Datu ri Bandang, in the early seventeenth century, who was the introducer of Islam here. In one of them I saw people sitting crouched down. Several of them were from Pangkadjene, which is quite a distance away, and they had come to make requests. All this is amazing. Then, on a slight, rectangular, earth mound was the coronation stone of Goa. It is small and flat and low. It fell from heaven. Over it is a small gnarled tree which never grows nor diminishes. Nearby is a small fence around another larger and rounder stone which also fell from the sky. There is one beehive tomb here (photograph).

773 778 I then walked down a little valley to a small kampong, the old man telling me stories about Tumanurung [a legendary figure of unknown origin who married Karaëng Bayo. The couple became mythological founders of the Goa nobility--Analyst] and others the whole time. We reached a well which evidently also features in the cycle of the legend. Nevertheless, it is being used at the present time, and there was a woman there washing a white buffalo with water. I forgot to say that under the round stone is the dried-up well where Goa warriors used to wash for invulnerability before

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8
Celebes OG1

S 793 838 There are not many homosexual priests, but there are some. (Could this be an indication of Buginese influence, or is it from the common underlying base of both Buginese and Toradja culture?)

S 565 535 527 In Rantepao they have many tumbang at the mabua. There is a tumbang from each noble family.

Move to Watampone: I left Makale on September 21, and

C 117 went to Watampone via Pangkadjene. I started work there, but on Friday, September 23, at dusk, while returning from Cape Patiro I hit a stump and the jeep overturned throwing me out and cutting a gash many inches long in my scalp. I was knocked out but was soon taken to a house. People carried me to the office of the district kepala in the dark. This was several miles away. They carried me on a bamboo litter, and there was much blood. A party arrived with a doctor and I was taken to a hospital and stitched up. I was laid up for two weeks with a concussion. I am now writing on Wednesday, October 5, twelve days later, and seem to be all right. I hope to be able to leave here for Makassar on Sunday, October 9th.

Someone stole the spare tire and bracket from the jeep. It had evidently broken off on impact. This accident nearly finished me, and it made me miss the ship to Bima on September 30. I will now try to get the earliest ship going to either Bima or Ambon.

M 125 Watampone: Starting September 22, I spent most of my time recovering from the accident.

Andi brought me the census and map, both of which are fair. The census is poor in one respect, that is, the number of slaves and other classes given is only good for the heads of households. I will try to get more accurate data on this before I leave from the Kepala kampong. Also, the census is not really a complete job, and I made a mistake to say only the heads of households. And the census is good only for one of the three parts of the kampong complex. The results, however, are given below.

M 565 346 I talked a bit now and then with Andi and others. One thing I noticed was that across from the pasanggrahan there is a middle school, which was the former palace of the radja, as can be seen from the five flaps on the gabled tin front. The regalia were kept in a side building (like a pavilion), which is at present the principal's office. The walls are very thick (I thought of the atomic buildings which have thick walls to keep powerful rays inside!). The present Radja had a house built across the plaza, and for the regalia, a bigger pavilion alongside.

764 hundred years old and may show that Mohammedanism here
174 came in a little later than in Goa. These tombs seem to date from the period of conversion to Mohammedanism, judging from the dates, especially in Goa. In this cemetery there are also modern, ordinary graves.

The Kepala kampong said that before the war there were many fine urns on the tombs, but the Dutch controleur had taken them. Later on van Heekeren told me that the Japanese took a lot of these urns too.

● 346 We went to look at the old and the new mosques. Both have
174 urns on top, as in Goa. The one on the old mosque has blue and white figures on it; the one on the new mosque is brown, apparently of a solid color. I asked van Heekeren, and he said that all mosques have these urns, even in the Paloppo and Luwu areas. He says that these urns are of Chinese origin and were formerly used to hold the ashes and charred bones (i.e., some of the bones) of the cremated bodies, before Islam came in. Van Heekeren is sure that there is not very much Hindu influence here; the urn burial trait is not
[126] Hindu but merely pre-Islamic Makassarese and Buginese. I took some photographs and gave some polaroid prints to the Kepala kampong, of him and his wife in Hadji dress, with their little daughter (perhaps one and a half years old, who waves when you say dag [hello or good-bye--Analyst]).

000 While we were talking about slaves an old fellow came in and stood at the foot of the stairs mentioning something to the Kepala kampong. He was the slave of the assistant chief (seriang). They talked in a very low whisper.

838 Talking with Andi, I brought up the homosexual matter
793 again. He maintains that homosexuals are numerous here.
778 The official ones are attached to the aradjang and at the head of them is the puang matoa, chief of the bissu. When the aradjang is taken out, the bissu from many kampongs gather in Watampone and dance. I asked if every wanua has an aradjang. They do not. However, there are some kampongs that have them. The bissu handle and take out these lesser aradjang too. This also would bear research.

838 Andi went on and on about the scandalous behavior of the
548 ordinary homosexuals (tjalabai). They dress and act like women and are found everywhere. There are many in Watampone. They swish and flirt and stick rolled up handkerchiefs in their blouses to imitate breasts. Andi says that many men are crazy about them and spend lots of time and money to have sex with them. He was surprised that I had seen none. I do remember at the pasar malam, that I had seen a "girl" in a bright red blouse (kabaya), and a well painted face. "She"

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

● 346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

● 351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

1:Chabot
habot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

585
602
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301
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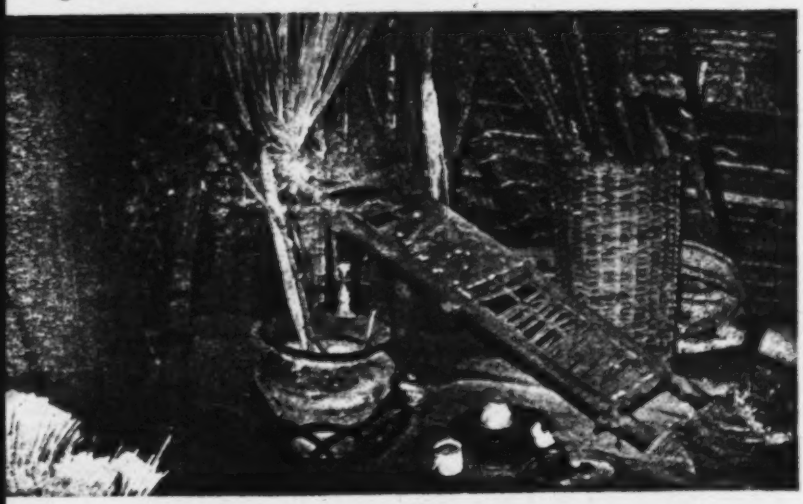
A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.



769
778
352
415

The little ancestral house (pantasa') in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END PLATE 3]

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 562
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197] words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaëng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaëng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaëng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352●
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favorably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when [114] in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaëng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
576 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
593 an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).

123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
●352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is
177 evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaëng stands there but says nothing. Beside

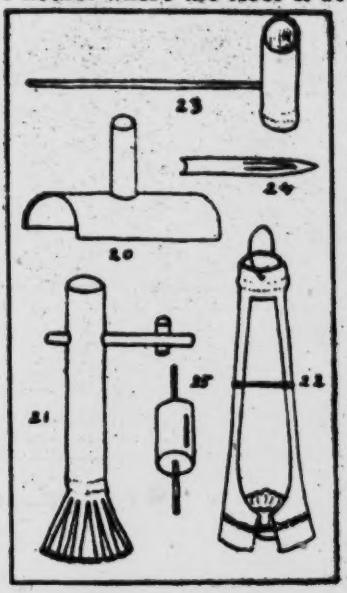
Javanese OE5
Sumatra OD1
Makassar OG6
Gorontalo OG4

J 352 [547 cont.]

When we come to bamboo as the basic material for making primitive household articles, the description can be brief because in the true Javanese house furniture is scarce.

In the houses where the floor is at ground level, the balé-balé (the bamboo couch) serves as a bedstead.

J 415 412



Bamboo Articles
20, 21, and 22, lamps; 23, spoon;
24, netting needle; 25, top

If one extends the word furniture to include the kitchen and the immediate vicinity of the house, then the number of bamboo objects immediately increases greatly.

J 454

While the petroleum tin has also gained entry here and the smoky floating wick is often set in a tin container, bamboo is still used for this purpose. Bamboo tubes filled with resin are used on Sumatra as torches; little bamboo staves dipped in fat or melted resin are used for illumination by the Buginese, while elsewhere (northern Celebes and Sumatra) [548] bamboo articles are used to hold resin torches.

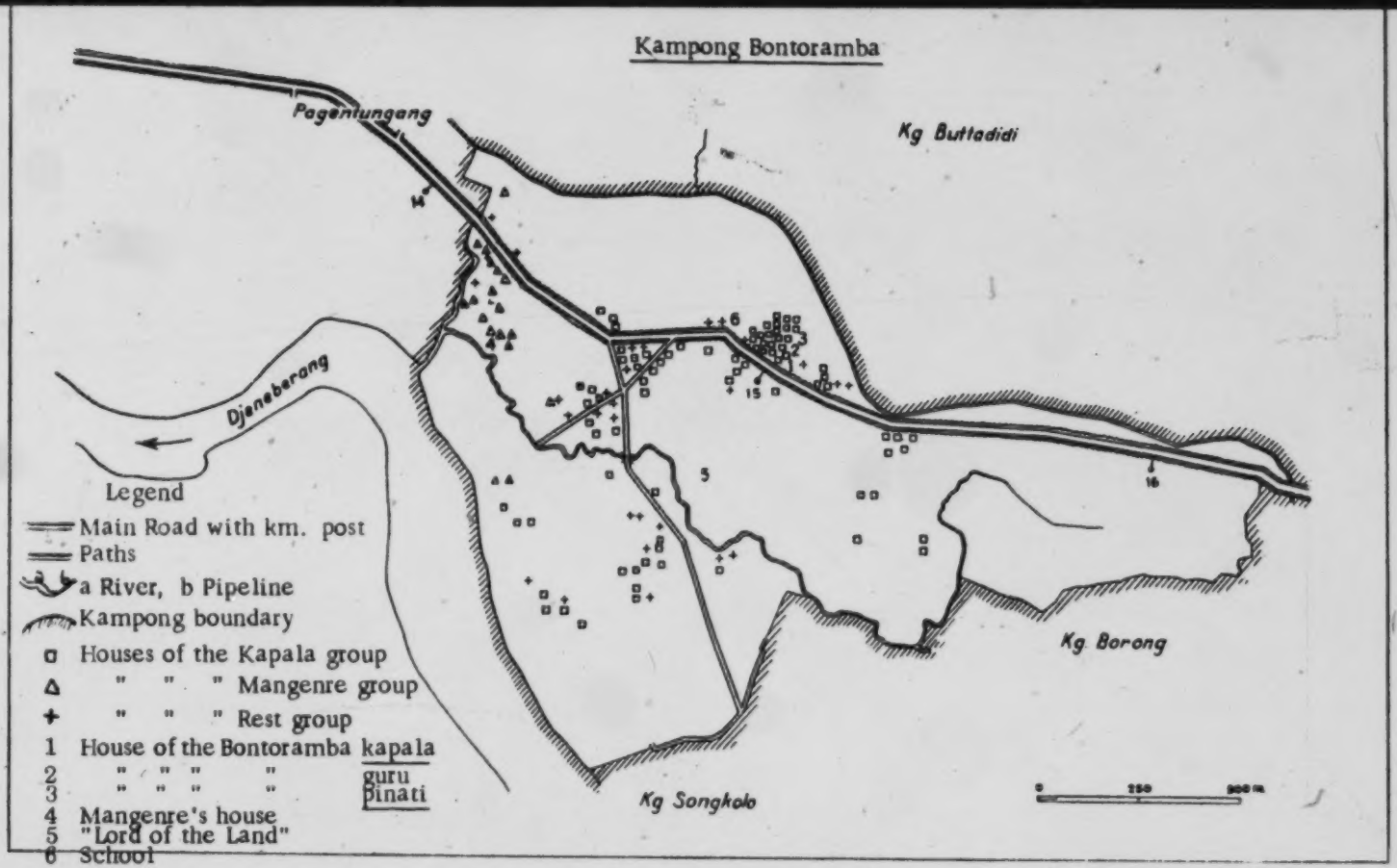
S [354] I [354 412 415 286]

M G S [354]

In the kitchen a bamboo tube is used to rouse the fire. A bamboo stake set in the ground and split at the top and bent out is used to hold a stone water jug (gendi) and to safeguard against ants. A kind of bamboo fan is also used to rouse the fire, especially charcoal. In the yard there is very often a koeroengan

J 412 415 [354] J 417 291 351

1:Chabor--vii E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6



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441

125 /7 cont./ of the kampong. In case someone was not related to the Kapala or his wife, it was established whether he was related to a certain Mangenre, who, as soon became evident to me, occupied a central position in a group of relatives of around 100 Buginese. If this did not appear to be the case either, I looked for kinship connections with neighboring houses. In this way a first general view of the size of the groups of relatives in one kampong territory came into focus.

July 1, 1948 was chosen as the date for the survey.

125 In further analysis of the data it appeared that the mobility which had already been noted for the adat community head 166 and which actually was regarded as a troublesome quality by him personally was a trait occurring generally in Makassarese society. This mobility, however, was not reflected in the original figures. For this reason a second survey was carried out a year after the first one. At this time the names of the occupants of the houses were noted down again, and, in cases where there was a divergence from the compilation of the previous year, the reason that led to migration was ascertained and the place where the immigrant had come from and to which the emigrant had gone were noted down.

In so doing, I considered as immigrants those who entered the kampong, and as emigrants those who /8/ left it. Finally, those who changed houses within the kampong in the course of the year were registered as transmigrants.

124 The investigation of the related group thus led to a further investigation into a particular quality of the group: its mobility. This mobility ultimately led to an investigation into the migration of the Makassarese into Buginese country and on some aspects concerning the life of such colonists.

[361] [621] Living Conditions

Kampong Bontoramba is an hour from Macassar by bicycle across an asphalt motor road. A stay in the kampong therefore 123 can neither be compared with one on a remote island nor with

000 /14 cont./2. E.E. Evans-Pritchard,
The Nuer, Oxford, 1940, p. 261.

/15/ Chapter I

Kinship

131 Goa Province extends from the ocean to the mountains.
133 The Djene'berang River, originating on the almost 3,000 meters high Bawakaraëng and emerging into the sea just to the south of Macassar, flows entirely through Goa's regions.
491 The large motor highway which connects Macassar with
● 361 Malino, situated 70 kilometers away in the mountain, runs practically parallel with the river. Approximately 10 kilometers outside Macassar lies the little town of Sungguminasa, still entirely in the plain, the residence of the Prince of Goa. Only 30 kilometers further on the road begins to climb
[133] steeply. The 30 kilometers to Sungguminasa lead through an undulating plain where woods and sawahs alternate. Groups of houses lie scattered through the country. At kilometer post 15, just past Sungguminasa, lies Kampong Bontoramba.
369 Elegant automobiles belonging to the residents of the large city roar through it, but this has little influence on village life and everyday thought. Some of the old people have never seen Macassar. For the majority a visit to the large city is a significant event, but more because of the many curiosities to be seen and experienced there than because of the changes to be introduced into one's own life after returning home.

631 Bontoramba is one of the 14 kampongs which form the adat community of Borongloë, and at present Borongloë, together with 10 other adat communities, forms the federative unit which for hundreds of years has been known as Goa Kingdom.

476 602 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened by this. A household that is apart from the others can request 476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency, 558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever 609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior. 592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower ● 361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 612 621 Differences are thus observable between a household which lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 592 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30 592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

634 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man
612 in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived
621 together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua.
When he became head in that year, the members of both groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to
[361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration, the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua, as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen from at least two of these groups.

571 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course
612 of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the
[278] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around the adat community head. The tendency toward separation is increased by the difficulty of communication across the Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie
[564] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

124 Levij of the Voorlichtings Ministerie (Kementerian
Penerangan Indonesia Timoer) [Ministry of Information for
the State of East Indonesia] offered to do this providing I
would pay the expenses, using his office staff. I went with
361 Rahim and van Heekeren to Balombaru this morning.
491 Balombaru is in the adatgemeenschap [native community]
Karawisi, in which there are perhaps six other kampongs
(check). To get to Balombaru we went out [south] on the Goa
road for about six kilometers, then turned right on a side
road, and finally again on a dirt road. As the limits of the
municipality are reached the road at once appears to be full
of holes; and in the dry monsoon period there is terrible
dust. We were stopped by a police cordon and later found
out that the reason was that they expected to have a meeting
of the police school (I think) in the afternoon and wanted to
keep cars out so that there would be less dust! We went by a
side route, and first stopped at a stucco house with an office
which belonged to the district head, the Karaeng. He is an
important man in Goa. He was not in. His assistant im-
363 pressed me by his poise and by his quiet manner. We went
on, and got to the village [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] itself,
going around a plaza, a dusty kind of turnabout with the enter-
ing road coming in at right angles to the "main street" of the
kampong. Rahim said that there were side streets too. It ap-
peared that most of the houses were located along the roads.
I will see. We stopped (before this, and outside the kampong
proper) at the house of the Imam, near the mosque (I must
check the name of the main kampong where the Karaeng and
342 the Imam and the mosque are located). The Imam lives in a
very nice Makassar type house. We went upstairs to the
main room, which was large, and in which there was a bed
with a klambu [mosquito net]. There seemed to be several
other rooms in the rear. The floor was of wide planks not
placed too close together so that the air could come up into
the room. The house itself was of wood with atap thatch [i.e.,
of palm leaves or the like]. The Imam said he had seven chil-
156 dren. He married in 1929 in Mecca, and seemed very proud
562 of this. He brought it in at the very first chance. He is a
576 small, quite handsome man, perhaps forty years old. His
wife is pretty, has gold teeth, and looked as if she were
dressed in Javanese style. She is evidently modern in a
sense, as she came right up to us, and shook our hands.
Rahim said this was not the old style, as ordinarily women
would stay behind. She also broke into the conversation
from time to time. However, she did sit at another
table, listening. We sat at a table in the middle of

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
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342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
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177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
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666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaëng stands there but says nothing. Beside

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

Now regarding the kampong itself: the name of the kampong is Bukaka and it is located in the wanua Tanette Riattang, which is under the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang. The Sulewatang Tanette Riattang lives in Watampone. He is different from the Aru Tanette Riattang, who has no wanua, but who is one of the central seven princes. The head of the kampong has the title Mado Bukaka. He is a fine fellow and seems like a better character than most of the bangsawan. His father and his father's father and so on back have headed the kampong for countless generations. He is not a noble, says the Sulewatang. The Sulewatang also says that his ramp is not "genuine". Council is held in neither kampong nor wanua. If there are legal proceedings in the kampong the Kepala kampong may call in a notable or two to help. If there is a legal case in the wanua, the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang will call in maybe three or four (never all) Kepala kampongs to help. If there is really a big legal case, it goes to the Hadat Tinggi in Watampone. There are fifteen Kepala kampongs in the wanua. In most of the kampongs there are several smaller kampongs (two, three, or more), somewhat like hamlets. The Sulewatang used the term lingkongan [circle]. 361 622 632 623 632 692 621 632

The next day we got down to the work involving a rough map and a ground plan. The kampong abuts on Watampone, indeed it is actually a continuation of it. Thus one side of the market street is Watampone and the other is the kampong. There are several stores on the kampong side. I asked if the Chinese there would say that they were living in the kampong. The answer was no, but that they would say they lived in Watampone. Thus it is a kind of false border. Also, the big, beautiful, new mosque of Watampone is within the kampong borders. But the kampong is evidently not too important and Watampone is in the same wanua, that is, in wanua Tanette Riattang. The kampong itself is the western-most of the kampongs in this wanua, and the western border goes along with the eastern border of wanua Palaka (kampong Tjabalu). On the north is wanua Awampone (kampong Tjelapa). On the east is another kampong, Ta, of wanua Tanette Riattang. And, of course, Watampone is to the south. As one enters the kampong of Bukaka coming from the main center of Watampone, one goes along the main street for four kilometers from south to north, from the Watampone border to Tjelapa. On entering Bukaka one sees the great mosque and the large house of an Arab, both structures being white and blue, an ironic combination. It is a great misfortune that Mohammedanism got in here. From the main road (the Kepala kampong's house is not far from the Watampone border) to 126 621 632 101 131 102

621 the border of wanua Palaka, kampong Tjabalu on the west,
it is four kilometers also. This western part is thus a
632 square. On the east side of the road, along the Watampone
101 border, it is only six hundred meters along the street to
131 the Ta border. But then the east border sweeps eastward in
102 a long curve so that on the northern side along the border of
Tjelapa, the northern border runs two kilometers from the
main road. (See rough map, page 46, field notes)[P.266 here]

871 There are two schools in Bukaka, one a religious school
435 and the other a village school. They are near the Watampone
556 border on the main road, or just off it. There are also ten
private Koran schools. There are about six hundred hadjis
here. I met one, a smug young man. And I teased him about
being one of the few rich men in town, but he said that it was
perhaps, if the family resources were pooled, six thousand
guilders. He remarked that ten thousand guilders was really
a great fortune here. Incidentally, the Sulewatang said that
the high figures given for the old days were somewhat off.
Prices were overvalued.

131 In the wanua, running eastward to the sea from Bukaka, are
361 the kampongs Penyula and Ta side by side; then Paopao,
Tibodjong (very small) and Tamaüsing, side by side; then
Toro, Tjelu, Lapobatua, Biru, and Palingorung, all side by
side (the latter two jut out to the south); then Badjoë and Maloi,
side by side (the former on the sea, the latter juts out to the
south); and finally, along the curve of the sea, Rompe. I for-
got to say that these really do not jut out, as Watampone is
also part of the wanua and it is to the south of Bukaka, Ta,
Tamaüsing. Thus the appearance seems to be roughly that
621 of a triangle. Aside from Watampone, each of the fifteen
kampongs has a kepala kampong. And within each of the kam-
pongs there are varying numbers of hamlets. Thus Bukaka
has three, Penyula has one, Ta three, Paopao two, Tibodjong
one, Tamaüsing one, Lapobatua one. I could not get any
information on the other kampongs, but will find out later. The
biggest kampongs, in order, are: Tjelu, Bukaka, Badjoë.
Others are small. Bukaka is the oldest.

368 The big misigit [mesjid, mosque] is used by Bukaka, Ta,
and Watampone. Other kampongs having misigit are: Penyula,
Badjoë, Paopao, Lapobatua, and Palingorung, thus there are
six in all.

632 In Bone, Andi says, there are twenty-one wanua. Seven
565 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, how-
ever, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua
there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

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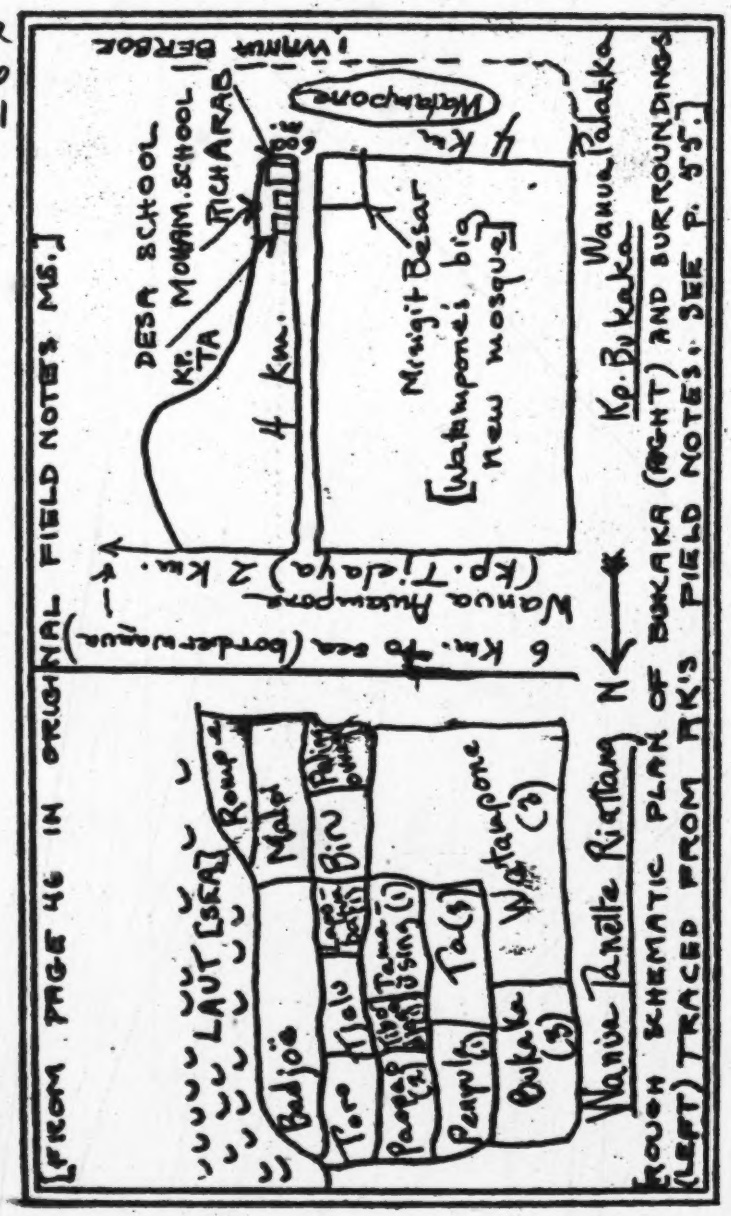

ROUGH SCHEMATIC PLAN OF BUKAKA (RIGHT) AND SURROUNDINGS (LEFT) TRACED FROM RK'S FIELD NOTES. SEE P. 55.

3: Kennedy E-5 (1949-50) OB1 Indonesia
Makassar OG6

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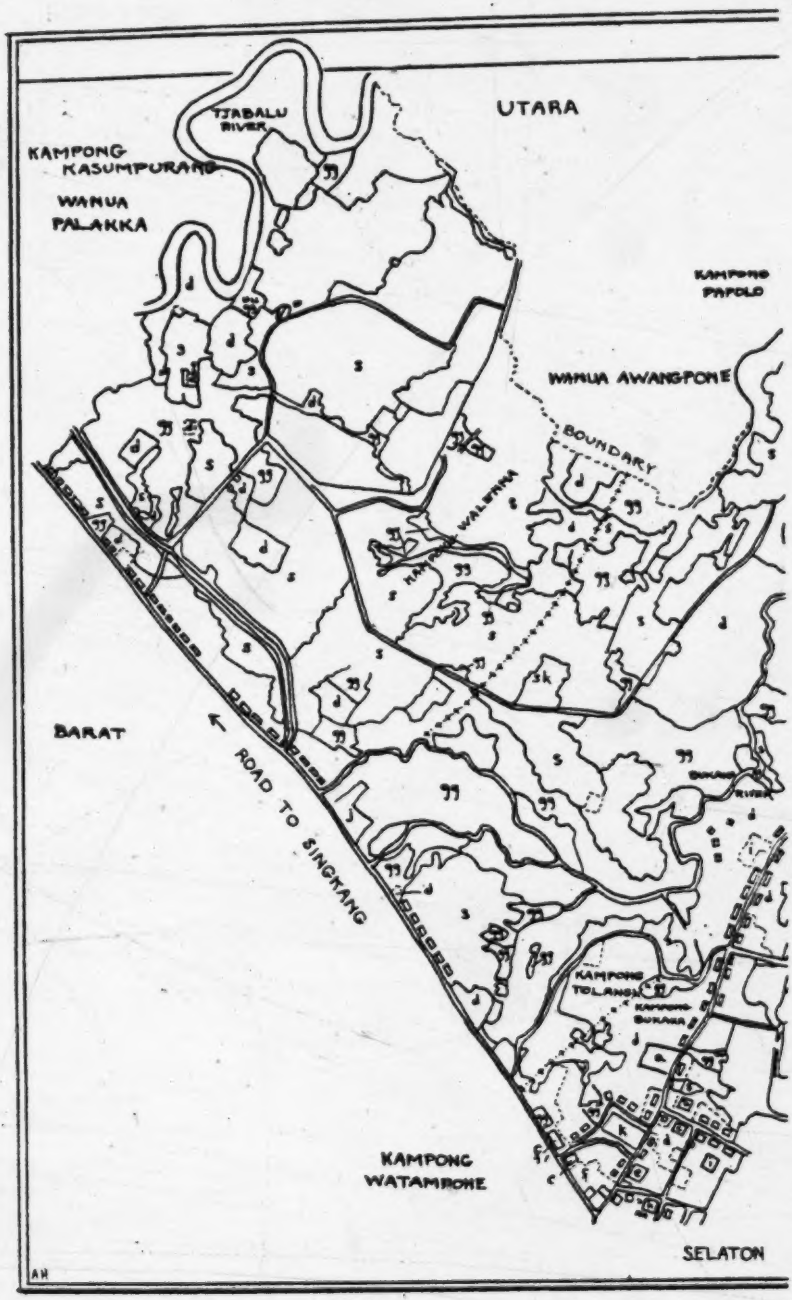
361



3: Kennedy E-5 (1949-50) 1953 OBI Indonesia
Makassar 066

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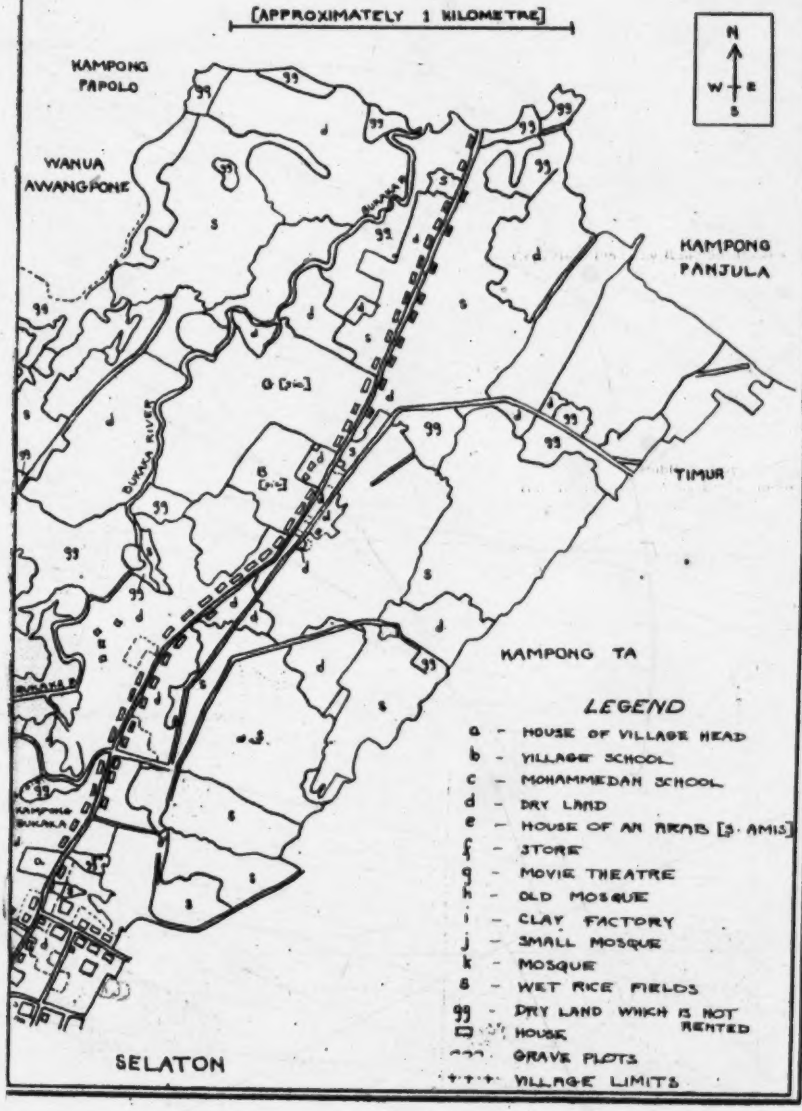
KAMPONG BUKAKA

WANUA TANETE RIATTANG

LANDSCHAP BONE



Makassar OG6
Celebes OG1
Chinese

as the Javanese or Sundanese.

Makassar: This is quite a fine city, not so smelly as Batavia. There is a fine harbor with many sailing praus. There is a beautiful seaside branch of the club, and at sunset I saw a large two-masted schooner with all sails set come by. There are also fast lateen rigged smaller ones. Strange to say, fish is expensive and housing short. The Dutch have a fine club, but are nervous, and talk and laugh a lot. This place [i.e., Makassar--Analyst] is full of ministries and they in turn are full of Minahasans. I had heard that bad feeling is growing up between the Minahasans and the local Makassarese-Buginese over the former's taking over control here. Katuppo, Minister of Education, for example, is a Minahasan, and there are plenty more. Many Chinese are appearing and in the offices there are pretty Minahasan girls. One fat girl, a Minahasan-Chinese mixture, Miss Soh, is connected with Public Relations in the Information Ministry. According to Levij, she collaborated and is not a good character. However, she is making maps for me and works very hard. This may be an example of the usual Minahasan drive, and perhaps opportunism. Zandstra, the capitalist who blamed the United States for everything but who nevertheless wants to go there, said the Dutch are having a hard time. The price of cocoa is down, the future is dim, there is false gaiety, and everywhere they are in debt. I overheard one woman in the hotel ask another if she had any money. The answer was no. The false price structure is ruining them. And they can't get decent goods because there is no foreign exchange. For example, I tried to buy a razor, and saw only an inferior plastic one. Guilder prices are absurd. For example, I bought a plastic soap carrier, worth about ten cents, for 3 guilders. The Chinese ride around in new cars, and so do government officials. The hotel is like a kampong with many children in the rooms. How they can afford to pay hotel prices is hard to see, and perhaps Zandstra is right about everyone being in debt.

000 M 501 362 C 578 563 152 [126] C 511 435 426

[In Makassar--Analyst] Chinese: This afternoon I heard slow ragged band music. A boy said that it was perhaps a wedding parade. In the street there were three men, one with a clarinet and two with trumpets. Also there was a man with a drum and cymbal on a bicycle with a boy pushing. After that was a hearse, which was a large pick-up truck. On it were wreaths. After it was a man, alone, strewing squares of paper on the street. Then came three mourning women remarkably clad in straw mats on the upper part of their body

C 764 534 292

124 Levij of the Voorlichtings Ministerie (Kementerian
Penerangan Indonesia Timoer) [Ministry of Information for
the State of East Indonesia] offered to do this providing I
would pay the expenses, using his office staff. I went with
361 Rahim and van Heekeren to Balombaru this morning.
491 Balombaru is in the adatgemeenschap [native community]
Karawisi, in which there are perhaps six other kampongs
(check). To get to Balombaru we went out [south] on the Goa
road for about six kilometers, then turned right on a side
road, and finally again on a dirt road. As the limits of the
municipality are reached the road at once appears to be full
of holes; and in the dry monsoon period there is terrible
dust. We were stopped by a police cordon and later found
out that the reason was that they expected to have a meeting
of the police school (I think) in the afternoon and wanted to
keep cars out so that there would be less dust! We went by a
side route, and first stopped at a stucco house with an office
which belonged to the district head, the Karaeng. He is an
important man in Goa. He was not in. His assistant im-
● 363 pressed me by his poise and by his quiet manner. We went
on, and got to the village [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] itself,
going around a plaza, a dusty kind of turnabout with the enter-
ing road coming in at right angles to the "main street" of the
kampong. Rahim said that there were side streets too. It ap-
peared that most of the houses were located along the roads.
I will see. We stopped (before this, and outside the kampong
proper) at the house of the Imam, near the mosque (I must
check the name of the main kampong where the Karaeng and
342 the Imam and the mosque are located). The Imam lives in a
very nice Makassar type house. We went upstairs to the
main room, which was large, and in which there was a bed
with a klambu [mosquito net]. There seemed to be several
other rooms in the rear. The floor was of wide planks not
placed too close together so that the air could come up into
the room. The house itself was of wood with atap thatch [i.e.,
of palm leaves or the like]. The Imam said he had seven chil-
156 dren. He married in 1929 in Mecca, and seemed very proud
562 of this. He brought it in at the very first chance. He is a
576 small, quite handsome man, perhaps forty years old. His
wife is pretty, has gold teeth, and looked as if she were
dressed in Javanese style. She is evidently modern in a
sense, as she came right up to us, and shook our hands.
Rahim said this was not the old style, as ordinarily women
would stay behind. She also broke into the conversation
from time to time. However, she did sit at another
table, listening. We sat at a table in the middle of

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there
203 are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery
205 goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoe on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
563 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
161 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly
582 had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and,
●366 as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

and the five days circulate around them. Then, another 443
circle runs east into the Tanette Riatang wanua, where there 366
are four markets in different kampongs. That circle gears
in with the big market at Watumpone too.

I asked whether the range of distance from which the people 489
come to market has increased with the use of buses. They 493
said that it probably had. They also mentioned bicycles as
another easing factor in getting to the market place.

As for education, much discussion resulted. Andi in 871
particular seemed to be critical of the educational possibilities 434
here. He said they would like to progress, but were unable to. 464
They have only lower, and I think, middle schools in Watumpone. However, they are building another school now. Up to this month schools have been free, and the children have thronged to classes. But Andi said that now they expected a sharp drop. He said that if they charged even five cents a month it would be too much for many. (Later Thierens said that he doubted this and also that there was so little money in the kampong. He added that they could get jobs as coolies as there was a big demand for this type of labor. For example, they could work on roads at f.50 a month. The point seems to be, however, that they do not want to. He has a dim view of their energy, and perhaps he is right.) No one in the kampong has attended the University. Some have gone to middle school and many have attended lower school. Quite a few (?), relatively speaking, have gone to Makassar, and they must do so if they wish to get further education, for example, by going to normal school (except for the teachers school for the villages in Watumpone). Evidently, few, if any, go outside of Indonesia for education. There are Mohammedan schools in 871
the village. I asked about their support. They said that the 578
arus gave money from their own funds, and also got some contributions. They received no money from the Bone treasury. At this point they became irritated, saying that in South Celebes if schools are Christian they get a subsidy from the treasury, but this is not so if the schools are Mohammedan. (Maybe they meant that the government schools should be included too when they said, "why should not the religious (Mohammedan) schools get funds too, since this is a Mohammedan country?") Anyway, there is a great deal of feeling on this matter. Formerly there was much feeling against education, and there still is to some extent, especially by the lowers. But, increasingly, more and more want it. I told what I had heard about even the radjas not wanting their children to go to Makassar for more than a few years. They said that that was generally so, and Andi again said that Bone is quite backward.

517 are mad about movies and this shows a trememdous poten-
546 tial value for visual education here. Indeed, the only out-
side amusement is the movies.

526 As for sports, there is a badminton court in the kampong,
but it is near Watumpone. In Watumpone they play soccer
367 and the kampong boys do this too except that they do not
have a field within the kampong. They also play the real
rattan-ball football. In addition, but only in Watumpone, a
few people play tennis. Probably no one from the kampong
does this.

524 As for games, they have children's games, but evidently
not many. One is a sort of tag in a square. Then there are
kites, especially (only ?) after the rice harvest. Children
fly kites, but fathers pretending to help the children often
take over the kites. Andi is amused by this pretention. They
525 have a string-sawing kite contest too. There is much gam-
541 bling with dice, but evidently no cards. No chess or checkers
are found here. There are cock fights but they are illegal.
They know about cricket fights. They are a bit reticent on
all this, perhaps because it is secret.

517 There are no real local arts aside from crafts. These
53 people are not at all artistic. Even their weaving is banal,
except for the colors. This is their one beauty spot. The
designs are in checks, plaid, or consist entirely of horizon-
tal stripes. The designs are dull except for the colors. And
aside from the padjoge there is no dancing. There is no carv-
ing of stone, and but little wood carving on houses. There is
practically no music and the people do not go in much for any
instruments.. They did say that they play flutes, which is
true especially for those who watch the water buffalo. There
is no drama at all. There is no painting except for a few
banal efforts on the houses. Poor stuff, poor people.

517 As for leisure, that depends on a number of variables.
538 Some of the farmers work all day except for midday. Some
368 who have office jobs have regular hours. I didn't get very
far on this. In their spare time they mainly sit, walk, talk.
461 They almost never read, but said that if they could get books
549 they might read a lot. But there are no books available. They
agreed that a library is sadly needed. I was surprised that
they said that there was very little if any story-telling. This
checks with the Minangkabau man who could get no stories
here. They haven't even got imagination enough to tell tales.
Maybe in the kampong I could find some, but clearly they
reflect the general poverty in this sphere. As for the desire
517 to go where there is more entertainment, more fun, the
181 general impression is that there is not much of an urge in

621 /15 cont./ Kampong Bontoramba has approximately
[161] 800 residents. There one finds one of the two public schools
which the entire adat community of more than 14,000 indi-
[368] viduals boasts. Along the large road a bicycle repair shop
has arisen, and there are more coffee warong /shops/ than in
many other places. A large group of Buginese, attracted by a
166 great deal of fallow land and good transportation facilities,
has built its houses there in the course of the last 20 years.
The Makassarese who live there at present arrived no more
than 60 years ago. Coming and going never takes place en
masse in Makassarese country. In successive stages a pioneer
receives more members of his kin group in his house; by
successive stages other people move away.

[554 A certain period of settlement by a large group is /16/
565] noted mostly when a man of high nobility moves and many
follow him. Formerly, in periods of insecurity for the individual,
this was probably a more usual manner of migration, but
today it no longer is. Thus, around 1900, a large number of
kinsmen coming from kampong Pakatto, situated eight kilo-
[621] meters further up the road, settled in Bontoramba. As kinsmen
/familiele den/ constituting a part of the same related group
/ver wantengroep/ they organized themselves anew in
Bontoramba and adjusted to the new circumstances, at the same
time striving for the realization of the usual Makassarese ideals.
To this end, they followed the old Makassarese adat.

The Bilateral Related Group

612 The Makassarese related group /ver wantengroep/ should
621 be described as a bilateral endogamous group of relatives (1)

1. Kin relationship is indicated by the term sibidja or sipamanakkang.

whose members worship their ancestors (pattautoaang) at the places and times designated, and at the same time as a group

621 the border of wanua Palaka, kampong Tjabalu on the west,
it is four kilometers also. This western part is thus a
632 square. On the east side of the road, along the Watampone
101 border, it is only six hundred meters along the street to
131 the Ta border. But then the east border sweeps eastward in
102 a long curve so that on the northern side along the border of
Tjelapa, the northern border runs two kilometers from the
main road. (See rough map, page 46, field notes)[P. 266 here]

871 There are two schools in Bukaka, one a religious school
435 and the other a village school. They are near the Watampone
border on the main road, or just off it. There are also ten
556 private Koran schools. There are about six hundred hadjis
here. I met one, a smug young man. And I teased him about
being one of the few rich men in town, but he said that it was
perhaps, if the family resources were pooled, six thousand
guilders. He remarked that ten thousand guilders was really
a great fortune here. Incidentally, the Sulewatang said that
the high figures given for the old days were somewhat off.
Prices were overvalued.

131 In the wanua, running eastward to the sea from Bukaka, are
361 the kampongs Penyula and Ta side by side; then Paopao,
Tibodjong (very small) and Tamaüsing, side by side; then
Toro, Tjelu, Lapobatua, Biru, and Palingorung, all side by
side (the latter two jut out to the south); then Badjoë and Maloi,
side by side (the former on the sea, the latter juts out to the
south); and finally, along the curve of the sea, Rompe. I for-
got to say that these really do not jut out, as Watampone is
also part of the wanua and it is to the south of Bukaka, Ta,
Tamaüsing. Thus the appearance seems to be roughly that
621 of a triangle. Aside from Watampone, each of the fifteen
kampongs has a kepala kampong. And within each of the kam-
pongs there are varying numbers of hamlets. Thus Bukaka
has three, Penyula has one, Ta three, Paopao two, Tibodjong
one, Tamaüsing one, Lapobatua one. I could not get any
information on the other kampongs, but will find out later. The
biggest kampongs, in order, are: Tjelu, Bukaka, Badjoë.
Others are small. Bukaka is the oldest.

368 The big misigit [mesjid, mosque] is used by Bukaka, Ta,
and Watampone. Other kampongs having misigit are: Penyula,
Badjoë, Paopao, Lapobatua, and Palingorung, thus there are
six in all.

632 In Bone, Andi says, there are twenty-one wanua. Seven
565 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, how-
ever, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua
there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
764 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always re-
513 moved. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate.
625 The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well
102 things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaëng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]

● 368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imam of the latter is the 368
father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in
later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong [623]
council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone.

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in 622
legal cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after 692
the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he
couldn't the case went to the karaëng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village 623
is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of 203
an election when a great drum is beaten.

In addition to mosques, there are many surau, that is [346]
prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaëng is 565
not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is 368
only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaëng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank.

We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of 632
Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [run- 565
ning east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the terri- 114
tory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangan. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallarang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e., literally, electoral college--Analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaëng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan.

Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred 175
years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. 565
(See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the

123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming
181 masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this
point. I said that they needed business education, and they
saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great-
extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only
hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent
over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kam-
pong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it.
In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers
and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told
them about the Javanese using these without giving up Moham-
medanism, and although they could see the point they responded
in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This
also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge
training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None
speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach
classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They
saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over
Dutch because it is an international language. They said that
all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read
the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they
read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them
when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak
Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can
understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can under-
stand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman
characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say
all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I
wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about
this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the
farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but
368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling
library here before the war, and also a library in
Bone, but this was no longer the case.

517 are mad about movies and this shows a trememdous poten-
546 tial value for visual education here. Indeed, the only out-
side amusement is the movies.

526 As for sports, there is a badminton court in the kampong,
but it is near Watumpone. In Watumpone they play soccer
367 and the kampong boys do this too except that they do not
have a field within the kampong. They also play the real
rattan-ball football. In addition, but only in Watumpone, a
few people play tennis. Probably no one from the kampong
does this.

524 As for games, they have children's games, but evidently
not many. One is a sort of tag in a square. Then there are
kites, especially (only ?) after the rice harvest. Children
fly kites, but fathers pretending to help the children often
take over the kites. Andi is amused by this pretention. They
525 have a string-sawing kite contest too. There is much gam-
541 bling with dice, but evidently no cards. No chess or checkers
are found here. There are cock fights but they are illegal.
They know about cricket fights. They are a bit reticent on
all this, perhaps because it is secret.

517 There are no real local arts aside from crafts. These
53 people are not at all artistic. Even their weaving is banal,
except for the colors. This is their one beauty spot. The
designs are in checks, plaid, or consist entirely of horizon-
tal stripes. The designs are dull except for the colors. And
aside from the padjoge there is no dancing. There is no carv-
ing of stone, and but little wood carving on houses. There is
practically no music and the people do not go in much for any
instruments. They did say that they play flutes, which is
true especially for those who watch the water buffalo. There
is no drama at all. There is no painting except for a few
banal efforts on the houses. Poor stuff, poor people.

517 As for leisure, that depends on a number of variables.
538 Some of the farmers work all day except for midday. Some
● 368 who have office jobs have regular hours. I didn't get very
461 far on this. In their spare time they mainly sit, walk, talk.
549 They almost never read, but said that if they could get books
they might read a lot. But there are no books available. They
agreed that a library is sadly needed. I was surprised that
they said that there was very little if any story-telling. This
checks with the Minangkabau man who could get no stories
here. They haven't even got imagination enough to tell tales.
Maybe in the kampong I could find some, but clearly they
517 reflect the general poverty in this sphere. As for the desire
to go where there is more entertainment, more fun, the
181 general impression is that there is not much of an urge in

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

000 /14 cont./2. E.E. Evans-Pritchard,
The Nuer, Oxford, 1940, p. 261.

/15/ Chapter I

Kinship

131 Goa Province extends from the ocean to the mountains.
133 The Djene'berang River, originating on the almost 3,000 meters high Bawakaraëng and emerging into the sea just to the south of Macassar, flows entirely through Goa's regions. The large motor highway which connects Macassar with
491 Malino, situated 70 kilometers away in the mountain, runs
361 practically parallel with the river. Approximately 10 kilometers outside Macassar lies the little town of Sungguminasa, still entirely in the plain, the residence of the Prince of Goa. Only 30 kilometers further on the road begins to climb
[133] steeply. The 30 kilometers to Sungguminasa lead through an undulating plain where woods and sawahs alternate. Groups of houses lie scattered through the country. At kilometer post 15, just past Sungguminasa, lies Kampong Bontoramba.
● 369 Elegant automobiles belonging to the residents of the large city roar through it, but this has little influence on village life and everyday thought. Some of the old people have never seen Macassar. For the majority a visit to the large city is a significant event, but more because of the many curiosities to be seen and experienced there than because of the changes to be introduced into one's own life after returning home.

631 Bontoramba is one of the 14 kampongs which form the adat community of Borongloë, and at present Borongloë, together with 10 other adat communities, forms the federative unit which for hundreds of years has been known as Goa Kingdom.

158 /166 cont./ should like to mention the vertical tendency
181 which demands of the Makassarese a constant striving to surpass other men and to be a great conqueror of women. The anxiety about losing the ability for this, or else of falling short in this aspiration, could very well form the basis for the koro phenomenon.

Prostitution

548 Prostitutes are unknown in Makassarese kampongs. There are no women under thirty-five to forty years of age who live
626 alone without kinsmen, and if a woman lives with others in
558 a house, it is impossible for her, for reasons discussed at length above, to receive men more or less regularly, or to have contact with them outside the house. So long as she lives in a house with others, even a single contact situation would cause the young male house mates or neighbors to become siri'. The older women who do not wish to risk any difficulties on behalf of this stranger in such a case will try to send her away in time -- for instance, to a head who lets her marry -- before a brawl could come about through her /167/. Once she is out of the house, there is no reason for the young men who, after all, are not related to her, to be siri' because of her behavior.

Her conduct impairs the social standing of her group, and for that reason she is unacceptable in the rural kampongs. There is little evidence of moral disapproval.

548 Prostitution is an urban phenomenon. Prostitutes live in
[369] Macassar as well as in the larger pasar places such as Parepare, Watampone, and others.

The pasar place of Bontomanai, the center of trade for Borongloë, did not seem large enough yet to accommodate permanent prostitution. It was said of one of the daughters of a prominent man in Borongloë, who had gone to live in Bontomanai with a distant relative, that she received men who

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

● 369 181 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 171 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 764 177 771 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb, he said that he had heard from informed men that they had formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence

586 595 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kampong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 881 565 343 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in

[342] Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 *of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place* even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo kil-
771 lings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
184 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God]and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

[82 cont.]

I 373 The means of illumination are not very brilliant among the natives. Lamps are found only among the more civilized tribes. These lamps were formerly made of copper, palita (lamp with five burners), but now they are made of tin plate. Coconut oil, djarak oil, peanut oil, or sesame oil (Sesamum) serves as fuel. In recent years, petroleum has come into use.

A [373] The original native illuminant is resin, damar (2). It is

2. Damar = light, on the Aru Islands madamar = to light, Brandes, op. cit., p. 62. Riedel, de kroes-en sluikharige rassen, etc., p. 254. Kern, de Fidji-taal, see damar. Note.

pounded to powder and then wrapped in a screw of banana leaf or in a dry palm-leaf. When damar is lacking, resinous wood is used; it is simply lighted and it burns very brightly. Candles are made from kemiri kernels. The kernels are pounded fine and crushed with kapok. The thick dough is then wrapped in a palm leaf, making a candle one centimeter in diameter.

MK MN 373 These candles are used particularly in the Padang Highlands and on southern Celebes.

In the sleeping rooms one also finds chests for storing clothing, money, valuables, etc. [83] I 415 Where there are no chests, boxes made from palm leaves are used, especially in the eastern part of the archipelago, where they are called kabila.

J I 415 276 [412] The betel box is indispensable in the native household. Among the Javanese they are called pakimangan, derived from kimang, with which the Javanese indicate all the ingredients of the betel quid. In such a box there is a place for the betel leaves, a couple of little covered boxes for tobacco and gambier, a third without a cover for the areca nut, a little pot for the lime, and a nutcracker. These betel boxes are often very beautifully worked among the well-to-do, and guests are offered betel from such fine specimens. Among the Malays, betel is offered in a copper or wooden plate on which the various

177 /147 cont./ store, the Arab and Chinese storekeepers in
834 Macassar know that they cannot turn directly to the young girls to recommend their wares but that, for this purpose, they have to address the escorting man or older woman, while the younger ones talk among each other and thus make their wishes known. One who does not take these feelings into account runs the risk of being passed over at a subsequent visit to the store.

571 The separate domains of the sexes in the house and the
834 division of labor contribute to the fact that the prohibition against contact is carried out to a great extent in daily life. The strict sanction imposed on their violation lends a forced
[626] character to the relations between young men and girls. Contact may only take place in complete secrecy or, by way of exception, if it is expressly or silently permitted. In that case it is still tied to special regulations. There is never any uninhibited association. Some of these occasions will be described here.

527 After harvest, so-called pounding festivals (1) are
571

1. Called Adengka ase lolo, "the pounding of the young paddy."

[374] regularly held. These take place during the evening in the yard before the house by the /148/ glimmer of an oil lamp, preferably when there is a bright moon shining. For this, the pounding block is hung up in rattan strings, and while
[533 the girls pound, two or three of their closest male relatives
534] beat with sticks against the transverse axle of the block in a rapid and powerful rhythm. This sound is audible at great distances; the purpose is to attract young people from far and near to come and look. What they see is four girls

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I 517
got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The 181
Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amuse-
ments of New York City to Andi he said that he would die
there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old
Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for
example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big
attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did 167
not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if 186
he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens
said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc.
If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world,
and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is 178
general and there is not much to say. The death punishment 681
is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the
common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even 796
included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric 805
systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and
Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are
birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation,
marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They [241]
knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts
that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for
the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways,
there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find
some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is
no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead any-
way.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: 574
I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and 852
two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kam-
pong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of
the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three
buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of
women were working at the preparation of different kinds of
food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said
the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any de-
mand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of [562]
men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear
part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much 176
new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus 874
chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third 401●
grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from 403
bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25
and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing
he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

176 with ingenious gears, and two spools. It also has a circular
●401 shutter in front, and is fantastically clever. The Sulewatang
403 and Andi both said it was a great pity that he had no training.
874 He is a fine lad. He had three rolls of old newsreels and travel pictures and showed them after someone lent him a few batteries. One of the films was broken. Evidently he is called upon to show the same old films quite often and as a result they are wearing out. I was quite impressed with the Sulewatang's and Andi's strong statement regarding the lack of schools for such men here. Later I told Thierens, and he said he would see if he could not send the lad to Makassar for training. His machine really works well. He even has a wheel for a string arrangement if he gets a small motor. It reminded me of the old man in Balombaru who had made a match head cap pistol for his son and also a model Makassarese prau, with a propeller, with an auxiliary motor rigged up from an alarm clock. It could run over a hundred meters. There is certainly technical skill here that could be developed.

565 We left the party and the Sulewatang came with us to stay
574 at the local Sulewatang's house (Kepala wanua Tumurun,
431 which he was formerly). This lad, a young and quite bright
156 fellow, is his nephew. He was going to visit the Aru Tau in Watumpone, where his wife had recently given birth to a child. They evidently visit around with fellow nobles a lot, and this takes up much of their time. I tried to bring the Kepala kampong into the conversation at the Sulewatang Tumurun's house, where he was sitting to one side. However, the two uppers would not let me. They were uninterested in the Kepala kampong. This peculiar disregard for any human qualities in preference to rank is a pain to me. The old Sulewatang asked me to show him United States currency. I was sure he would want some for a souvenir. He asked me to get him a nylon shirt from the United States. I think it is because he has always been used to asking for what he could get for nothing from the poor people here. These nobles have only to ask for things from the masses and the latter dare not refuse (honor?).

696 Incidental: The Sulewatang said that the kampong where the feast is being held was not a former fugitive kampong, as Andi had told me. But at any rate they evidently had such kampongs at one time as both of them knew about the matter.

J Id [652 cont.]

Little can be brought against the arguments of persons of 243 such authority as Brandes and Kern, although they are based exclusively on grammatical data. In order to wholly satisfy an ethnologist, however, they should also be supported by more specifically ethnographic facts. It now remains for me to show this, so that all reasonable doubt is ruled out.

If 243 Professor F. Blumentritt, the man who long ago won an important place among ethnologists through his precise studies on the population of the Philippines, showed in detail last year in a paper on the Kiangan, a tribe that inhabits the northern part of the island Luzon, the way rice cultivation is carried on among them. This essay shows that the Kiangan of old were famous for their wet rice cultivation and that they called their fields pil-ápil and knew how to lay them out with great skill, despite the many obstacles presented by the terrain (2).

2. Blumentritt, "die Kianganen," Ausland, 1891, p. 118. Meyer, Nord-Luzon, Table XII.

If 243 412 407 It is remarkable that not a plow, but rather a shovel is used in working the fields, because the first-named tool is unknown to them. This last fact excludes any thought of Hindu influence as far as agriculture is concerned and more specifically in growing rice. If the Kiangan [653] had learned to cultivate rice from the Hindus, even indirectly, then the adoption of the plow, as the agricultural tool par excellence, would certainly have been coupled with it, because Hindu agriculturists without a plow are inconceivable. Just as the fact that the Makassarese MK [407] and Buginese know the plow but have a native name for it shows that they must have been agricultural peoples before the arrival of the Hindus, so does the absence of the plow among the Kiangan show that they practiced agriculture before the Indians made their influence felt on the Philippines. It is also the case that in this If 243 respect the Kiangan distinguish themselves favorably over the other tribes of their island and, as was shown for the Javanese,

1:Alkema & Bezemer--644 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia
Makassar 066

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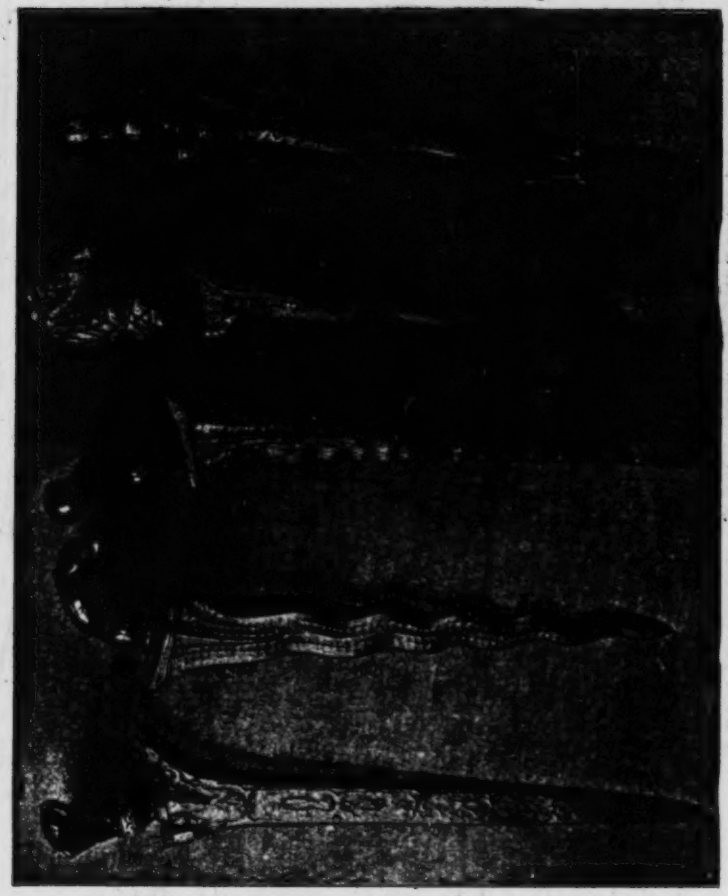

Krises with Pamor Work from Southern Celebes
Museum Rotterdam

2: Wilken--117 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

F Flores OF9 Bali OF7 Malays AN5
R-L Redjang- Borneo OC1 Atjehnese OD4
Bl Lampong OD12 celebes OG1 Batak OD5
Br Sumbawa OF18 Kubu OD8
C Makassar OG6
Sb Javanese OE5 Sundanese OF7
MK
J
Sn
K
Bt
A
Ml
I
H11

[87 cont.]

among the Orang běnuwa of the Riouw-Lingga Archipelago, and the island Bangka, among the Atjehnese, Batak, Lubu, and Lampong, and in the areas around Palembang on Sumatra, among the Sundanese, on Bali, among all the Dajak tribes on Borneo, among the still half-savage peoples of Celebes, in the Philippines, and on Sumbawa, while in former times it was generally used by the Makassarese, the Buginese, and the Javanese (1) [see footnote 1 above].

East of the Philippines in the north and central Flores in the south of the archipelago, only imported blowguns are found.

The Malay name for this weapon is sumpitan or sĕmpitan (according to Pijnappel, from the stem sĕmpit = narrow, etc.), Dajak sipet, Makassarese sappu, Alfoer of northern Celebes sĕput, Balinese tulup, Javanese tulupan (tulup = wulu = name of a thin kind of bamboo. Bambusa longinodis, from which blowguns are made), Batak ultop.

Among some tribes these blowguns are made from a kind of bamboo called bambu tĕmiang = bambusa longinodis.

Br H11 321 Among the Dajak and other tribes it is made of wood, specifically of ironwood, which is bored [88] with extreme care. The length of the blowguns is generally about two and a half meters, the interior diameter one millimeter. Among the Dajak they are provided with an iron or wooden point, like a lance, and can thus be used like this weapon. The little arrows for the blowgun are made of hard wood or bamboo. They are very thin, about one decimeter long and three millimeters thick. The points, generally triangular, are made of the same material and sometimes of iron, copper, or bone. A little conical piece of pith is stuck on the opposite end of the small arrow, which serves to make the arrow fit in the bore so as to decrease the loss of force when one blows in it. Sometimes, as among the Dajak, the conical piece of pith is hollowed out at the base, which makes it expand when blown on and thus makes still an even tighter fit. This makes the force of the arrow greater and the aim more precise.

1 [Blowguns are found among the following tribes.— Analyst]

Malays ANE
Javanese OE5
Sumba OF17
Makassar OG6

J [91 cont.]
M1 from twine and widens to a diamond shape in the middle in order
H11 to hold a stone. Because of the loud report that is made when the stone is released, it is often used to drive game from the tilled fields. The sling was still used as a weapon on Java at the be-
J ginning of this [nineteenth] century. For instance, Raffles men-
[579] tions that during various riots in 1812 the Javanese were still making use of slings (2). It should also be noted that slings are

2. Anniversary Number, Bijdragen t.d. T.-L.- en Vk. v. Ned.-Indië, 1883, p. 47.

not unknown in Polynesia and Micronesia.

d. Javelins and Lances

I Javelins, which do not serve the same purpose as lances
411 because they are not as strong, are found among only a few peoples of the Malay Archipelago. Before we start discussing the lances, we shall briefly indicate where the javelin still occurs.

In the first place it is among peoples who still live in trees. In the dwellings, as a rule, a few bundles of slender bamboo with the ends simply sharpened to a point [92] stand beside the entrance to be thrown at an enemy should he dare to climb the tree. Furthermore, the horse-riding peoples still use javelins, and formerly they were often used by the sea rovers (1). Among

1. Tijdschrift v. Ned. Indië, 7th year, Vol. I, p. 412.

MK
S
411 the Sumbanese the sowar, as this projectile is called, is even
726 a national weapon, which they know how to handle with great skill (2). Until recently, the same could be said about the

MK S 411 726 [92 cont.]

2. Roos, Verh. Bat. Gen. v. K. en W., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 17 and 18. Although Prof. W. made a note that the javelin would be dealt with at this point, a description of it was lacking. In order to avoid a hiatus, I decided to insert this information here. As is known, javelins, which are thrown with a werphont [spear-thrower?], occur primarily in Australia and on German New Guinea, and furthermore on New Caledonia, where a noose is used instead of a throwing-stick.

I [171]

Buginese and Makassarese. An eye-witness who participated in the Boni expedition told me how these peoples handle the weapon. During a cavalry attack on a company in square formation, he noticed that all the onrushing Makassarese carried a short lance on the toes of the right foot, which was gripped with the right hand and attached to the pommel with a very loosely coiled rattan rope. On a given signal, the right foot was brought up as swift as an arrow so that the lance resting on it was thrust into the air with great force and, after describing a high arc, came down with the point aimed into the square. The horsemen who had made a hit turned their horses and galloped away at great speed, dragging the speared enemy who was held by the rope. Those whose throw was less accurate hauled in the rope, and thus the lance, to prepare for another attack.

MK 411 726

Originally, the points of the throwing lances and thrust-lances were of stone, wood, or bone. When the Hindus came, however, and with them knowledge of ironworking, the wooden points were replaced by iron, so that today, at least among the somewhat more developed peoples, iron points on weapons are found everywhere. Lances [93] are found in all possible shapes and sizes; it should be remembered that even the blowguns of

I 411 174

Br 411

Br 411 [93 cont.]

the Dajak and the Orang běnuwa, at least the wooden ones, are provided with iron lance-heads. The lances bear various names according to the various kinds of shafts and points they have. Br Bl J 411 The most general name is tumbak, by which the lance on Java, Bali, Borneo, etc. is known. The light, short lance, which is used more for throwing, is called lambing, Javanese lĕmbing. The shafts are of thick rattan or of wood, often decorated with bands of some kind of metal, gold or silver, or with rattan rings and human or goat hair. They are generally eight to nine feet long. Those of the Balinese, however, are the longest, often measuring four meters and more. The lance is properly called their national weapon (1).

1. Bloemen Waanders, op. cit., p. 149.

e. Daggers and Krises

I MK Ml J 411 326 Krises and daggers originated from the lance (2). We

2. Tylor, Anthropology, p. 192.

may say that the primitive dagger is merely a spearhead without a shaft. The pomiard is the national weapon among some peoples, especially among the Javanese, the Malays, the Buginese, Makassarese, etc. The Malay and Javanese name for the dagger or poniard is kris. Its shapes are innumerable, and there are just as many names because they indicate the shape of blade, hilt, and sheath. On Java alone there are more than 100.

The blade of the kris is usually three to four decimeters long and always flat, and it often has a wavy shape. The blade M-L of most of the krises is damasoened with pamor, a kind of [439 magnetic iron that is brought from Luwu on southern Celebes. 316]

I [93 cont.]
MK This damascening is done by forging the iron with the pamor.
MI After the weapon is finished, it is smeared with sulpharsenide (3)
J
411
326

3. This treatment has given rise to the story that krises are poisoned, a story that those who offer krises to museums like to repeat.

and lemon juice, [94] which makes the iron black and the pamor silvery-white. The hilt is nearly always made of wood, horn, ivory, or metal, worked into the most fantastic forms and among the well-to-do often set with precious stones. The sheath is always of wood and for handsome krises are, in addition, covered with a second sheath of pinchbeck, silver, or gold.

The kris is not only a weapon that is part of the battle equipment, but is also worn ceremonially, hence as a body ornament. There are various regulations for wearing it on such occasions. In the first place, the kris is often worn on the back.
J The Buginese and Makassarese, however, characteristically wear
MK the kris stuck in the front of the belt against the body (1). The
411

1. Matthes, Boegin. Wrdb., pp. 289 and 738.

Javanese never carries it this way unless he has evil intentions (2).

2. Tijdschr. v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XXVI, p. 302.

R-L The rule is that he should wear it in his belt behind the body. In
411 the Lampong districts in particular there are minute regulations
292 on this point (3). The kris is sometimes carried on the right

3. Harrebomée, Bijdragen t. d. T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind., Vol. X, p. 375.
Pleyte, "Critiek op Schmeltz' 'Indonesische

[94 cont.]

R-L 411 292

Prunkwaffen' [Criticism of Schmeltz' Indonesian Ceremonial Weapons'], " Ind. Gids, 1890, Vol. II, pp. 1808 ff.

side, sometimes on the left (4) [Ed., footnote 4 is missing]. For court attire it is always worn on the right side, because then a large chopper and a small knife are worn on the left as symbols of readiness to chop down a tree or to cut grass at the slightest command of the sovereign. If one is wearing the kris against the back, it is required as a matter of politeness that when visiting some one it be pushed to the left side so that the point of the sheath is visible in front and the hilt remains hidden behind the left shoulder.

J 411 773 174

The kris is greatly venerated by the peoples who use it, especially the Javanese. The kris is so important a weapon in the eyes of the Javanese that there are various legends concerning its origin. Usually the introduction of this weapon is attributed to the famous mythological hero, Raden Pandji. Raffles, however, mentioned [95] a legend about an old prince from the Hindu period, Sakoetram or Sapoetram, who came into the world with a kris at his side. Javanese historica accounts are full of legends about holy and miraculous krises. Krises are prominent not only among the Javanese, but also among the Malays, the Buginese, and Makassarese, both as a ceremonial ornament of sovereigns and as pusaka or heirlooms that are passed on from generation to generation (1).

MK MI J 411 301 428

1. Veth, Java, Vol. I, pp. 612-613. Schmeltz, "Indonesische Prunkwaffen," Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr., Vol. III, pp. 107 ff.

2: Wilken--128 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Makassar OG6
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5
Borneo OC1

I 411 [96 cont.]
MK of swords. First we shall mention the kĕlewang, a kind of saber
M1 that becomes wider toward the top. Bug. and Mak. kalewang,
J Jav. klewang (1). Further, the pĕdang = sword, saber. The
411

1. Matthes, Mak. Wrdb., p. 64.
Roorda, Javaansch Wrdb., p. 276.

pĕdang is actually the European saber, or rather an imitation of it. Dr. van der Tuuk guesses that this weapon was adopted from the Portuguese and tries to trace the name back to Portuguese. According to him pĕdang is the Portuguese espadaõ. The Malays first made it espadang, then sapĕndang, and later, when they dropped the sa as a prefix, the weapon was simply called pedang (2).

2. Van der Tuuk, Bat. Wrdb., Pl. XVIII, No. 1.

I Special mention should be made of the mandau, the
Br sword of the Dajak, which is about one and a half feet long
411 and is not curved. Only the blade is slightly curved, so that if one holds this broadsword horizontally at eye level with the edge toward him, it can clearly be seen that the point is higher than the hilt. Furthermore, there is the parang = short sword, something between a sword and a knife. This is not only used in warfare, but also for household and field work; it is a kind of chopper or cleaver. Finally we should mention the knife called pisau, which is found in innumerable forms; as the pisau raut it is a semicircular knife with a handle whose upper end has a hole in which the little finger can be put. It is definitely a weapon. Pisau is derived from the Chinese pi-sjou = dagger.

I The above-mentioned inplements, without exception,
Br are all used as weapons and as a rule show excellent workman-
[326] ship. Either native or imported iron is used for the blades.

2: Wilken--130 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Makassar OG6
Batak OD5
Borneo OC1
Kubu OD8
New Guinea OJ1
Malays AN5
Javanese OE5

Br I 411 381 [97 cont.]

A vegetable resin, known to us as shellac, is used to fasten the blade in the hilt.

The sheaths of the swords consist of two halves which fit perfectly and which are glued together with one or another vegetable glue; for greater strength, bands of gold, silver, or some other metal or rattan are put around them.

Br I 411 727

Often, at least among the headhunting tribes, the swords and sheaths are decorated with human hair as a sign that a head has been taken with the weapon. Since headhunting [98] is gradually being suppressed, goat hair is being used instead (1).

1. Perelaer, op. cit., p. 64.

NG K Br I 411

h. Firearms

Most of the peoples of the archipelago already use firearms, which, of course, they have bought or bartered from Europeans. There are still a few people, however, who, although they know of firearms, do not use them, namely, the Dajak of the interior of Borneo, the Lubu and the Kubu, the Orang bĕnuwa of the Riouw-Lingga Archipelago, and other savage tribes in the western part of Indonesia. In the east the Papuans did not even know the effect of firearms until recently; at least the commission that visited New Guinea in 1858 found that the Papuans of Humboldt Bay were unfamiliar with the rifle and showed great fear when they heard its report, besides not grasping at all the effect of a shot with live ammunition (2).

Bt MK J Ml I 411

2. Nieuw Guinea in 1858, p. 173.

A general name for firearms is bĕdil: Mal. and Jav. bĕdil, Bat. bodil, Mak. bādili, Daj. badil. There are various kinds of firearms; in the first place, one should distinguish the istinggar or sĕtinggar, derived from the Portuguese espingarda.

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

412

412 GENERAL TOOLS--cutting tools (e.g., knife, ax, adze, chisel, wedge, plane, scissors, saw, sickle); boring tools (e.g., awl, needle, drill, augur, bit, reamer); abrading tools (e.g., scraper, file, grindstone); striking tools (e.g., maul, hammer, pestle); eating utensils (e.g., knife, fork, spoon); digging tools (e.g., digging stick, spade, pick, hoe, shovel); gripping tools (e.g., tongs, tweezers, pincers, vise, grapnel, wrench); miscellaneous tools of general utility (e.g., broom, brush, fan, comb, rake, fork); parts and their assembly (e.g., blades, handles); See also:

Lashings . . . . . 284 Hardware manufacture 391

New Guinea OJ1 Malays AN5
Mentawi OD9 Javanese OE5
Borneo OC1
Batak OD5
Makassar OG6

Bt Br J MI MK I 412 [80 cont.] stone mortars are also often used. Such a pounding block is called Mal. lĕsung, Jav. lĕsung, Daj. [Dyak] lisong, Bat. losung, Mak. assung, Bug. palungăng. The pestle, which generally is a long pole that is somewhat thicker and cone-shaped at both ends, is called Mal. alu, Jav. alu, Bat. andalu, Mak. alu, Bug. alu. The lesung usually stands outside the house under the projecting part of the roof, but often also under a separate roof. I 354 415 The cooking place, each family unit having one, as was mentioned above (1), consists of a square frame of boards three palms wide,

1. See p. 98.

and the frame is filled with earth. Some stones are arranged on it in triangular fashion, forming the trivet, tongku, on which the pĕriuk, a wide-bellied pot, or the balanga, a shallow pot with a wide neck, is placed. The native generally also has some iron pots of foreign manufacture, at least the more civilized do; among the less developed peoples, these are lacking, of course, especially among those who have had little contact with foreigners. I 323 Mt NG I 415 [81] The art of making pottery is generally widespread. Skilled potters are found throughout the archipelago. The pots, however, are unglazed and often very fragile.

Bamboo is often used for storing foodstuffs; there are tribes who prepare and cook their food in bamboo, for example, the Papuans, the Mentawei Islanders, etc. (1)

1. Chapter 1, p. 1. Mess, "de Mentawei-eilanden," op. cit., p. 81.

I 415 322 Plates and dishes are the principal eating-utensils. The peoples of the Malay Archipelago put great value on the possession of these articles. The possession of many plates and dishes is even regarded as an indication of wealth. Naturally, J they are imported. Plates and dishes of local manufacture are I 415 generally made of wood or very nicely manufactured out of 326 brass and then decorated with chasing or embossed work. The

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

764 Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photograph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photograph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
782 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
●412 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers, etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This belonged to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map)
743 [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss
758 Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows. These dwelling places are much better than native houses. There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the children especially get leprosy, and that when children are born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

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[287]
[412]
[551]
[712]
[782]

/120 cont./

At the time when the people in this area still made their clothes out of foeja /beaten tree bark/, they fetched from this hill the stones from which were made the little hammers (ike) with which the tree bark was flattened. The headman under whose leadership the move had taken place bore the name of Samba-langi, "covering the sky." The village was strong because it was surrounded by three earthen walls. Samba-langi continued to be invoked for a long time by people from Wotoe who brought buffaloes to Lake Poso: "Samba-langi, give us health, and do not let the buffaloes die on the way."

Now the story goes that the son of Samba-langi, once when he was bathing in the Kalaena, saw maize leaves and other refuse floating in it. This convinced him that there must be people living upstream. He followed the river upstream and came to the country now known as Saloe-maoge. There he saw a bamboo container hanging on a sugar palm, in which palm wine was collected. The people of Lampenai drank some of the liquid and then placed salt and sugar at the foot of the tree as the price for the enjoyment. After that they returned home.

When Samba-langi learned of the vicissitudes of his son, he ordered him to go back to the land upstream and to try to contact the inhabitants of Saloe-maoge. After they had again placed salt and sugar at the foot of a tree, they hid in the bushes in order to see who came to get these delicacies. Before long there appeared a man who was totally naked and who fled immediately when the coastal inhabitants showed themselves. Nevertheless eventually they managed to establish contact with the man and his fellow tribesmen. Coastal and mountain inhabitants made friends with each other. When the question came up as to who was the younger (inferior) and who the older (superior), the mountain people said to the people from the coast: "Of course you are our superiors, and we shall show you honor, because you wear trousers and a jacket, while we wear only a loincloth."

554 /86 cont./ he has built up in his life. The more days and
585 nights the festival lasts, the more guests (largely kinsmen) present, the more buffaloes slaughtered, and the more spacious the pannjambungi (the extension built onto the front of the house for this occasion), the higher is his standing. But the
[583] bride price, sunrang, is the element of marriage which permits the clearest measurable evaluation.

The sunrang is not simply handed over to the wife's kin
583 group by the man and his kin group. It is present at the contracting of the marriage (nikka'). The marriage official records the amount in the marriage register in reals (1), an

[435]

1. A real was, and still is, valued at 2 guldens. The coin itself, the real, is not seen at these payments. It became too rare for that.

old species of coin which has long disappeared from /87/ circulation. The woman's kin group frequently demands that the sunrang be paid entirely in specie (rix-dollars or guldens), but usually this happens only in part. The balance is paid by giving a sawah or a buffalo. As a symbol of such a transaction, a handful of earth (from the sawah) or a nose ring (of the
[415] buffalo) is added to the specie, which is contained in a flat, round copper box (kampu), used only at a marriage. The kampu also contains various kinds of leaves and a piece of wood, whose names signify "high," "rich," "rising," and "expanding." That is what one wishes for the sunrang and, at the same time, for the woman's group of relatives, the best possible wish.

The sunrang cannot be just any amount; it is always an
[659] even figure. It is fixed by the local authorities, in this case, the Self-government of Goa. In part it is linked to a specific status (ordinary people), in part to a certain function (the adat

lichabet
~~chabet~~ E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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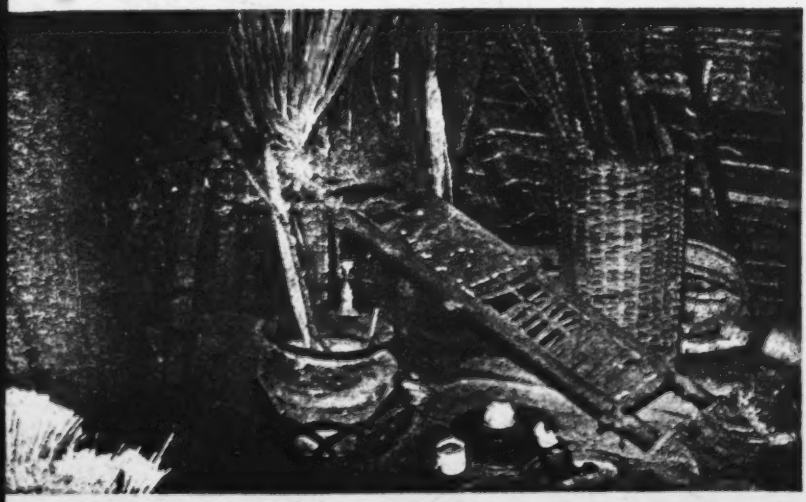
A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.



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778
352
415

The little ancestral house (pantasa') in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END PLATE 3]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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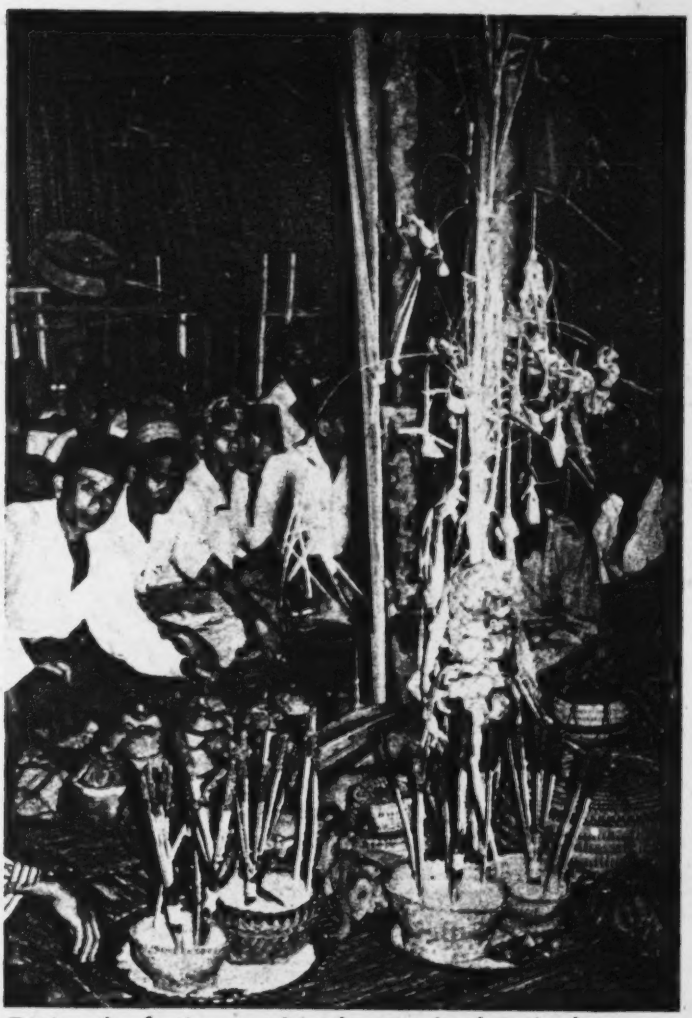
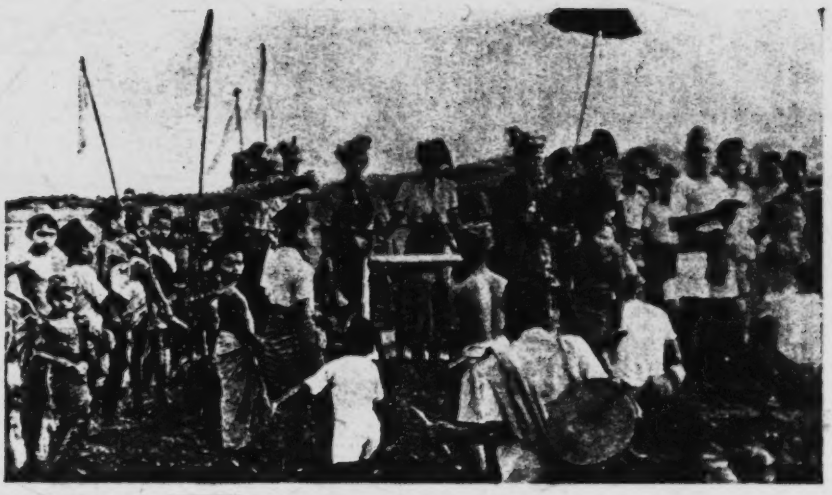


During the festive meal in the pannjambungi, the men sit in rows according to their prestige. Pages 195-196 and 243. In the foreground one can see, among other things, the coconuts, whose contents will be poured over the bridal couple at their first common bath. Page 265.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 6]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6



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416

Bissu of Segeri during the plowing ritual on the ornament sawah. In the photograph, the bissu are recognizable by the fact that they wear glasses. Pages 101 and 208-209.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 11]

585 /193 cont./ comment. But if he hesitates or turns away, he is urged to accept the food. For, ultimately, the older people like nothing better than to see him lose, and it is believed that he loses if he does what his wife demands of him, namely when he accepts food from her.

The First Joint Bath

Again a few days later the couple is bathed together for the first time. Here, too, ritual and play are of more importance than the fact of the bathing itself. Together, the couple sit -- the woman wrapped entirely in a sarong -- on the house steps, which in daily life forms the link with the attic but which for this special occasion has been placed on the floor in the pannjambungi (1). Under the rungs of the ladder lies a cleaver

[342]
[251]
[769]
[417]

1. The attic is an important place in the house. There the rice is kept. In case of shortage of living quarters, the young girls are sometimes housed there. The ancestors descend through it when they are implored to do so in a ritual manner. The ladder to the attic has a special form. The two uprights proceed from a single branch that rests on the floor and which splits into two, approximately 40 centimeters above the floor.

as well as one of the sections of the loom, objects which man and wife respectively always need in performing their daily activities. According to informants, /194/ the significance of this is to further the wish that man and wife will now also

342

Makassarese houses.
(Photographic Archives Ind. Institute.)

[291]
417

Makassarese houses.
(Photographic Archives Ind. Institute.)

[end plate 2]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

796
462
292
516
142

Before the commencement of the Dikir on the occasion of the Maulud festival in Laikang. Dikir is men's work; a girl is jokingly chased away. Page 193.

796
631
417

General view of the Maulud festival in Laikang. The scaffolds are sent in by kampongs. In their size and construction the competitive spirit between kampongs finds expression.

[end plate 4]

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

612 /39 cont./ living is more comfortable. The tendency toward
556 joining the Kapala group can be demonstrated. Integration is stronger there.

To be affiliated with a large related group seems to offer
612 only advantages. There is, however, another phenomenon which suggests the opposite. /40/ Members of the Kapala
[166] group appear to move away repeatedly. This fact cannot be discussed, however, until the relationship of the related group to the land has first been described.

The Relationship to the Land

612 The relationship of the related group to the land was
423 characterized as that of a group whose members live together in the same territory and work the land. This characterization will now be elaborated upon. The majority of kampong residents do seem to have land in the kampong where they reside, but a number of them in addition have land in other kampongs.

Some figures will be presented at this point to illustrate the relationship of people to land. The average landownership of Bontoramba residents within their territory amounts to 23 ares of sawah land and 56 ares of dry land per house. In addition to land in Bontoramba, some Bontoramba residents also own land in other kampongs. If one adds these figures to the first, then it appears that the average landownership per house in Bontoramba amounts to 54 ares of sawah land and 69 ares
[162] of dry land. The average number of persons per house is 6.04 (1).

1. Figures concerning land date from 1949. The average number of residents per house that year amounted to 6.04 as against 6.1 in 1948.

423 /40 cont./ Some variations should be introduced into
612 these figures. Broken down by the Kapala, Mangenre, and
556 Rest groups they are:

Kapala group:	77 ares sawah land
	88 ares dry land
Mangenre group:	6 ares sawah land
	66 ares dry land
Rest group:	23 ares sawah land
	22 ares dry land

These figures thus indicate the average per house for these three groups, which consist of 81, 19, and 33 houses respectively (2).

[171]

2. In the Indish Verslag /(Dutch East) Indies Report/ of 1941, Part 2, p. 264, the average area of arable land of the native population for Java and Madura (in 1940) is given as: 0.072 hectare of sawah land and 0.096 hectare of dry land per capita. This is a little less than was found in Bontoramba (0.088 hectare of sawah land and 0.113 hectare of dry land per capita).

/41/ The noticeably low figure for the sawah land in the Mangenre group is not directly explainable. We shall return to this point below.

[592] Not all houses have landowners. In the Kapala group, landowners live in 73 of the 81 houses; in the Mangenre group, in 7 of the 19 houses; and in the Rest group they live in 14 of the 33 houses.

The members of the Kapala group are thus clearly rich in land compared with those of the two other groups. Among

●423 556 612 /41 cont./ them landownership is also more regularly distributed over the various houses.

It appeared that the few houses of the Kapala group without landowners were homes of younger people who worked the lands of their parents or an older brother and who received a part of the harvested crop in exchange for this. The Mangenre group and the Rest group include warong owners /shop-keepers/, the bicycle repairman, merchants, and "porters." The last named are men who transport goods for another person to a distant pasar and who receive their wages partly in money and partly in goods. Several of them do not own any land. [482 465]

Those who own land outside Bontoramba live scattered over 57 of the total of 133 houses (1); 53 of these 57 are

1. In 54 houses there are people who own only sawah land elsewhere, in 14 those who own only dry land elsewhere. In 11 houses, therefore, there are people who own both sawahs as well as dry land.

occupied by members of the Kapala group, 4 by those of the Rest. According to these figures people of the Mangenre group do not seem to have land anywhere outside Bontoramba. It may well be that these figures are incorrect, probably too low, especially as regards the Mangenre group. The land-tax administration registered the names of landowners in each kampong, and it would thus be necessary to go through all the land-tax registers of South Celebes (there are a few thousand of them) in order to state with certainty that no other land than that reported are held by Bontoramba residents. And it is just among the individuals of the Mangenre group that one might expect to find that they have more land in their homeland of Pangkadjene (2).

●423 556 612

/41 cont./ 2. This suggestion is based both upon the figures following below for kampong Pakatto, the homeland of the Kapala group, as well as upon the impression obtained in the colonists' kampongs.

423 471

/42/ I limited my investigation to the registers of the remaining kampongs of the adat community of Borongloe. In only 7 of these 13 were names of Bontoramba residents encountered by me. The distribution was as follows:

	Sawah Land	Dry Land	Number of Sawah-land Owners	Number of Dry-land Owners
Pagentungang.	1,432 ares	--	48	—
Songkolo . . .	280 ares	354 ares	4	5
Buttadidi . . .	684 ares	37 ares	23	3
Borong	308 ares	904 ares	6	8
Tjambaja. . .	1,428 ares	798 ares	21	5
Pakatto	514 ares		4	
Parang Banua .	54 ares		2	(1)

1. In Indonesian landholding statistics land held in mortgage or as security was always included.

A glance at the map shows that the first three kampongs border on Bontoramba, and that the fourth is situated very close to it. Kampong Pakatto was already mentioned as the one from which many of the present-day Bontoramba residents are derived;

423 /42 cont./ some of them still appear to have land there, obtained through inheritance. The great number of landholdings in Tjambaja is connected with good reclamation opportunities there.

The people from Bontoramba own no land in 6 of the 14 kampongs of Borongloë. Their ownership is concentrated in their immediate vicinity, with the exception of Pakatto and Tjambaja. Territorial-administrative kampong boundaries, therefore, do not seem to affect the relationship of kin groups to land. The distance from the house to the land does seem to be of importance. There is reason to assume that the number of Bontoramba residents owning land outside their adat community as well as inside it (with the exception of people from the Mangenre group) is inconsiderable.

In addition to the Bontoramba residents who have land outside Bontoramba, there are a number of persons residing outside Bontoramba who own /43/ land within the territory of Bontoramba. There were 90 such people. Of these, 68 lived in one of the 13 other kampongs of Borongloë. They owned, together, 1, 522 ares of sawah land and 1, 758 ares of dry land. In the adjoining kampongs of Buttadidi, Pagentungang, Songkolo, and Borong, there lived respectively 27, 8, 11, and 7 of these landowners. In addition, there are 3 more landowners who live in the kampongs of Pakatto, Parang Banua, Bontoa, and Borongkaluku, while in Kotjikang there are 2, and in Tjambaja 1. There does not appear to exist any special interest in Bontoramba territory on the part of Pakatto or Tjambaja residents; this was different the other way around.

The remaining 22 landowners, of whom 2 lived outside Goa and 20 within Goa but outside Borongloë, owned 645 ares of sawah land and 498 ares of dry land (1). Here it is only

1. Among these 22, there were 13 sawah owners and 10 dry-land owners. One man owned dry land in Bontoramba as well as a sawah.

423 /43 cont./ noteworthy that of these 20 landowners, 12 lived in
471 kampong Romangpolong situated very close to Bontoramba, where the Kapala of Bontoramba has a large number of kinsmen.

471 The following figures indicate how the sawah land is distributed over the various houses.

556 The inhabitants of 25 out of the total of 133 houses own
612 more than 1 hectare of sawah land. Twenty-one of these are houses belonging to the Kapala group, and 4 belong to the Rest. The inhabitants of 8 of these 25 houses own more than 2 hectares, and of these, 7 belong to the Kapala group, 1 to the Rest. Only one man has more than 3 hectares; in fact, he owns 7.5 hectares of sawah land. He owes this to his own abilities.

The relationship of individuals to their land, as is apparent from these figures, may therefore be stated quite simply. The administrative kampong boundaries (2) do not appear to be

[622]

2. The kapala collects the taxes on all land located in his kampong territory. He takes care that all men who live there and are able to perform work carry out their services. He reports offences committed in his district, etc.

relevant to the location of land which belongs to kampong residents. Landownership is not restricted by kampong territory.

311 The distance from the living quarters to the fields is,
423 generally speaking, small. The land of the majority of people is located in their own kampong and in one of the kampongs adjoining it. Those who owned land in Tjambaja also had land in Bontoramba itself. This shows that people do not purchase or work /44/ land at a greater distance away until they already own some in their immediate vicinity. The exchange of land
437 between people having land in each other's kampong of residence,
425 with the intention that both will have a piece of land close by, instead of one far removed from their house, occurs regularly.

167 /58 cont./ With a few exceptions these colonists owned
423 no land in Buginese country (3). They worked fields that
466

> 3. The group in Paria was primarily making a living from a number of fishponds situated along the seacoast. They had found these in a deplorable state but had restored them completely. They lived on the ponds where they bred and marketed fish under very favorable conditions at the time of the study.

belonged to large landowners, who here are both members of the nobility as well as merchants who have become wealthy during the last 10 to 15 years. Since 1939 the leadership of the Sadang irrigation project has been turning extensive /59/ dry-land regions into potentially fertile sawah areas. The shortage of manpower, however, is extreme. As long as this continues, the colonists can demand very good working conditions. Their bargaining position is strong. For example, one group demanded of a certain large landowner that he let no others cut rice in his sawahs.

167 There is little expression of a need for securing a more
423 solid economic position by buying land in the new region of residence. Some even considered a sawah at such a distance from the homeland an unsafe possession. Several colonists seemed to have redeemed sawahs which they had earlier mortgaged in their homeland with money they earned in Buginese country, and even to have given mortgages on new sawahs there. At this point, therefore, the tie with the homeland seemed to be very strong.

/250 cont./

Divorce Registers

114 217 586 The divorce registers are kept by the Kali of Goa for a part of the province of Goa that comprises several adat communities. /251/ This is an administrative problem which is regulated differently according to locality. During the Japanese occupation, when it was considered unsafe to travel, the Imam of Borongloë temporarily was also authorized to register divorces.

The maintenance of these four types of personal registers was poor. Registers of a few years back were in such a deplorable state that it was no longer fruitful to consult them. Before these registers can develop into a Registrar's Office, a good many improvements will first have to be made.

Land-tax Registers

114 217 651 423 In the land-tax registers each plot of land whose boundaries are very precisely indicated is to be found with the name of the person who pays the tax on it. This may be the Indonesian owner. A woman's plots are regularly recorded in the name of her husband or, if she is unmarried, in the name of her oldest brother. Younger brother's plots are frequently entered in the name of the oldest.

Registration of land is done by kampong territory. It is possible to calculate the average landownership per head and per house. It is impossible to say how many are "large landowners" -- assuming that one would want to consider someone who possesses more than five hectares as such, for instance, for by entering a part of his land in the name of his wife or children, the total ownership of one man can no longer be traced through these land registers.

The land-tax service places the taxpayer and the Indonesian owner practically on a par. Jurisprudence, however, does not simply connect with Indonesian property rights the fact that someone is entered in the land-tax registers.

114 217 423 651

/251 cont./ The land-tax registers make a distinction between lands in Indonesian possession and lands that have been taken in pawn. In a calculation of the averages of the sawah areas, these two types of land must be added together. The land-tax registers are in excellent condition.

The Indonesian Notary

114 217 675 425

The so-called Inland Notary, kept in the adat community office, which before the war began to assume an increasingly important task, was still not up to prewar /252/ standards in mid-1949. In 1940, 318 transactions were registered in Borongloë, in 1946 and 1947, 36 and 56 respectively.

The purpose of this institution is to further legal certainty. Parties which enter into a transaction, can report this to the head concerned, and the latter is then obligated to enter this transaction in the register, and at the same time to give to both parties a summary of what was recorded by him.

In the columns are recorded in order: name and place of residence of the purchaser; name and place of residence of the seller; a description of the article; then its boundaries are indicated if it is land, and its characteristics if it concerns a buffalo; the sum that is paid or -- in case of an exchange -- the article with a similar description; and finally, the further agreements that are made subsequent to this transfer.

The adat community head makes an entry of the transaction if the local well-informed head of the kampong where the land is situated or from which the buffalo comes tells him that he has heard no objections against the transaction. The institution was popular because the native courts of law especially attached much value to the summaries produced by purchasers or pawnees at their sessions.

The personal care and interest for this institution on the part of the local heads varies greatly, and it is upon this that the number of transactions recorded appears to be directly

1:Alkema & Bezemer--407 E-4, 5 (no date) 1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Tanimbar OF19 Toradja OG11
Ambon OH4 Makassar OG6
Punan OC10 Kei OH13
Kubu OD8 Aru OH5

[361 cont.]

Tr 423 425 native right of possession over land.

"In recent times both points are beginning to change. For the Poso, the Government, in keeping with Indonesian custom, has granted the right to gather products on the boundaries of the newly formed districts and to demand recognition-payments from strangers, thus paving the way for a right of disposal. Since 1907, by encouraging the cultivation of sawahs, the Government has [362] also created a right of possession over wet fields" (1).

1. Ibid., p. 364.

M 423 425 A peculiarity of the land rights on southern Celebes is that while the right of disposal vested in the ornamentship (see p. 109) is dying out, the native right of possession is bound up with the payment of the kasoewijang, the obligatory delivery of products from the land cultivated to the chiefs of the ornamentship. The ornamentfields, the domains of the chiefs of the ornamentship, need not be cultivated by the population.

Tn Ar Ki 423 [624 796] On page 88 we spoke of the special position of the toean tanah, the head of a core family on the Kei Islands, with regard to land tenure. The same kind of functionary is found on the Aru Islands and the Tanimbar or Southeastern Islands. On Timor and the surrounding islands, too, there is a dignitary, a descendant of the first founder of a settlement, who sometimes plays a role in agrarian matters, elsewhere at religious ceremonies, and sometimes stands above the clan chief or native prince, at least in some matters.

Am 423 311 624 The village forester (kapala kéwang) of the Ambon Islands has already been mentioned on page 234; land can be cleared only after he and the village chief have been notified.

I 222 Pu Kb 222 After this short outline of native land rights, we shall continue with a description of what the Indonesians take from their land and begin with the

a. gathering of forest products. Only a few tribes in the archipelago live exclusively by collecting forest products. They

MK [374 cont.]
642 in arriere fee, and Tanette with Lipoekasi in arriere fee.
I 2. Allied states. The basis of our relationship with these states
MK is the peace and alliance treaty concluded in 1667 by Speelman,
[648] known under the name of Buginese contract, which was renewed in 1824 by Van der Capellen. Their sovereigns are allies of the Government and have certain obligations to fulfill, such as the
MK protection of trade, guarding against piracy, assistance in case
[636] of war, etc. They are free in the administration of the internal affairs of their state, but when ascending the throne, they must pay a visit to Makassar to be installed by the Government and to renew the contract.

MK These states can be divided by population into Makassa-
101 rese and Buginese states. The most important Makassarese states are Gowa, and Laïkang; the Buginese states are Baróe, Soppeng, Adjatapparang, Mandar (at least in part), Loewoé, Wadjó, Tanette, and Boni. A third tribe that inhabits Celebes is the
T Tc-radja = mountain-dwellers. Among the principal Toradja
101 states are Masinrimpoeloe and Laiwoei in particular.

MK The main features of the government are similar in all
642 the states. The feudal system exists everywhere on southern
423 Celebes. We have encountered this feudal system in the Malay states on Sumatra and Borneo, but not to the extent that it occurs here. In the first place the feudal system also arose here out of the sovereigns' practice of granting part of the land in fee to their children or relatives to provide for their support or to reward faithful servants. These feudal tenants are called paseadjingang = blood relatives, from the [375] word seadjing = brother. Another way that the feudal system arose was through war, when a weaker prince was conquered by a more powerful one. In the latter case the vanquished was allowed to govern his own land, but he was in the same position as the other feudal tenants. This kind of feudal tenant is called palili. The obligations of these feudal
MK tenants to their liege lord are: to assist him in war, to appear
[211] at his court for ceremonial occasions, festivities, etc., and the

[375 cont.]
642 like. The way the liege lord summons his feudal tenants for a
423 festivity or war is peculiar. The invitation or summons is made
211 by means of bila-bila. Such a bila-bila is a strip of lontar leaf, in which a certain number of flat knots are tied. There are as many knots as there are days before the war starts or the festivity is to begin. There is a great difference in the way the feudal
576 tenant must take the bila-bila from the hand of the messenger or envoy of the liege lord, depending on whether it is a summons to war or an invitation to a festivity. The bila-bila for a festivity is taken by the royal feudal tenant with his right hand, while with the left hand he makes the motion used in dancing. The bila-bila for a war is accepted with the left hand, while he touches the kris with the right hand, the object being to demonstrate his devotion to the liege lord by dancing or swinging the kris. According to Dr. Matthes, bila-bila is a corruption of bilang-bilang, from bilang = to count, since the number of knots in the lontar leaf serve for calculating the number of days before the festivities or war will begin.

643 Otherwise, the government is organized the same as in
645 the Malay states. At the head stands a sovereign who is assisted by a state administrator and a state council. The general name in Makassarese for sovereign is karaëng, and in Buginese arung or patta (1). This is also the title, however, for a nongoverning

1. Since the type for the Buginese sound ᨅ is not in stock, the Buginese words that have this sound are spelled as above.

[376] prince. A ruling prince is karaëng mágaú (from gaú = deed, affair, and ágaú = to be active, to manage, and in Buginese, aru or patta mangkaú (the same radical gaú = deed, affair, and mágaú = to be active, to manage). The name of the state administrator is different in the various states and so is the composition of the state council. We shall now discuss the

[436 cont.]

Mn 423 452 volken v. d. Ind. Archipel," Bijdragen T., L. en Vlk, v. Ned. Ind., 1888.

mortgage is not given for a limited period and thus never reverts to the creditor, but may be redeemed at any time. The amount of the mortgage, as a rule less than the value of the property, is paid all at once. The property then passes into the hands of the lender, who from that moment on has the use of the land as interest for the money advanced by him, whereas the owner or owners cannot claim any rights over the land, as long as the advance has not been paid back. Through this contract, the security, the land, actually becomes the property of the creditor and his assigns temporarily.

Mn [578] MK A Bu MD Bt 423 426 J G 426 Mortgages often lead to disputes, because everything is arranged by verbal agreement and generations may pass before the redemption takes place. This type of mortgaging occurs frequently in the archipelago. [437] It occurs also among the Batak, in the Moluccas, among the Alfoer of Buru, among those of the Ambonese islands, among the Makassarese and Buginese, etc. On Java, in the Sunda lands, it is called ngagade sawah. It is unknown among the Alfoer of the Minahasa.

c. Among the Batak

Bt 423 [631] Land tenure among the Batak is regulated in the same way as among the Alfoer of the Minahasa and on Sumatra's west coast. Here the political unit is the kuria, which became the administrative unit under our administration. The lands here thus belong to the kuria; according to their legal status, they are distinguished as wastelands and cleared lands. The former are communal and the latter individual property. Here, however, we do not find the division into private and family lands, because the inheritance as a rule is divided, and the lands acquired by inheritance are private property just like the

I had many talks at random, especially with Thierens. He 181
is willing to work, but says it is only toward a dim future. The
police official (Aru Pontjeng) and his son (Aru Matjege, head
of the local government) especially, see that things are not
good. Everything is inefficient and childish. I met the former
one day, and at once he asked my impression. I dodged his
question and he said at least everyone eats here. I said yes,
but many were slaves. He was shocked, but saw my point,
I will talk with him again. I told Thierens that questions, es-
pecially of the kampong folk and even of Andi and the Sulewa-
tang, showed that the people were ripe for economic education.
They are puzzled. And they take to such talk. Thierens said
that they get scared, and agreed that they go on governmental
business trips in order to get away from problems. The truth 423 ●
is, it is too poor a land. Then too, it is feudal. Thierens told 566
me a secret. I had seen private fish ponds belonging to the
Arumpone in Palette, near the sea. He told me that near that
place entire kampongs are working in the service of the arum-
pone. It is quite medieval. But perhaps the only way to oper-
ate this place is to keep serfs and slaves. At least they eat.
But what hope is there for a rise of standards? For example, 653
I asked how they built roads and schools. Andi said heeren- 434
dienst [literally 'master's service']. I then said that if that
were true, how would they pay for the increasing number of
teachers. For that they would need money too. I said that they
had rice, maize, and men--and that is all. The answer I do
not know. As Thierens said, for the past forty years they have 185
grown more and more used to Western administration. Now, 434
they must keep things up to Western standards of speed and ef-
ficiency. They have neither, but they do have even grander
ideas than the Dutch gave them concerning the future. They try
to reach outward to a level of speed approximating that which
the Dutch represented, and so forth. Instead they become dizzy.
They are desperate. And even with the help of the Dutch (and
Pontjeng said right away that they co-operate with the Dutch),
how can they pay the Dutch and give them enough security in-
ducement unless they have the money. In all, it is a non-pay-
ing daerah, and my guess is that the whole of East Indonesia is
a non-paying negara. The only way out seems to be to get Java
and Sumatra, and perhaps, in part, Borneo, to pay the bills;
or to slip into a peasant economy and drop all ideas of grandeur
and of a great and prosperous future with schools, etc.

Tomorrow, August 30, 1949, I am leaving for Makassar. 000

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Neverthe-
less, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
● Makassar OG6
Java OE1
Celebes OG1

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Division of marital property comes into play primarily in case of dissolution of marriage. If it is not evident that one of the spouses has so misbehaved that every claim to a part of the possessions has been forfeited, or that the wife relinquished her share as indemnification for repudiation (pages 181, 183), each of the spouses usually takes his or her "asal" possessions and possibly his or her share in the common matrimonial property. This common

423 /43 cont./ noteworthy that of these 20 landowners, 12 lived in
471 kampong Romangpolong situated very close to Bontoramba, where the Kapala of Bontoramba has a large number of kinsmen.

471 The following figures indicate how the sawah land is distributed over the various houses.

556 The inhabitants of 25 out of the total of 133 houses own
612 more than 1 hectare of sawah land. Twenty-one of these are houses belonging to the Kapala group, and 4 belong to the Rest. The inhabitants of 8 of these 25 houses own more than 2 hectares, and of these, 7 belong to the Kapala group, 1 to the Rest. Only one man has more than 3 hectares; in fact, he owns 7.5 hectares of sawah land. He owes this to his own abilities.

The relationship of individuals to their land, as is apparent from these figures, may therefore be stated quite simply. The administrative kampong boundaries (2) do not appear to be

[622]

2. The kapala collects the taxes on all land located in his kampong territory. He takes care that all men who live there and are able to perform work carry out their services. He reports offences committed in his district, etc.

relevant to the location of land which belongs to kampong residents. Landownership is not restricted by kampong territory.

311 The distance from the living quarters to the fields is,
423 generally speaking, small. The land of the majority of people is located in their own kampong and in one of the kampongs adjoining it. Those who owned land in Tjambaja also had land in Bontoramba itself. This shows that people do not purchase or work /44/ land at a greater distance away until they already own some in their immediate vicinity. The exchange of land
437 between people having land in each other's kampong of residence,
425 with the intention that both will have a piece of land close by, instead of one far removed from their house, occurs regularly.

114 217 423 651

/251 cont./ The land-tax registers make a distinction between lands in Indonesian possession and lands that have been taken in pawn. In a calculation of the averages of the sawah areas, these two types of land must be added together. The land-tax registers are in excellent condition.

The Indonesian Notary

114 217 675 425

The so-called Inland Notary, kept in the adat community office, which before the war began to assume an increasingly important task, was still not up to prewar /252/ standards in mid-1949. In 1940, 318 transactions were registered in Borongloë, in 1946 and 1947, 36 and 56 respectively.

The purpose of this institution is to further legal certainty. Parties which enter into a transaction, can report this to the head concerned, and the latter is then obligated to enter this transaction in the register, and at the same time to give to both parties a summary of what was recorded by him.

In the columns are recorded in order: name and place of residence of the purchaser; name and place of residence of the seller; a description of the article; then its boundaries are indicated if it is land, and its characteristics if it concerns a buffalo; the sum that is paid or -- in case of an exchange -- the article with a similar description; and finally, the further agreements that are made subsequent to this transfer.

The adat community head makes an entry of the transaction if the local well-informed head of the kampong where the land is situated or from which the buffalo comes tells him that he has heard no objections against the transaction. The institution was popular because the native courts of law especially attached much value to the summaries produced by purchasers or pawnees at their sessions.

The personal care and interest for this institution on the part of the local heads varies greatly, and it is upon this that the number of transactions recorded appears to be directly

114 /252 cont./ dependent. Comparison of the figures accordingly
217 indicates little concerning the actual number of transactions
675 carried out in the respective territorial sections. A general
425 impression can be derived from this register of what is transacted in a certain region. But no conclusions can be drawn with respect to the number of transactions.

Of the 31 transactions recorded in 1948, 6 concern the transfer of a sawah; 5 the transfer of a piece of dry land; 16 the sale of buffaloes, and 2 the transfer of a sewing machine.

The number of buffalo sales probably approaches the actual number most closely, since in the case of transportation -- which is necessary in the sale to one residing outside the seller's adat community -- a buffalo pass is necessary, and some heads exercise a certain pressure for registration in the registry /253/ of the Indonesian Notary when such a pass is issued. The land transactions do not approximate the actual number by an estimated tenth part.

Misdemeanor Registers

114 In the register of misdemeanors (Rappor Kedjahatan),
217 which is also kept in the adat community office, the violations
674 and misdemeanors that are reported there are entered, and at the same time those against whom the evidence is reported. In the first six months of 1948, 15 were reported there, that is: 9 buffalo thefts, 2 maltreatments, 1 threat with the badik, 2 minor thefts, and 1 assault on a woman. Eight of the 9 buffalo
[177] thefts remained unsolved. This register was not introduced until 1948; little can as yet be said about its effect.

Registers of Legal Matters

114 The registers of legal matters which are divided into civil
217 and criminal, are kept in the adat community office of Borongloe
671 when they concern "minor" matters that come up before the

Tanimbar OF19 Toradja OG11
Ambon OH4 Makassar OG6
Punan OC10 Kei OH13
Kubu OD8 Aru OH5

[361 cont.]

Tr 423 425 native right of possession over land.

"In recent times both points are beginning to change. For the Poso, the Government, in keeping with Indonesian custom, has granted the right to gather products on the boundaries of the newly formed districts and to demand recognition-payments from strangers, thus paving the way for a right of disposal. Since 1907, by encouraging the cultivation of sawahs, the Government has [362] also created a right of possession over wet fields" (1).

1. Ibid., p. 364.

M 423 425 A peculiarity of the land rights on southern Celebes is that while the right of disposal vested in the ornamentship (see p. 109) is dying out, the native right of possession is bound up with the payment of the kasoewijang, the obligatory delivery of products from the land cultivated to the chiefs of the ornamentship. The ornamentfields, the domains of the chiefs of the ornamentship, need not be cultivated by the population.

Tn Ar Ki 423 [624 796] On page 88 we spoke of the special position of the toean tanah, the head of a core family on the Kei Islands, with regard to land tenure. The same kind of functionary is found on the Aru Islands and the Tanimbar or Southeastern Islands. On Timor and the surrounding islands, too, there is a dignitary, a descendant of the first founder of a settlement, who sometimes plays a role in agrarian matters, elsewhere at religious ceremonies, and sometimes stands above the clan chief or native prince, at least in some matters.

Am 423 311 624 The village forester (kapala kéwang) of the Ambon Islands has already been mentioned on page 234; land can be cleared only after he and the village chief have been notified.

I 222 Pu Mb 222 After this short outline of native land rights, we shall continue with a description of what the Indonesians take from their land and begin with the

a. gathering of forest products. Only a few tribes in the archipelago live exclusively by collecting forest products. They

Makassar 066
Sadang 068

Makassarese-Buginese: Van Heekeren says that there has been a change in ruler rights. Formerly for example, if the ruler of Goa wanted a good horse of a commoner he would say to that man, "Yours is a fine horse", and the man would say, "It is not mine but yours". Now, the ruler still gets what he wants, for example the horse, but he pays for it, say f 50. Thus there seems to be a gradual change. M 565 178 425

Sadang: The following information is from a man named Heeren, a sociologist from Amsterdam, now a high school teacher in Makassar and working on his dissertation on a village northwest of Rantepao. His village, he says, is pretty well spread out like all of Sadang now. Formerly they lived on high hills but it was difficult to carry water to these positions and they had to leave their buffaloes below where they were easily stolen by the Buginese. They still have a feast and ceremony of driving off all Buginese evil. This is called mabugi. There are about eighty houses in this village including some large ones, and thus a big population. According to Heeren one sees mostly sawah at first, but then one begins to note behind hedges and so forth, houses including very ornate structures. These houses are a couple of hundred meters apart. Around them are evidently gardens. Rice barns are important because they show wealth. The village extends for about two miles by one mile. He chose this village because in Rantepao there is no puang, and thus there are fewer complications. There are tomakaka, commoners, and slaves. The most important feasts are the death feasts. They have a long street, not for cars, and up from it on a hill lie the houses. There are two plazas, rante, and here they celebrate such feasts. Here also are located scores of stone pillars, some three to four meters high. Buffaloes are tied to these pillars. Great debts are accumulated by sacrificing buffaloes. Each family tries to outdo the others in potlatch fashion, and after some sixty-three buffaloes for example, are killed, they will sell their rice fields and go into debt. There is a tremendous amount of waste. It seems that giving buffaloes to others requires return later and they try to outdo each other like the Kwakiutl. There is always a great fuss over property ownership. Heeren said that there are only three puang, and he thinks they came in about the fifteenth century (van Wouden thinks that they are native like the tomokaka, but that the idea came in from the Buginese). He said that he has many Sadang students in Makassar, and as in the homeland they are keen for education. S [115] 361 565 765 426 431 789 S [349]

Note that the Chinese may not buy land. All of them live in the stone (cement) houses beside the leveled market place. This is known as rumah sewa and is shown on the map. It is rented out by the radja. 563 425 342

The one Toradja is a woman married to a Chinaman.

Saleh pointed out that there are many cases of commoners using the title of daeng now. However, he has ignored them in this list of names because he knows that this is merely a pretension on their part. 162 565

C. Trade and Class

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Javanese	Chinese	Total
Goldsmith	30	19	1	-	-	50
Peddler-small trader	9	32	3	-	3	47
Merchant	2	2	-	-	-	13
Leather-worker	4	39	1	4	-	48
Smith	5	3	-	-	-	8
Industry	1	2	-	-	-	3
Carpenter	1	4	-	-	-	5
Farmer	2	13	-	-	-	15
Roofer-thatcher	1	5	-	-	-	6
Coolie	-	-	-	-	-	2
Cycle-repair	2	-	-	-	-	2
Weaver	-	2	-	-	-	2
Coach-bike-shaw	1	1	-	-	-	2
Dyer	-	1	-	-	-	1
Kalker	-	1	-	-	-	1
Government	1	1	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	1
Bamboo dealer	1	-	-	-	-	1
Military	1	-	-	-	-	1
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Sailor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Sandman	1	3	-	-	-	4
Teacher	-	2	-	-	-	2
Barber	-	1	-	-	-	1
Teamster	-	1	-	-	-	1
Laundryman	-	1	-	-	-	1
Unknown	2	9	-	1	-	12
None	4	11	1	-	-	16

Bahau OC5
Makassar OG6
Batak OD5
Bali OF7

[426 cont.]
567 masters if he can find someone who is willing to pay his debt to his master. This is more or less a brighter side of bondage, because a bondman can, if he has a bad master, at least try to improve his lot. Apart from this difference, bondage and slavery are very much alike. Many people look down on bondmen with as much disdain as on slaves.

MK 567 In Celebes, more specifically among the Buginese and Makassarese, persons become slaves through debts. It can happen that a person has many debts, his own or inherited ones, which he cannot pay himself and which the family refuses to pay. If the creditor agrees that the person may work for him until the debt has been paid, then he becomes a bondman, but if the creditor is not satisfied with that and neither the sovereign nor the hadat (state council) loans the money, then the debtor is sold (1) and becomes the slave of whomever buys him. Furthermore, one becomes a slave by selling himself, by being sold as a prisoner of war, or as punishment for wrongdoing against the state council or the sovereign.

#426 727

1. Niemann, "De Latowa," Bijdr. T., L. en Vlk. v. Ned. Ind., 4th series, Vol. VIII, p. 227.

MK BC BI 567 764 The slaves may be declared free if the behave well or if they buy their freedom.

[427] A special instance when slaves are declared free is at funerals. We mentioned this earlier for Bali; here we want to point to the Batak and Buginese among whom the same custom exists (1).

1. Van der Tuuk, Bat. Wrdb., see mangalopas (lopasan). Neumann, Tijdschrift Ned. Aard. Gen., Vol. IV, p. 40.

Batak OD5
Javanese OE5
Gorontalo OG4
Minangkabau OD10
Makassar OG6
Ambon OH4
Buru OH8
Moluccas OH1

[436 cont.]

Mn 423 452 volken v. d. Ind. Archipel," Bijdragen T., L. en Vlk, v. Ned. Ind., 1888.

mortgage is not given for a limited period and thus never reverts to the creditor, but may be redeemed at any time. The amount of the mortgage, as a rule less than the value of the property, is paid all at once. The property then passes into the hands of the lender, who from that moment on has the use of the land as interest for the money advanced by him, whereas the owner or owners cannot claim any rights over the land, as long as the advance has not been paid back. Through this contract, the security, the land, actually becomes the property of the creditor and his assigns temporarily.

Mn [578] MK A Bu MD Bt 423 426 J G 426 Mortgages often lead to disputes, because everything is arranged by verbal agreement and generations may pass before the redemption takes place. This type of mortgaging occurs frequently in the archipelago. [437] It occurs also among the Batak, in the Moluccas, among the Alfoer of Buru, among those of the Ambonese islands, among the Makassarese and Buginese, etc. On Java, in the Sunda lands, it is called ngagade sawah. It is unknown among the Alfoer of the Minahasa.

c. Among the Batak

Bt 423 [631] Land tenure among the Batak is regulated in the same way as among the Alfoer of the Minahasa and on Sumatra's west coast. Here the political unit is the kuria, which became the administrative unit under our administration. The lands here thus belong to the kuria; according to their legal status, they are distinguished as wastelands and cleared lands. The former are communal and the latter individual property. Here, however, we do not find the division into private and family lands, because the inheritance as a rule is divided, and the lands acquired by inheritance are private property just like the

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

● 426 They say that there are not many who have run up debts
465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to
499 borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
466 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at
[435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f.30 per month, and one meal costs about f.1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f.1 per day.

563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop-
443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The
472 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only
433 manufacturing center in the area.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the
661 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.

208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa-
668 ganda against it coming from Makassar, But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.

J 12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
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586 Makassar OG6
Java OE1
Celebes OG1

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586 423 425 594 I

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● MK I 423 594 562 ● 426

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462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The 462 household always constitutes the center of these activities. 592 Male members of the household work together at these jobs. [476] Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a single house are insufficient for a certain job.

241 By no means does every house have its own plow. 592 Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

[556]

1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangenre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

[602] is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

[609 427] although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

476 Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each 602 other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friedericy). This
565 fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to
another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded.
582 But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman.
829 I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States, something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indonesian man in the United States could marry an American woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed. Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the
567 Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I des-
●427 cribed the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?) The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens, and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food. When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that formerly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they were.

000 One thing about education: the business man asked if I could take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told him to write the Institute for International Education in New York.

769 Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of the old belief in present practice, including information concerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the countryside people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a sense, were ancestors.

126 I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in
124 the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the women were very proud. Also the children remained pests.

The camera, as usual, made quite an impression. In 126
general, rapport was good, and I came back in the afternoon 124
to give my assistant more paper. He drew a fine rough map of the kampong and is a very good man. But I need to have an expansion of many of his answers [to RK's questionnaire]. The trouble is that it is hard for me to read Malay. I have to get around it by having it translated into Dutch!

Balombaru, September 1, 1949. Second day: This time 124
without Rahim. I have arranged, I think, to have a man type up Saleh's notes in Dutch. I got to the house at 8:30 A.M., and looked over some pages to give to the translator. The material consists of page after page of complete census data, house by house, giving age, occupation, family connections, and so forth. I can also check the material with the accompanying map. Saleh did a fine job; he is a remarkable fellow. Rahim says that although he went only as far as the lower school, he reads a lot and is interested in things in general.

First, I talked over the census with Saleh, his hadji father, his cousin's helper at gold work, and the old bearded sea captain carpenter. Then, after coffee we went off on a ride around the kampong following his good map. We went 339
first to the cement factory, run by a Makassarese named 472
Liyu who was once a poor man but learned a lot about business and has now become the richest individual in the village. He owns the cement factory. It is located near a river, where the big praus used to be able to sail in near the old market place (twenty-five years ago). The river here is now a wide, dry bed. In the distance is Gusungdjonga where Saleh's father lives. It is an island in the wet season. I noted the remnants of a bamboo bridge going across to the other side. It was standing one hundred years ago. The cement factory, with four big kiln chimneys in two buildings together with several other buildings, uses local lime rock and wood from the nearby woods. The rock is broken up and put into the blazing ovens at the top of the fire. It comes out as fine cement. Because of the great amount of road building going on now sales are way up. On the bank of the river are many big heaps of sand, and plenty of trucks to haul it away. Also, Saleh says that there are plenty of men working here. I took a photograph of the factory. Liyu's house, a big one, is situated nearby.

Then we went to the site of the old pasar, in the center of 563
the village. On one side we noted a row of cement houses 427
rented by the radja to Chinese, who can't own the land. Nor

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
764 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photograph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photograph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
782 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
412 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers, etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This belonged to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
743 leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map) [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss
758 Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows. These dwelling places are much better than native houses. There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the children especially get leprosy, and that when children are born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

428 471 602 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong

1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there-
[241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

231 556 612 2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes, goats, horses) among the three groups is as follows:

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 471 558 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 556 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be regarded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

627 671 682 684 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation. Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she [626]

1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often remarried very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lale).

A man and a woman who flee together generally get 588 married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet "a socially recognized union between members of the opposite sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question. The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter, and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from [428] her parents (1).

428 588 /216 cont./

1. The religious judge (sjarat) acknowledges the share of the inheritance which is due her, but in the case of an "ordinary" division, that is to say, a division which takes place without the religious judge, her existence is officially ignored. At the most this relationship is used as a pretext, without being expressly stated as such, to leave the estate entirely or partially undivided.

593 684 627 [539]

The first person eligible to act when a woman has taken part in a contact situation is her brother. A little poem illustrates this:

Sari'battangadji todjeng,	Only the brother is the true,
iadji kalli' madjarre';	he alone is the strong fence,
pindu' tjikali	where cousins
naempoi ranggasela.	of the sixth and fourth degree waver.

[602]

There is no mention here of the girl's father. He is the one who must give the official consent to the marriage and later to the reconciliation, but if his son does not agree, he gets into difficulties. Officially, all male kinsmen of the woman are siri' when she has fled, but those who take an active part in such a case are, in the first place, her brother and sometimes also a cousin of the fourth degree, or a follower (2) of her father. The boundaries cannot be sharply

2. "His siri' is that of his master," it is said.

Redjang-Lampong OD12
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

[94 cont.]

R-L 411 292

Prunkwaffen' [Criticism of Schmeltz' Indonesian Ceremonial Weapons'], " Ind. Gids, 1890, Vol. II, pp. 1808 ff.

side, sometimes on the left (4) [Ed., footnote 4 is missing]. For court attire it is always worn on the right side, because then a large chopper and a small knife are worn on the left as symbols of readiness to chop down a tree or to cut grass at the slightest command of the sovereign. If one is wearing the kris against the back, it is required as a matter of politeness that when visiting some one it be pushed to the left side so that the point of the sheath is visible in front and the hilt remains hidden behind the left shoulder.

J 411 773 174

The kris is greatly venerated by the peoples who use it, especially the Javanese. The kris is so important a weapon in the eyes of the Javanese that there are various legends concerning its origin. Usually the introduction of this weapon is attributed to the famous mythological hero, Raden Pandji. Raffles, however, mentioned [95] a legend about an old prince from the Hindu period, Sakcetram or Sapoetram, who came into the world with a kris at his side. Javanese historica accounts are full of legends about holy and miraculous krises. Krises are prominent not only among the Javanese, but also among the Malays, the Buginese, and Makassarese, both as a ceremonial ornament of sovereigns and as pusaka or heirlooms that are passed on from generation to generation (1).

MK MI J 411 301 428

1. Veth, Java, Vol. I, pp. 612-613. Schmeltz, "Indonesische Prunkwaffen," Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr., Vol. III, pp. 107 ff.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some used only for fishing, others only for trade. [501]

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 721
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. 000
During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today. The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and [439]
import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is hardly worth speaking of.

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. Formerly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C. [probably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East India Company)--Analyst] coins and also kepeng. Now they still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me. 436 178

As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including 177
four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were 489
three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. 493
There is much travel by bus today.

As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic 428
and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main 562
thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance 591
it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that 611
the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one. But the girls generally get the house. This is important because the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more property than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Nevertheless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he [578]
might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really excited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would fight, and even knife him.

although he told me that they were "his people". He said 535
that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would 565
be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He 567
said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may
not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one [435 782]
of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must
pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And
even later, when they are no longer able to perform as
padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry.
The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and
he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner
who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the
kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as
padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prosti-
tutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are
not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fif-
teen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot,
and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese danc-
ing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be
a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, dead-
pan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They
are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and
chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fasci-
nated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically
doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job
because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth.
The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and
their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented
out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with
cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also pow-
dered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older
and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother
said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There 574
were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the 431
birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty 181
of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about be- 576
fore the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around
in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and 567
finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer [292]
came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very
humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been
ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought
immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I
have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic ex-
amples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f.88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f.12 and a commoner might pay
567 f.22 or f.44. They said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
[588] must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

176 with ingenious gears, and two spools. It also has a circular
401 shutter in front, and is fantastically clever. The Sulewatang
403 and Andi both said it was a great pity that he had no training.
874 He is a fine lad. He had three rolls of old newsreels and travel pictures and showed them after someone lent him a few batteries. One of the films was broken. Evidently he is called upon to show the same old films quite often and as a result they are wearing out. I was quite impressed with the Sulewatang's and Andi's strong statement regarding the lack of schools for such men here. Later I told Thierens, and he said he would see if he could not send the lad to Makassar for training. His machine really works well. He even has a wheel for a string arrangement if he gets a small motor. It reminded me of the old man in Balombaru who had made a match head cap pistol for his son and also a model Makassarese prau, with a propeller, with an auxiliary motor rigged up from an alarm clock. It could run over a hundred meters. There is certainly technical skill here that could be developed.

565 We left the party and the Sulewatang came with us to stay
574 at the local Sulewatang's house (Kepala wanua Tumurun,
● 431 which he was formerly). This lad, a young and quite bright
156 fellow, is his nephew. He was going to visit the Aru Tau in Watumpone, where his wife had recently given birth to a child. They evidently visit around with fellow nobles a lot, and this takes up much of their time. I tried to bring the Kepala kampong into the conversation at the Sulewatang Tumurun's house, where he was sitting to one side. However, the two uppers would not let me. They were uninterested in the Kepala kampong. This peculiar disregard for any human qualities in preference to rank is a pain to me. The old Sulewatang asked me to show him United States currency. I was sure he would want some for a souvenir. He asked me to get him a nylon shirt from the United States. I think it is because he has always been used to asking for what he could get for nothing from the poor people here. These nobles have only to ask for things from the masses and the latter dare not refuse (honor?).

696 Incidental: The Sulewatang said that the kampong where the feast is being held was not a former fugitive kampong, as Andi had told me. But at any rate they evidently had such kampongs at one time as both of them knew about the matter.

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323 462] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly
262 there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco,
241 Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts.

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

4216 They say that there are not many who have run up debts
465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to
499 borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
466 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at
[435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f.30 per month, and one meal costs about f.1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f.1 per day.

563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop-
443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The
472 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only
433 manufacturing center in the area.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the
661 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.

208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa-
668 ganda against it coming from Makassar, But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.

I had many talks at random, especially with Thierens. He 181
is willing to work, but says it is only toward a dim future. The
police official (Aru Pontjeng) and his son (Aru Matjege, head
of the local government) especially, see that things are not
good. Everything is inefficient and childish. I met the former
one day, and at once he asked my impression. I dodged his
question and he said at least everyone eats here. I said yes,
but many were slaves. He was shocked, but saw my point,
I will talk with him again. I told Thierens that questions, es-
pecially of the kampong folk and even of Andi and the Sulewa-
tang, showed that the people were ripe for economic education.
They are puzzled. And they take to such talk. Thierens said
that they get scared, and agreed that they go on governmental
business trips in order to get away from problems. The truth 423
is, it is too poor a land. Then too, it is feudal. Thierens told 566
me a secret. I had seen private fish ponds belonging to the
Arumpone in Palette, near the sea. He told me that near that
place entire kampongs are working in the service of the arum-
pone. It is quite medieval. But perhaps the only way to oper-
ate this place is to keep serfs and slaves. At least they eat.
But what hope is there for a rise of standards? For example, 653
I asked how they built roads and schools. Andi said heeren- 434
dienst [literally 'master's service']. I then said that if that
were true, how would they pay for the increasing number of
teachers. For that they would need money too. I said that they
had rice, maize, and men--and that is all. The answer I do
not know. As Thierens said, for the past forty years they have 185
grown more and more used to Western administration. Now, 434
they must keep things up to Western standards of speed and ef-
ficiency. They have neither, but they do have even grander
ideas than the Dutch gave them concerning the future. They try
to reach outward to a level of speed approximating that which
the Dutch represented, and so forth. Instead they become dizzy.
They are desperate. And even with the help of the Dutch (and
Pontjeng said right away that they co-operate with the Dutch),
how can they pay the Dutch and give them enough security in-
ducement unless they have the money. In all, it is a non-pay-
ing daerah, and my guess is that the whole of East Indonesia is
a non-paying negara. The only way out seems to be to get Java
and Sumatra, and perhaps, in part, Borneo, to pay the bills;
or to slip into a peasant economy and drop all ideas of grandeur
and of a great and prosperous future with schools, etc.

Tomorrow, August 30, 1949, I am leaving for Makassar. 000

and the five days circulate around them. Then, another 443
circle runs east into the Tanette Riatang wanua, where there 366
are four markets in different kampongs. That circle gears
in with the big market at Watumpone too.

I asked whether the range of distance from which the people 489
come to market has increased with the use of buses. They 493
said that it probably had. They also mentioned bicycles as
another easing factor in getting to the market place.

As for education, much discussion resulted. Andi in 871
particular seemed to be critical of the educational possibilities 434
here. He said they would like to progress, but were unable to. 464
They have only lower, and I think, middle schools in Watumpone. However, they are building another school now. Up to this month schools have been free, and the children have thronged to classes. But Andi said that now they expected a sharp drop. He said that if they charged even five cents a month it would be too much for many. (Later Thierens said that he doubted this and also that there was so little money in the kampong. He added that they could get jobs as coolies as there was a big demand for this type of labor. For example, they could work on roads at f.50 a month. The point seems to be, however, that they do not want to. He has a dim view of their energy, and perhaps he is right.) No one in the kampong has attended the University. Some have gone to middle school and many have attended lower school. Quite a few (?), relatively speaking, have gone to Makassar, and they must do so if they wish to get further education, for example, by going to normal school (except for the teachers school for the villages in Watumpone). Evidently, few, if any, go outside of
Indonesia for education. There are Mohammedan schools in 871
the village. I asked about their support. They said that the 578
arus gave money from their own funds, and also got some contributions. They received no money from the Bone treasury. At this point they became irritated, saying that in South Celebes if schools are Christian they get a subsidy from the treasury, but this is not so if the schools are Mohammedan. (Maybe they meant that the government schools should be included too when they said, "why should not the religious (Mohammedan) schools get funds too, since this is a Mohammedan country?") Anyway, there is a great deal of feeling on this matter. Formerly there was much feeling against education, and there still is to some extent, especially by the lowers. But, increasingly, more and more want it. I told what I had heard about even the radjas not wanting their children to go to Makassar for more than a few years. They said that that was generally so, and Andi again said that Bone is quite backward.

library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but 000
this was no longer the case. Thus few people read. There are
no newspapers here, and only a few, for example, the teachers, 212
read papers from Makassar or from places like Java. Very 204
few indeed ever write. (The Minangkabau man said that there 538
are no creative writers here at all, but that in Java and
Sumatra there are many. He is probably right.) They do not
even write letters here. They did not know that their script [171]
came from India originally, and they were surprised when I [123]
gave a talk on old Indic script. As for Chinese, they teach
their own language to their children and the latter also learn 871
Buginese, as adults do. Nevertheless, Chinese children al- 868
ways have a decided accent. They go mainly to their own
school. The Toradja in Tolangi speak Toradja when their
relatives visit them, but speak Buginese well in addition.

As for the radio, there are only a few in the area and only 207
radio owners and their families listen to broadcasts. During
the Japanese time there was a central loud speaker for propa-
ganda which was set up in the market place at Watumpone.
They agreed that if they had one set up now many would listen
to it.

As for movies, they say that everyone loves them. Never- 517
theless, many never go at all, especially the poor and the 434
farmers who live in remote places. Those near Watumpone 546
go a lot. The prices are: f.2 for the first [i.e., best seats--
Analyst], f.1 for the second, and f.0.25 for the third. Most
people want the latter. Most of the films are from the United
States and England. They talk constantly about war films.
Later I learned that these are the ones which came out during
the war in the United States and which are just now getting
into Indonesia. Also I found out later that newsreels which
are amazingly old are also shown. It takes years for films
to get out here. In addition, they have some very old Malay
films, evidently made in Singapore before the war. They had
seen many cowboy pictures. Later on the old Sulewatang
showed me that he had learned much about the United States
from the movies. He was especially impressed by the ice-
dancing Sonja Henie films. He could not understand why she
did not fall down. Children in particular love movies and [857]
Andi said they remember entire stories and tell them over
and over again. Later I heard a woman say that her maid
thinks movies are wonderful. People here talk about cowboy
(accent on the last syllable), chorus girl dancing, etc. Andi
said they liked the war films a lot and also the ones with fist
fighting.

554 /86 cont./ he has built up in his life. The more days and
585 nights the festival lasts, the more guests (largely kinsmen) present, the more buffaloes slaughtered, and the more spacious the pannjambungi (the extension built onto the front of the house for this occasion), the higher is his standing. But the
[583] bride price, sunrang, is the element of marriage which permits the clearest measurable evaluation.

The sunrang is not simply handed over to the wife's kin
583 group by the man and his kin group. It is present at the contracting of the marriage (nikka'). The marriage official records the amount in the marriage register in reals (1), an

[435]

1. A real was, and still is, valued at 2 guldens. The coin itself, the real, is not seen at these payments. It became too rare for that.

old species of coin which has long disappeared from /87/ circulation. The woman's kin group frequently demands that the sunrang be paid entirely in specie (rix-dollars or guldens), but usually this happens only in part. The balance is paid by giving a sawah or a buffalo. As a symbol of such a transaction, a handful of earth (from the sawah) or a nose ring (of the
[415] buffalo) is added to the specie, which is contained in a flat, round copper box (kampu), used only at a marriage. The kampu also contains various kinds of leaves and a piece of wood, whose names signify "high," "rich," "rising," and "expanding." That is what one wishes for the sunrang and, at the same time, for the woman's group of relatives, the best possible wish.

The sunrang cannot be just any amount; it is always an
[659] even figure. It is fixed by the local authorities, in this case, the Self-government of Goa. In part it is linked to a specific status (ordinary people), in part to a certain function (the adat

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583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
589 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
[582] in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary argument to explain the fact that a large number of women remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also used as an "explanation" for the existence of marriage by flight. It is safer to assume that in times like those after 1929, the number of marriages by flight increased somewhat through a gradual adjustment toward new relationships with regard to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance, cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts, and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a previous one.

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435 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
583 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
585 same amount as a number of years before. The members of

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435 /162 cont./ such a group did not like to admit this toward
583 the outside world, however. It is true, therefore, that during
585 this time it repeatedly happened that a marriage did not take place, on account of the amounts which in their own opinion should be spent on the wedding feast.

But this state of affairs did not last long. Initially, it was still agreed among kinsmen that the old amount would be maintained outwardly, but that in reality they would be satisfied with less. Outwardly, the social standing of the group of relatives thereby remained on the same level. But gradually the amounts were adjusted to the new conditions, though little or nothing was thereby changed in the intent of the feast or in the entertainment of the guests.

/163/ By the same token, scarcely any difference could be observed between a wedding feast in 1940 and one celebrated in 1949 in the same group, even though in that period the valuation of sawahs and buffaloes increased by about tenfold. While in 1940 one buffalo and one goat were killed for the feast, in 1949 one buffalo and two goats were killed for the occasion. In 1949 one naturally never heard the complaint, either, that a marriage could not come about because of the excessive expenses of the wedding. In its striking frequency, this complaint remained confined to the beginning of the 1930's. The high expenses are nevertheless still named today as an excuse whenever other reasons which one does not like to mention make a certain marriage undesirable (1).

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1. Kampong Bontorambo numbered 22 widows and 13 widowers who had not remarried, that is, fully 4 percent of the total of 787 residents. Only two married men and two married women appeared

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, 203
and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting 666
on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems 624
that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the 596
head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his
clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs.
Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like
Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc
splits.

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van 778
Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, 565
kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the
karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he
was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave.
As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next 574
door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and
the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people
around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a
broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-
Heekeren.

The store has a brick underwall, and a house above. It
appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and
berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always ac-
cepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim
talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked be-
tween ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United 872
States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim 346
said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in 494
a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen 198
the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it ap- 435
peared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual
style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used
Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling,
but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth
grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further
schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong,
[i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa,
and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is
quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather
far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later.
That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I 212
asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim
said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general.
He added that there was a press in Makassar.

123 chosen to remain in office he then goes back to where he
609 came from. This evidently was quite something to them. I always added that this was neither better nor worse, but just a different way of doing things. I think I put the point across. I said that in the United States we had large houses and big buildings because the weather was so cold. But basically the principles were the same. I said that they used bamboo for struts and supports while we used steel. They used clay to work where we use cement. Then I brought up the point that they knew considerable about the United States as a result of having seen many moving pictures. On the other hand, we know nothing about Makassar.

272 At this point, without any pressing business, the Kepala kampong called for some coconut water. We had quite a time about the word coconut milk in English. Someone was told to strip a few coconuts and the coconut water was quite good, although I could see that it would spoil rapidly. It was served in glasses, though Rahim asked first if I preferred it from the
[833] nut directly. In Bontorio it is said that this coconut water causes impotence, but the men drank it.

563 The assistant showed me some silver filigree work. It
326 struck me as mediocre, but I said that it was fine. Later van
439 der Wetering, Secretary of the Centrum Cultureel Stichting [Cultural Foundation Center] in Makassar, said that it was poor and made for the tourist trade. They use a kind of tamarind acid to clean such silver work. It is actually quite banal. One fellow said that the Chinese brought the silver
● 435 from Hongkong and gave it to the smiths. Later they bought the finished article back and sold it. The fellow who was the constructor of the building said that there was much trouble nowadays. He needed a truck but could get one only by paying f.80 per day. But he could make only f.75 per day. When I commented: apa boleh buat [what can be done about it?] they laughed.

829 We talked about mobility and change from generation to generation. I said that in the United States a son seldom followed the trade of his father. Although this was not too clear they seemed to be surprised. They implied that if the father was a smith, his son would be one also.

609 After a hearty farewell, we went back to the Karaeng. He
156 was there, and there were still many people around. We went in and noted that the atmosphere was entirely different. He is a kind of United States business man in type. He is close mouthed and position-proud. Perhaps he was just embarrassed. However, I missed the give and take that was so

621 the border of wanua Palaka, kampong Tjabalu on the west,
it is four kilometers also. This western part is thus a
632 square. On the east side of the road, along the Watampone
101 border, it is only six hundred meters along the street to
131 the Ta border. But then the east border sweeps eastward in
102 a long curve so that on the northern side along the border of
Tjelapa, the northern border runs two kilometers from the
main road. (See rough map, page 46, field notes)[P.266 here]

871 There are two schools in Bukaka, one a religious school
435 and the other a village school. They are near the Watampone
556 border on the main road, or just off it. There are also ten
private Koran schools. There are about six hundred hadjis
here. I met one, a smug young man. And I teased him about
being one of the few rich men in town, but he said that it was
perhaps, if the family resources were pooled, six thousand
guilders. He remarked that ten thousand guilders was really
a great fortune here. Incidentally, the Sulewatang said that
the high figures given for the old days were somewhat off.
Prices were overvalued.

131 In the wanua, running eastward to the sea from Bukaka, are
361 the kampongs Penyula and Ta side by side; then Paopao,
Tibodjong (very small) and Tamaüsing, side by side; then
Toro, Tjelu, Lapobatua, Biru, and Palingorung, all side by
side (the latter two jut out to the south); then Badjoë and Maloi,
side by side (the former on the sea, the latter juts out to the
south); and finally, along the curve of the sea, Rompe. I for-
got to say that these really do not jut out, as Watampone is
also part of the wanua and it is to the south of Bukaka, Ta,
Tamaüsing. Thus the appearance seems to be roughly that
621 of a triangle. Aside from Watampone, each of the fifteen
kampongs has a kepala kampong. And within each of the kam-
pongs there are varying numbers of hamlets. Thus Bukaka
has three, Penyula has one, Ta three, Paopao two, Tibodjong
one, Tamaüsing one, Lapobatua one. I could not get any
information on the other kampongs, but will find out later. The
biggest kampongs, in order, are: Tjelu, Bukaka, Badjoë.
Others are small. Bukaka is the oldest.

368 The big misigit [mesjid, mosque] is used by Bukaka, Ta,
and Watampone. Other kampongs having misigit are: Penyula,
Badjoë, Paopao, Lapobatua, and Palingorung, thus there are
six in all.

632 In Bone, Andi says, there are twenty-one wanua. Seven
565 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, how-
ever, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua
there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

Again I had several men at the house, including a fairly high turunan radja. We went through about one half of the notes. I asked about the high percentage of unmarried women here and told them that the census reported that this was caused by the high prices. Saleh said no, the price was only f.88 for upper classes and f.20 for a slave. But I noted that he couldn't go to normal school because of the f.65. But, he said, there are ways of getting around this price. For example, one might give a rice field or something in kind rather than money. He said the trouble was mainly in the higher class, as it was hard to find suitable mates. But if it is too difficult one can move down a peg for a mate, but the result then is that the children are of lower status or class. The upper class man said that Fredericy's [i.e., H.J. Friedericy, De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren--Analyst] estimate of 40 pure ana' patola in Goa was rather high. He said that now there is only one, a woman. I think he said that she is not married, but I am not sure. Saleh agreed that it is also possible to run off and thus have a lower price. He also said that there is no real marriage unless the price is paid. All the fussy details apply mainly to the upper classes. And there again I see the fault in the Dutch material. They write of the uppers mostly. There is an absolute rule, a taboo, on a lower man marrying an upper woman [hypergamy]. Punishment for this was formerly death, by drowning. They agreed that this was looked upon as incest and as being sufficient cause of disaster for all. Such results as failure of the rice crop and so forth, might be expected. They put it that the mountains would refuse to send the rain. They laughed when I read from the notes that there was little divorce here because it was so hard to replace a wife. They seemed to agree that there was very little divorce. They said there was relatively little polygamy too, but the old sea captain has two wives now and has had many more. The two never lived together in polygamy now, he said, because they fight. Formerly, they could live in the same house. The present Radja of Goa has two wives.

583 565 435 114 [684] 586 595

Literacy: Saleh said to be careful regarding percentage figures on literacy. He said that everybody learns to read (or at least most people) Makassarese, and many learn to write it. It is taught in school, and also in the homes. Thus he might teach his wife if she were illiterate. He said that in the kampong 70 per cent of the people can read Makassarese and 30 per cent can write it. The figures are lower for Arabic and Roman letters. He has some figures in the material he gave me. He said that school children learn Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic.

212

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy
having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the
gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of
boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only
to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood
clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circum-
cision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with
a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but
but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Sa[illegible] said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind bein[illegible]". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (mar[illegible] circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. [illegible] along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitute[illegible]er young girls. At the out- 567
side they are fourteen t[illegible]een years old. After that they 535
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are
none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including
two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to
have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the
line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have
the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble
The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere
chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-
way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles
and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

426 They say that there are not many who have run up debts
465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
499 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and
466 elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at
[435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f.30 per month, and one meal costs about f.1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f.1 per day.

563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop-
443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The
472 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only
433 manufacturing center in the area.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the
661 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.

208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa-
668 ganda against it coming from Makassar. But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.

although he told me that they were "his people". He said 535
that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would 565
be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He 567
said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may
not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one [435] ●
of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must [582]
pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And
even later, when they are no longer able to perform as
padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry.
The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and
he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner
who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the
kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as
padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prosti-
tutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are
not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fif-
teen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot,
and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese danc-
ing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be
a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, dead-
pan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They
are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and
chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fasci-
nated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically
doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job
because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth.
The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and
their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented
out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with
cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also pow-
dered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older
and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother
said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There 574
were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the 431
birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty 181
of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about be- 576
fore the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around 567
in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and [292]
finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer
came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very
humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been
ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought
immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I
have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic ex-
amples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. They said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
588 must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
●435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
505 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

M 838 548 had looked boldly at me, unlike most women here. Maybe she was really a girl, but a prostitute, but on the other hand it may have been a homosexual. I know I was impressed by the frank stare and thought I noticed something a bit odd about the person.

The doctor told me that one day a soldier came in with gonorrhea and that he was on the trail of the woman carrier. So there are prostitutes here.

M 285 435 On the way back I stopped to look at an orchid fiber basket woven with a pretty design and colors. The price was f. 0.60. Andi wanted a photograph of me to keep, so I gave him one.

C 117 I left Watampone on Sunday, October 9, two weeks late. I will be able to get a ship going to Ambon on October 14 or 15 which is good, because it means I will have lost only two weeks.

Makassar: I went to the KPM and found that the Raeal sails for Ambon on the 14th or 15th. I can stay there until December 17, returning to Makassar December 20. Then I will sail to Sumbawa on December 23, arriving December 24. I still do not know of any later sailings. This means I will cut Sumbawa short, but have a full two months period in Ambon. I also went to Fort Rotterdam and talked with Rahim.

C 172 114 [171] I had a talk with van Heekeren who is delighted at the results of his trip to a neolithic site in Galumpang. He is somewhat irritated because the government will not give him more money for this research. They seem to spend most of their funds for restoring monuments. This checks with my complaint about Dutch archeology. Formerly they spent lots of time and money on Hindu-Javan remains but little on the prehistoric. Van Heekeren tells me that he has to spend a great deal of his own money. His budget is very low, but even at that he cannot get more funds. He has two other sites located along the Karama River. He said that the layers are not very thick, made up mostly of limestone and rubble. He said that these are the first neolithic sites to be worked in Indonesia. He had all of the stone materials out on a table. Included were arrow points, adzes (he said that they were the first ones found in Indonesia [??]), axes, grinding stones, and a remarkable all-stone tapa beater with grooves, which he said is like the beaters found in the Philippine Islands. There were also lots of sherds, with pretty designs. Many of these designs are similar to those used by the Toradja today, especially on cloth.

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. 000
During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today. The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and [439]
import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is hardly worth speaking of.

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. For- 436
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the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one. But the girls generally get the house. This is important because the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more property than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Nevertheless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he [578]
might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really excited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would fight, and even knife him.

423 /43 cont./ noteworthy that of these 20 landowners, 12 lived in
471 kampong Romangpolong situated very close to Bontoramba, where the Kapala of Bontoramba has a large number of kinsmen.

471 The following figures indicate how the sawah land is distributed over the various houses.

556 The inhabitants of 25 out of the total of 133 houses own
612 more than 1 hectare of sawah land. Twenty-one of these are houses belonging to the Kapala group, and 4 belong to the Rest. The inhabitants of 8 of these 25 houses own more than 2 hectares, and of these, 7 belong to the Kapala group, 1 to the Rest. Only one man has more than 3 hectares; in fact, he owns 7.5 hectares of sawah land. He owes this to his own abilities.

The relationship of individuals to their land, as is apparent from these figures, may therefore be stated quite simply. The administrative kampong boundaries (2) do not appear to be

[622]

2. The kapala collects the taxes on all land located in his kampong territory. He takes care that all men who live there and are able to perform work carry out their services. He reports offences committed in his district, etc.

relevant to the location of land which belongs to kampong residents. Landownership is not restricted by kampong territory.

311 The distance from the living quarters to the fields is,
423 generally speaking, small. The land of the majority of people is located in their own kampong and in one of the kampongs adjoining it. Those who owned land in Tjambaja also had land in Bontoramba itself. This shows that people do not purchase or work /44/ land at a greater distance away until they already own some in their immediate vicinity. The exchange of land
437 between people having land in each other's kampong of residence,
425 with the intention that both will have a piece of land close by, instead of one far removed from their house, occurs regularly.

177 554 576 /133 cont./ Even modern Makassarese find these forms of conduct stiff. They make fun of them but are incapable of changing them, and rather than be impolite they leave the table hungry.

177 554 576 437 A public auction in the Makassarese environment is merely a caricature of what the Western jurists who initiated it had in mind. If a higher person bids, lower person does not dare to outbid him. Accordingly, he asks a man of higher status, an equal of the first bidder, who is favorably inclined toward him, to make a bid for him.

177 554 576 622 437 The head of the community concerned does not like to participate in the bidding personally. He runs the chance of being unexpectedly outbid by an ignorant stranger in Makassarese country. This signifies a challenge to him, and he must continue to bid much more than the object is worth to him in order not to suffer a defeat in the eyes of his subjects. And if the competitive bidding is done by a Dutch lady, as might occur in a small administrative settlement, then he is left merely with a laugh about such a "challenge."

177 554 576 626 A soccer game is based upon the equality of the players. But if a karaëng takes part in the game, there can no longer be any question of equality /134/ (1). When the karaëng

1. The fact that, according to a newspaper report from the Netherlands, Prince Bernhard had gained third prize in a steeplechase was regarded as a gross discourtesy on the part of the two winners.

shouted "Run out" (bakkai) to his goalkeeper, the forward of the opposing team who was running toward him interpreted this as a command directed at him; he stopped, and the

Madura OE6

New Guinea OJ1
Makassar OG6
Orang Laut OB4
Malays AN5
Java OE1

N [389 cont.]
439 of the coastal regions. In various parts of the archipelago, however, there are examples of trade serving as the principal means of support for those who practice it. The Buginese and the Makassarese, for instance, have been known for centuries as navigators and traders. Even today the Mandarese carry on a lively trade with proas to Singapore, the Moluccas, Batavia, and Padang, which has been able to survive despite the competition proa-trade faces from the steamships (1).

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[439]

1. See L. van Vuuren, "De prauwvaart van Celebes [The Proa-Trade of Celebes]," Koloniale Studien, Vol. I.

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439 Other peoples of the archipelago also have such a special genius for trade that for many among them trading is their principal means of livelihood. The Malayans are first among them, both those of the Riau Archipelago and the Minangkabau; Malayan [390] traders, as well as Buginese, are established everywhere in the large coastal places of the archipelago, while others among them are traders who travel from place to place. On Java a definite class of traders who make their living exclusively from it is found only in certain places, for example, Koedoes and Koetâ Gedé (or Pasar Gedé); the inhabitants of the small island of Bawéan, immediately north of Surabaja, also act as traders throughout the archipelago. While, as elsewhere, the retail trade in the pasar is of great importance to the native economy, even though for many it is a sideline, commission trade and wholesale trade are almost exclusively in the hands of Chinese and Europeans. It is strange that this should be so, since until about the beginning of the sixteenth century, Java had a monopoly on trade with the Spice Islands, while the Hindu-Javanese, until about this same time, were probably the only wholesalers from the archipelago (1).

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1. For native trade viewed primarily from an

123 chosen to remain in office he then goes back to where he
609 came from. This evidently was quite something to them. I always added that this was neither better nor worse, but just a different way of doing things. I think I put the point across. I said that in the United States we had large houses and big buildings because the weather was so cold. But basically the principles were the same. I said that they used bamboo for struts and supports while we used steel. They used clay to work where we use cement. Then I brought up the point that they knew considerable about the United States as a result of having seen many moving pictures. On the other hand, we know nothing about Makassar.

272 At this point, without any pressing business, the Kepala kampong called for some coconut water. We had quite a time about the word coconut milk in English. Someone was told to strip a few coconuts and the coconut water was quite good, although I could see that it would spoil rapidly. It was served in glasses, though Rahim asked first if I preferred it from the
[833] nut directly. In Bontorio it is said that this coconut water causes impotence, but the men drank it.

563 The assistant showed me some silver filigree work. It
326 struck me as mediocre, but I said that it was fine. Later van der Wetering, Secretary of the Centrum Cultureel Stichting
● 439 [Cultural Foundation Center] in Makassar, said that it was poor and made for the tourist trade. They use a kind of tamarind acid to clean such silver work. It is actually quite banal. One fellow said that the Chinese brought the silver
435 from Hongkong and gave it to the smiths. Later they bought the finished article back and sold it. The fellow who was the constructor of the building said that there was much trouble nowadays. He needed a truck but could get one only by paying f.80 per day. But he could make only f.75 per day. When I commented: apa boleh buat [what can be done about it?] they laughed.

829 We talked about mobility and change from generation to generation. I said that in the United States a son seldom followed the trade of his father. Although this was not too clear they seemed to be surprised. They implied that if the father was a smith, his son would be one also.

609 After a hearty farewell, we went back to the Karaëng. He
156 was there, and there were still many people around. We went in and noted that the atmosphere was entirely different. He is a kind of United States business man in type. He is close mouthed and position-proud. Perhaps he was just embarrassed. However, I missed the give and take that was so

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554 /109 cont./ completely to the established ideal, the more
565 followers, the greater the standing. But in view of the experience
571 with the adat community head's group of relatives who, even though on /110/ a lower level, gave the same representation of the matter, it is necessary to be careful here, too, so long as we must proceed entirely from unauthenticated reports.

178 The importance of the system of followers in the earlier
571 form described by Kooreman decreased. New forms arose; these are to be found in the big-city relationships of Macassar. In the country areas, the relationship of large landowner to day laborer is an example.

The system of followers in and around the city of Macassar
178 is observable wherever wealthy merchants earn their money
441 by means of the sale and purchase of rice and fish, sand and
571 stones. For their trade they employ a large number of people. This employment relationship can best be described as that of followers to their master in which the personal qualities of the merchant, the punggawa, are of overriding importance. Here, too, a follower avenges an insult done to his punggawa. Here, too, services performed -- frequently in addition to a fixed salary or piece wage -- are rewarded irregularly and in a general way. Here the punggawa also has a personal tie with a number of his people. When he dies his trade immediately goes down. His organization is built upon personal ties with his subordinates.

Large Landownership

491 Some characteristics of the system of followers can also
571 be found connected with large landownership (1), in the
466

1. No figures are available to indicate precisely when we can begin to speak of large

466 /112 cont./ koasa, sometimes called,
471 for purposes of differentiation,
571 "small representative"
(koasa tja'di).

One who owes his standing solely to his personal qualities
441 obtains no more in returns from his land than a person whose
471 standing is based entirely upon his descent, as might be expected
454 on rational economic grounds. During the postwar periods when many Makassarese merchants were earning large sums, one might have expected that many of them would have invested even a small part of their money in pices of land in the interior. One would have thought that they might have bought sawahs, or that at least they would have had large pieces of land entered in their name in the land-tax registers with the purpose of having them developed later. Nothing of this kind, however, appears from the Goa land-tax registers. The opinion of one of these merchants that he did buy jewelry with this money but no land because land is difficult to sell quickly if one needs money merely points to the direction in which the explanation must be looked for.

For a merchant who is not related to the nobility of Goa,
571 it is difficult to attach a good koasa to himself and through him
565 a large number of laborers. If he were to purchase several
554 pieces of land, his share in the harvest would not be worth the trouble. An ordinary kampong individual prefers to work the land of a prominent man from the karaëng group. In that he has confidence; it strengthens his position. A tie with a nobleman always appears valuable. On the other hand, so long as economic necessity is not coercive and the personality of the large landowner does not convince him of his special personal qualities, there is no reason for the kampong man to work for this wealthy stranger. In principle, this stranger is regarded as an equal with whom one can therefore

462 /144 cont./ whose older members supervise the younger
476 ones, and at the same time protect and lead them. This group forms a unit with respect to the group of men, but it does not act jointly otherwise.

462 The activities of women tie them to house and yard. Among their tasks are pounding rice, preparation of daily meals, festive meals, and offerings. Furthermore, they are charged with the spinning of yarn, weaving of sarongs, laundering and maintenance of clothes, and the care of small children. Except at harvest time women do not work in the sawahs (1).

[243]

1. A poor district, such as the vicinity of Takalar where plantings frequently have to be done several times because the first attempts fail, constitutes an exception. There the women help with planting.

[443] Older women who need a job on the side, sell home-made cookies at pasars and festivals. Sometimes they keep a small coffee warong /shop/.

177 At the present time a comparatively large number of
462 these activities have been taken away from the women. Spinning practically no longer occurs. Commercial yarns
[283] have taken the place of homespun products. During the Japanese period a temporary revival of spinning was note in a number of districts where the imported yarns could not fill the demand. Weaving decreased because of the large
[286] import of cheap sarongs. Only better ones continued to be woven at home. Where rice mills are established, pounding
[252] at home becomes an unnecessary drudgery (2).
[256]

117 /144 cont./ 2. As yet there is no rice mill in Goa. In the colonists' kampongs, 200 kilometers north of Macassar, the men do the pounding for the landowner, but not for their own consumption. Rice-pounding wages are high.
256

461 The spare time which women gained was not used
855 toward new objectives. It was devoted to small children who are not let out of sight for a moment. In the house or in the yard their own mother or one of the neighbor's girls is always with them. During the rest of the time women
461 visit each other. This promotes companionship and
574 strengthens their mutual ties. They exchange kampong and family news and drink coffee on these occasions. These visits are always paid in little groups of a number of older women and a few younger ones, nicely dressed, accompanied by one of their closest male kinsmen.

/145/ Men's work is in the sawahs in the broadest sense,
462 from manufacturing agricultural implements to carrying in sheaves of paddy. Furthermore, it is their job to work in the garden, to construct and repair the house, as well as to do all the little tasks in which wood or bamboo must be
443 cut down or worked. They run errands at the pasar (1) and
462

1. In early July, 1949, the visitors to the Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) were registered as 62 women and 904 men.

443 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They
462 go around alone or with a number of men of their own age. Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 The activities of men and women therefore complement
562 each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more helpless, if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding gardens.

562 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that
554 of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the
576 meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status
571 with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the
521 others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator may place himself in the center of the story since, after all, those present share in the standing he won in this manner. The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them. Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people, and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men, four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression.
562 Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and
571 go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned. Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are free in their actions and speech.

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua. M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads. M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over" M 471 443 563 M 461 463 C 647 563 152 829

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there
203 are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The
205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
563 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
161 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly
582 had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

and the five days circulate around them. Then, another circle runs east into the Tanette Riatang wanua, where there are four markets in different kampongs. That circle gears in with the big market at Watumpone too. 443 366

I asked whether the range of distance from which the people come to market has increased with the use of buses. They said that it probably had. They also mentioned bicycles as another easing factor in getting to the market place. 489 493

As for education, much discussion resulted. Andi in particular seemed to be critical of the educational possibilities here. He said they would like to progress, but were unable to. They have only lower, and I think, middle schools in Watumpone. However, they are building another school now. Up to this month schools have been free, and the children have thronged to classes. But Andi said that now they expected a sharp drop. He said that if they charged even five cents a month it would be too much for many. (Later Thierens said that he doubted this and also that there was so little money in the kampong. He added that they could get jobs as coolies as there was a big demand for this type of labor. For example, they could work on roads at f.50 a month. The point seems to be, however, that they do not want to. He has a dim view of their energy, and perhaps he is right.) No one in the kampong has attended the University. Some have gone to middle school and many have attended lower school. Quite a few (?), relatively speaking, have gone to Makassar, and they must do so if they wish to get further education, for example, by going to normal school (except for the teachers school for the villages in Watumpone). Evidently, few, if any, go outside of Indonesia for education. There are Mohammedan schools in the village. I asked about their support. They said that the arus gave money from their own funds, and also got some contributions. They received no money from the Bone treasury. At this point they became irritated, saying that in South Celebes if schools are Christian they get a subsidy from the treasury, but this is not so if the schools are Mohammedan. (Maybe they meant that the government schools should be included too when they said, "why should not the religious (Mohammedan) schools get funds too, since this is a Mohammedan country?") Anyway, there is a great deal of feeling on this matter. Formerly there was much feeling against education, and there still is to some extent, especially by the lowers. But, increasingly, more and more want it. I told what I had heard about even the radjas not wanting their children to go to Makassar for more than a few years. They said that that was generally so, and Andi again said that Bone is quite backward. 871 434 464 871 578

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

4216 They say that there are not many who have run up debts
465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to
499 borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
466 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at
[435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f.30 per month, and one meal costs about f.1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f.1 per day.

563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop-
443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The
472 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only
433 manufacturing center in the area.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the
661 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.

208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa-
668 ganda against it coming from Makassar, But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.

466 /112 cont./ koasa, sometimes called,
471 for purposes of differentiation,
571 "small representative"
(koasa tja'di).

One who owes his standing solely to his personal qualities
441 obtains no more in returns from his land than a person whose
471 standing is based entirely upon his descent, as might be expected
454 on rational economic grounds. During the postwar periods when many Makassarese merchants were earning large sums, one might have expected that many of them would have invested even a small part of their money in pices of land in the interior. One would have thought that they might have bought sawahs, or that at least they would have had large pieces of land entered in their name in the land-tax registers with the purpose of having them developed later. Nothing of this kind, however, appears from the Goa land-tax registers. The opinion of one of these merchants that he did buy jewelry with this money but no land because land is difficult to sell quickly if one needs money merely points to the direction in which the explanation must be looked for.

For a merchant who is not related to the nobility of Goa,
571 it is difficult to attach a good koasa to himself and through him
565 a large number of laborers. If he were to purchase several
554 pieces of land, his share in the harvest would not be worth the trouble. An ordinary kampong individual prefers to work the land of a prominent man from the karaëng group. In that he has confidence; it strengthens his position. A tie with a nobleman always appears valuable. On the other hand, so long as economic necessity is not coercive and the personality of the large landowner does not convince him of his special personal qualities, there is no reason for the kampong man to work for this wealthy stranger. In principle, this stranger is regarded as an equal with whom one can therefore

177 /144 cont./
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2. As yet there is no rice mill in Goa. In the colonists' kampongs, 200 kilometers north of Macassar, the men do the pounding for the landowner, but not for their own consumption. Rice-pounding wages are high.

461 The spare time which women gained was not used
855 toward new objectives. It was devoted to small children who are not let out of sight for a moment. In the house or in the yard their own mother or one of the neighbor's girls
461 is always with them. During the rest of the time women
574 visit each other. This promotes companionship and strengthens their mutual ties. They exchange kampong and family news and drink coffee on these occasions. These visits are always paid in little groups of a number of older women and a few younger ones, nicely dressed, accompanied by one of their closest male kinsmen.

/145/ Men's work is in the sawahs in the broadest sense,
462 from manufacturing agricultural implements to carrying in sheaves of paddy. Furthermore, it is their job to work in the garden, to construct and repair the house, as well as to do all the little tasks in which wood or bamboo must be
443 cut down or worked. They run errands at the pasar (1) and
462

1. In early July, 1949, the visitors to the Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) were registered as 62 women and 904 men.

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua. M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads. M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over" M 471 443 563 M 461 463 C 647 563 152 829

generally agree in this matter. She said that there could not 164
have been a law compelling colonization as there is not enough 743
room to care for all the lepers here, who number in the thou- 758
sands (though India and Africa are worse off). So, many
lepers are still at large. Generally, those who enter are those [753]
who either fear infection spreading to their relatives, or those
whose relatives won't have them around, or those whom the
kampong compels to leave their local community. But they
have a happy life in a way, and this impresses the native mind,
because they get free and good food, good houses, etc. The [461]
nurse said that there is some trouble in getting them to work
as they will not do so unless they have to. Nevertheless, they
do all the work needed and the place is well cared for, in fact,
spotless. She said that psychologically there was little trouble
with the native lepers but that Europeans almost went crazy.
I saw only one Eurasian little girl. They weave their own [286]
clothes. I saw a backbar loom here [in the leper asylum at
Bolombaru--Analyst] and another in the old man's house. All
girls can weave, and practically all sarongs are homemade. I
saw some beauties. And now I know how the weaving is done.
The colors are really amazing. They weave a long narrow
strip, perhaps thirty inches, and cut and sew to make a sarong.
This takes from three to seven days. One military doctor
comes here three times a week. The rest of the work is done
entirely by the patients. The nurse said she liked her work and
seemed to be in excellent spirits. I told her that I would give
them old detective books. An old man [a patient in the leper 159
asylum, Balombaru--Analyst] (photograph) said that he had
formerly been captain of a prau. He had made a fine model of
one like his for his son, and was quite proud to show it off. He
said that he had sailed wherever there was trade, and that
formerly he might be away from three to four years. He said
that he had gone to Surabaja, Cheribon, Semarang, Batavia,
Padang, Singapore, Siam, Penang, and even China. He had
once had a chance to go to the United States (how?) but did not
go. He showed me a picture of himself when he was in Java in
the old days. It showed him, his former wife, and another
couple. All were wearing horn rimmed glasses (property
of the photographer?). He was dressed in a dark coat,
wide "slicker" pants of the twenties and a necktie. He was
not at all hesitant about talking of his former wife. He
said that this one was still in Java with one child. He said
he had only one male child by his present wife, but that he
had many other children by others. He even seems un-
certain as to how many wives, exactly, he has had. There

517 are mad about movies and this shows a trememdous poten-
546 tial value for visual education here. Indeed, the only out-side amusement is the movies.

526 As for sports, there is a badminton court in the kampong,
367 but it is near Watumpone. In Watumpone they play soccer and the kampong boys do this too except that they do not have a field within the kampong. They also play the real rattan-ball football. In addition, but only in Watumpone, a few people play tennis. Probably no one from the kampong does this.

524 As for games, they have children's games, but evidently not many. One is a sort of tag in a square. Then there are kites, especially (only ?) after the rice harvest. Children fly kites, but fathers pretending to help the children often take over the kites. Andi is amused by this pretention. They
525 have a string-sawing kite contest too. There is much gam-
541 bling with dice, but evidently no cards. No chess or checkers are found here. There are cock fights but they are illegal. They know about cricket fights. They are a bit reticent on all this, perhaps because it is secret.

517 There are no real local arts aside from crafts. These
53 people are not at all artistic. Even their weaving is banal, except for the colors. This is their one beauty spot. The designs are in checks, plaid, or consist entirely of horizontal stripes. The designs are dull except for the colors. And aside from the padjoge there is no dancing. There is no carving of stone, and but little wood carving on houses. There is practically no music and the people do not go in much for any instruments. They did say that they play flutes, which is true especially for those who watch the water buffalo. There is no drama at all. There is no painting except for a few banal efforts on the houses. Poor stuff, poor people.

517 As for leisure, that depends on a number of variables.
538 Some of the farmers work all day except for midday. Some
368 who have office jobs have regular hours. I didn't get very far on this. In their spare time they mainly sit, walk, talk.
● 461 They almost never read, but said that if they could get books
549 they might read a lot. But there are no books available. They agreed that a library is sadly needed. I was surprised that they said that there was very little if any story-telling. This checks with the Minangkabau man who could get no stories here. They haven't even got imagination enough to tell tales. Maybe in the kampong I could find some, but clearly they reflect the general poverty in this sphere. As for the desire
517 to go where there is more entertainment, more fun, the
181 general impression is that there is not much of an urge in

462

462 DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX--activities customarily performed exclusively or predominantly by males or by females; activities forbidden to or despised by one sex; activities in which both sexes participate (e.g., jointly, alternatively); routine tasks and relative economic contribution of each sex; sex-limited occupations and professions; etc. This category is designed primarily for summary statements about sex specialization; incidental information will frequently appear only under the headings for specific activities. See also:

Daily routine 512
Relative status of the sexes 562
Household division of labor 592
Relations between husband and wife 593
Specialization by age 561, 857, 883, 887

592 602 /31 cont./ By way of summary it can be stated that 40 of these 61 /32/ are first- or second-degree relatives of the basal married couple, and that 52 of the 61 are first-, second-, or third-degree relatives.

The conclusion therefore is that in the majority of cases a house is occupied by one family, that in general only unmarried, older and younger, kinsmen are taken into the house, and that more distant kinsmen (fourth degree and further removed) are only taken in if they have no close relatives. Uncles and aunts, accordingly, are only taken into the house by their respective nephews and nieces if they themselves are childless.

It is noteworthy that one of the three just-mentioned "distant cousins" set up a little house for himself shortly after the registration date. "He finds that more pleasant," was given as explanation.

If one excludes the group of 9 grandchildren, it seems reasonable, in the case of the 52 remaining persons to ascertain whether they are kinsmen of the man or of his wife. It appears that in 19 of the 52 cases someone lives in the house on the basis of his kin connection to the man, and in 33 cases on the basis of his kinship to the wife. Unless these figures [591] are too small to draw conclusions, a slight preference for living with relatives on the mother's side would seem to be indicated. A similar result was produced by the investigation into marriage residence. At this point, a report on this subject seems in order.

Marriage Residence

462 562 In accordance with the division of labor between the sexes in Makassarese society, the task of providing for the children, preparing the food, the weaving of sarongs and keeping them clean, and all matters which can be done in and around the house fall to the women. House and grounds constitute the woman's domain. Separation of the sexes is very marked.

587 /36 cont./ relationship is to be conceived as salimara'.
835 Defining it as salimara' means that such relationship is considered in connection with the bad consequences for the country. It signifies that such a relationship is found "very bad."

Household Tasks

462 Rice pounding, weaving, and cooking are female occupations par excellence. However they are not entirely
[592] household affairs.

For the 129 houses, 75 blocks for pounding rice were
252 592 counted (2). On the average, therefore, more than one rice-

[556]

2. The Kapala group is relatively the richest: for 81 houses it numbered 53 blocks. The Mangenre group numbered 7 for 18 houses, and the Rest group 15 for 30 houses.

pounding block exists for every two houses. The blocks lie near the houses. A house apart has its own block, but where the houses are close together, as is usual where the inhabitants are close relatives of each other, there one block may be used jointly by as many as three houses. Common use of one and the same block is a matter of course where the /37/ users are kinsmen. It attains the nature of a favor if this is not the case.

286 It is safe to assume that around 20 years ago, at a time
592 when sarongs were still woven at home in greater numbers than is the case today, the number of looms was also greater. Then each house probably possessed one loom apiece. At that time it would, therefore, have been possible to contend that sarong weaving was a family affair. In 1948, 101 looms were counted for 129 houses (1), a number of women no longer have

286 592 /37 cont./

1. Here again the Kapaia group appeared to be comparatively the best provided. In its 81 houses, 73 looms were found; in the 18 houses of the Mangenre group, 11; and in the 30 houses of the Rest group, 17. In a few houses I observed two looms.

looms in their own houses and are therefore dependent upon kinsmen for use of one. Wherever the household is incapable of fulfilling a certain task, the latter is taken over by the related group. It is safe to assume that the lack of yarn during more than five consecutive years, in any case until 1948, the year of this registration, was the reason that no new looms were acquired, while disuse caused many of them to deteriorate. The remaining 101 will therefore probably be used up after a few years.

602 476 One can observe regularly that female relatives "get" from each other a household article or a few ingredients for a meal. In such a case one does not speak of borrowing, and it is not regarded as such, for these are all everyday matters. Without these items one is helpless, and therefore they use them among each other. Soap, rice (beras), and a saucepan are apparently equally common articles, but these definitely do not go from hand to hand every day. What is stated here applies to female relatives; among them this [609] mutual assistance is a matter of course. But they have a different attitude toward a non-relative. Should she come to get something several times in a row, there are many ways of making clear to her that this is little appreciated.

462 The men have the task of bringing home from pasar, garden, or sawah whatever is necessary for daily existence. They cultivate the sawah and garden. They provide the women with

462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The 462 household always constitutes the center of these activities. 592 Male members of the household work together at these jobs. [476] Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a single house are insufficient for a certain job.

By no means does every house have its own plow. 241 592 Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

[556]

1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangenre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

[602] is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

[609 427] although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

476 Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each 602 other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

612 /62 cont./ always had a leading role at the conferences
793 concerning the expenses of the wedding feast, and so forth, which always precede the marriages. He knew the wedding song and was a valued expert on, and healer of, diseases. The title of such a functionary is sanro. With one single exception, he was called in for help in all these matters only by the members of the Kapala group. He further managed the harvest festival, which involved the entire territory /63/ of Bontoramba and in which, for that reason, members of other groups also took part. In ordinary life he did not distinguish himself either in clothing or outward appearance from other residents of Bontoramba.

796 He himself prepares the essence of what is offered, the
462 parappo. The further preparation of the ritual, which is very detailed and consumes a great deal of time, is carried out by the women. Each and every one of the women is better informed about ritual matters than the men. The preparation of the offerings, the hallowing of the water to be used at the ritual, the hallowing of the bowls and dishes from which they will eat, the finding of leaves of a special, prescribed nature necessary at the ritual, the making of the candles (kandjoli), all these are elements of the ritual taken care of by the women. They are also not activities familiar to every one of them. The names of the leaves and the arrangement of the offerings have their own significance. In these things one may not make a mistake. An informant once characterized the situation by saying, "Islam is the religion of the men, ancestor worship that of the women." Whenever there is no pinati present, therefore, one will see one of the older women taking his place. At small festivities concerning a /nuclear/ family, the women frequently conducted the ritual themselves. The pinati functions where the entire community is involved in the festival.

858 /143 cont. / Boys seem to go through a difficult period
867 at the age of approximately eleven to fourteen years. Before that, despite small differences from the girls, they were considered to be children, and as such they quite naturally stayed in the women's rooms. But around the age of ten to eleven, the older women make it plain to them that they
561 no longer belong there. Compared to women, however, men have less unity. For them the difference in age plays a much
562 more important role. It prevents the smooth interaction between older and younger men, because the older expect
561 obedience and a certain respect from the younger. The young
855 boys therefore find no unity in the group of men which makes them feel at home. At the same time they do not possess
858 the sexual maturity to participate in the boasting conversations about conquests and sexual achievements that are customary in the circle of young men. They are physically not yet strong enough to participate in brawls and great work schemes, and therefore they cannot talk about their exploits. They do not count among the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds. At the same time these twelve-year-old boys have not yet had much opportunity to associate with each other. So they first look for their age mates. They roam around, they are little noticed, and they don't feel at home anywhere.

Division of Labor

462 The domain of the women is house and yard. There they cook, wash, weave, and take care of the children. They leave the house only to pay visits or to run over to neighbors, who are also the closest kinsmen. When male visitors arrive they withdraw into the back part of the house. There is the kitchen; there they have their own separate
462 entrance. One could regard the women as a group whose
476 members /144/ help each other with daily household problems,

462 /144 cont./ whose older members supervise the younger
476 ones, and at the same time protect and lead them. This group forms a unit with respect to the group of men, but it does not act jointly otherwise.

462 The activities of women tie them to house and yard. Among their tasks are pounding rice, preparation of daily meals, festive meals, and offerings. Furthermore, they are charged with the spinning of yarn, weaving of sarongs, laundering and maintenance of clothes, and the care of small children. Except at harvest time women do not work in the sawahs (1).

[243]

1. A poor district, such as the vicinity of Takalar where plantings frequently have to be done several times because the first attempts fail, constitutes an exception. There the women help with planting.

[443] Older women who need a job on the side, sell home-made cookies at pasars and festivals. Sometimes they keep a small coffee warong /shop/.

177 At the present time a comparatively large number of
462 these activities have been taken away from the women. Spinning practically no longer occurs. Commercial yarns
[283] have taken the place of homespun products. During the Japanese period a temporary revival of spinning was note in a number of districts where the imported yarns could not fill the demand. Weaving decreased because of the large
[286] import of cheap sarongs. Only better ones continued to be woven at home. Where rice mills are established, pounding
[252] at home becomes an unnecessary drudgery (2).
[256]

117 /144 cont./
256

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1. In early July, 1949, the visitors to the Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) were registered as 62 women and 904 men.

443 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They
●462 go around alone or with a number of men of their own age. Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 The activities of men and women therefore complement
562 each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more helpless, if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding gardens.

562 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that
554 of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the
576 meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status
571 with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the
521 others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator may place himself in the center of the story since, after all, those present share in the standing he won in this manner. The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them. Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people, and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men, four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression.
562 Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and
571 go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned. Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are free in their actions and speech.

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
● 462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Before the commencement of the Dikir on the occasion of the Maulud festival in Laikang. Dikir is men's work; a girl is jokingly chased away. Page 193.

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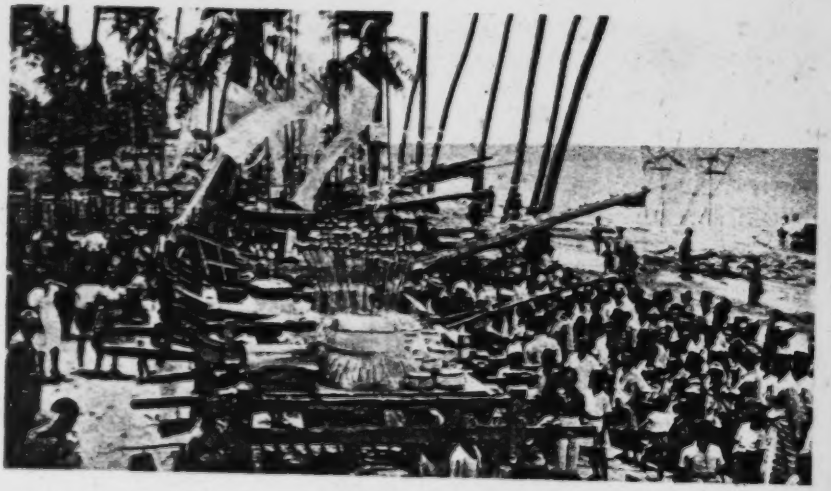

General view of the Maulud festival in Laikang. The scaffolds are sent in by kampongs. In their size and construction the competitive spirit between kampongs finds expression.

[end plate 4]

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are
[462] women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly
262 there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco,
241 Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts.

124 They are small and pretty. They came from time to time to
576 sit on his lap and looked at me. He was serene and his
855 children were wonderful in behavior. Rahim got to the point at once and the Kepala kampong said that this fellow was the man. He indicated a rather angular fellow perhaps twenty-five years old, the kind of Adam's appled type. However, he seemed keen enough. He attended school (lower school only)
463 with Rahim. Then he [i.e., assistant to author--Analyst] got
311 into a trade working with a gold and silver smith. This happens to be one of the main trades of the village. Rahim said there were some farmers in the village, but there was not much wet rice land in the area. However, many people have sawah in other kampongs. Other trades in the village involved commercial enterprises, and being a prau man. A river runs by here and it is mentioned in Friedericy as the one where Goa once levied a river mouth tax on all praus. I
124 later found out that the lad was willing to give up his trade
465 for a while and work for me. He was somewhat ashamed
156 when Rahim asked him about a salary. He said he would leave that matter up to me and Rahim said that this was acting as a typical Makassarese, that is malu [timid, shy, ashamed], although I wonder if he would be so malu when talking about pay with the Chinese who runs the gold and silver business. Later I talked with Rahim about the matter of salary for this man. He told me that things were expensive now, the man had to give up his work, and so forth. He added that he needed more than three to four guilders a day
[593] for his family. And he added that if he did not receive enough his wife would complain. Evidently he must keep his wife happy. So even among the Makassarese a wife nags. Rahim is very strong on the point of getting and keeping in the good graces of one's wife. This is a revelation to me, as I thought women in Mohammedan lands kept their mouths shut. But here, perhaps, is an indication of the underlying qualities of Malayo-Polynesian women. Rahim finally said that one hundred rupiah per month would be all right. I asked about the regular pay which a smith might receive. He said that it was very good, as much as f.10 or f.15 per day. I then said that maybe f.100 was too low, and that I would go up to f.150. He seemed pleased that I was not going to be a chiseler, and said that I could pay a reasonable salary and then if I wanted to, at the end, I could give a bonus. I asked if I had better not give some sort of advance, and he agreed. Hence I gave f. 30 to be given to the assistant (named Mohammed Saleh) who will call on Rahim Thursday after Hari Merdeka.

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua. M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads. M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over" M 471 443 563 M 461 463 C 647 563 152 829

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563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
764 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photograph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photograph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
●463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
782 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
412 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers, etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This belonged to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
743 leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map) [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss
758 Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows. These dwelling places are much better than native houses. There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the children especially get leprosy, and that when children are born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

before going into battle. It is said that the water rises in it 773
whenever Goa goes to war. Thus it rises no more. From 778
then on, it was quite a walk to another well and to a fenced-in area where there were three stones in a row. They were also low and flat. It was on the center one that the real Tumanurung, a beautiful girl, suddenly appeared. It was the population of this kampong who discovered and talked with and received her.

Then I went back to the car and went off to Bone. I find 609
these Makassarese here very cooperative and polite. The
atmosphere in the kampong is good. I got the results of the 162
kampong census typed up by Nunuhitu, and later made up a preliminary reckoning. It is only for three of the kampongs, or rather three of the small kampongs. These are (1) Balombaru proper, (2) Bontotangnga, and (3) Sappabulo. The results are as follows:

	M	F	Total	
1.	144	143	287	(99+)
2.	32	28	60	(114)
3.	121	134	255	(90-)
Total	297	305	602	(98)

AVERAGE NUMBER PERSONS PER HOUSE [592]

1.	5.6	Houses:	1.	51
2.	4.6		2.	13
3.	5.2		3.	49
Total	5.1			113

NUMBER CHILDREN PER ADULTS

	Adults	Children	Child per Adult
1.	141	146	1.04
2.	36	24	.67
3.	105	150	1.43
Total	282	320	1.14

TRADES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS 162
[data for three kampongs, Balombaru, 463
Bontotangnga and Sappabulo--Analyst]

	1	2	3	Total
Goldsmith	32	1	2	36 [sic]
Leather-worker	2	6	7	15
Farmer	-	-	13	13
Shop-keeper	6	2	1	9
Smith	-	1	7	8
Salesman (peddler)	1		6	7

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TRADES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (cont'd)

	1	2	3	Total
Manufacturing worker	-	1	1	2
Cycle repairer	-	1	1	2
Fish seller	1	-	-	1
Bamboo dealer	1	-	-	1
Atap roofer	-	-	1	1
Weaver	-	-	1	1
Coachman	-	-	1	1
Dyer	-	-	1	1
Kalker [i.e., chalkers--Analyst]	-	-	1	1
Not given	7	1	4	12
Total	51	13	49	113 [sic]

[565]

TITLE DAENG

	Daeng	Not Daeng	Total
1.	54	233	287 (20%)
2.	-	60	60 (0%)
3.	21	234	255 (9%)
Total	75	527	602 (12%)

Of Goldsmiths, Daeng are:

	Goldsmiths	Daeng
1.	34	24
2.	1	-
3.	2	1
Total	37	25 (70%)

	Non-Goldsmiths	Daeng
1.	17	3
2.	12	-
3.	47	13
Total	76	16 (21%)

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I left for Bone on Monday, September 5, 1949. However, I had to stay at Pampanua for one night as there was no room in Watampone. It is a small place with a large alunalun. There is a big market here which is held five days a week. It is also the place where the radjas of Bone, Wadjo and Soppeng meet for conferences. In addition it is the place where the assistant resident used to stay. I got the idea as I walked in the evening that this place shows mostly still life. I noticed mainly men walking and standing in the stores. The next day I went to Bone, where I had a conference with Andi. There was nothing to do until the next day.

123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
181 schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this point. I said that they needed business education, and they saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kampong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it. In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told them about the Javanese using these without giving up Mohammedanism, and although they could see the point they responded in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
●463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over Dutch because it is an international language. They said that all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can understand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but

368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case.

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

4216 They say that there are not many who have run up debts
465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to
499 borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
466 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at
[435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f.30 per month, and one meal costs about f.1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f.1 per day.

563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop-
443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The
472 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only
433 manufacturing center in the area.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the
661 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.

208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa-
668 ganda against it coming from Makassar, But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.

and the five days circulate around them. Then, another 443
circle runs east into the Tanette Riatang wanua, where there 366
are four markets in different kampongs. That circle gears in with the big market at Watumpone too.

I asked whether the range of distance from which the people 489
come to market has increased with the use of buses. They 493
said that it probably had. They also mentioned bicycles as another easing factor in getting to the market place.

As for education, much discussion resulted. Andi in 871
particular seemed to be critical of the educational possibilities 434
here. He said they would like to progress, but were unable to. 464
They have only lower, and I think, middle schools in Watumpone. However, they are building another school now. Up to this month schools have been free, and the children have thronged to classes. But Andi said that now they expected a sharp drop. He said that if they charged even five cents a month it would be too much for many. (Later Thierens said that he doubted this and also that there was so little money in the kampong. He added that they could get jobs as coolies as there was a big demand for this type of labor. For example, they could work on roads at f.50 a month. The point seems to be, however, that they do not want to. He has a dim view of their energy, and perhaps he is right.) No one in the kampong has attended the University. Some have gone to middle school and many have attended lower school. Quite a few (?), relatively speaking, have gone to Makassar, and they must do so if they wish to get further education, for example, by going to normal school (except for the teachers school for the villages in Watumpone). Evidently, few, if any, go outside of Indonesia for education. There are Mohammedan schools in 871
the village. I asked about their support. They said that the 578
arus gave money from their own funds, and also got some contributions. They received no money from the Bone treasury. At this point they became irritated, saying that in South Celebes if schools are Christian they get a subsidy from the treasury, but this is not so if the schools are Mohammedan. (Maybe they meant that the government schools should be included too when they said, "why should not the religious (Mohammedan) schools get funds too, since this is a Mohammedan country?") Anyway, there is a great deal of feeling on this matter. Formerly there was much feeling against education, and there still is to some extent, especially by the lowers. But, increasingly, more and more want it. I told what I had heard about even the radjas not wanting their children to go to Makassar for more than a few years. They said that that was generally so, and Andi again said that Bone is quite backward.

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/41 cont./ them landownership is also more regularly distributed over the various houses.

It appeared that the few houses of the Kapala group without landowners were homes of younger people who worked the lands of their parents or an older brother and who received a part of the harvested crop in exchange for this. The Mangenre group and the Rest group include warong owners /shop-keepers/, the bicycle repairman, merchants, and "porters." The last named are men who transport goods for another person to a distant pasar and who receive their wages partly in money and partly in goods. Several of them do not own any land.

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Those who own land outside Bontoramba live scattered over 57 of the total of 133 houses (1); 53 of these 57 are

1. In 54 houses there are people who own only sawah land elsewhere, in 14 those who own only dry land elsewhere. In 11 houses, therefore, there are people who own both sawahs as well as dry land.

occupied by members of the Kapala group, 4 by those of the Rest. According to these figures people of the Mangenre group do not seem to have land anywhere outside Bontoramba. It may well be that these figures are incorrect, probably too low, especially as regards the Mangenre group. The land-tax administration registered the names of landowners in each kampong, and it would thus be necessary to go through all the land-tax registers of South Celebes (there are a few thousand of them) in order to state with certainty that no other land than that reported are held by Bontoramba residents. And it is just among the individuals of the Mangenre group that one might expect to find that they have more land in their homeland of Pangkadjene (2).

124 They are small and pretty. They came from time to time to
576 sit on his lap and looked at me. He was serene and his
855 children were wonderful in behavior. Rahim got to the point at once and the Kepala kampong said that this fellow was the man. He indicated a rather angular fellow perhaps twenty-five years old, the kind of Adam's appled type. However, he seemed keen enough. He attended school (lower school only)
463 with Rahim. Then he [i.e., assistant to author--Analyst] got
311 into a trade working with a gold and silver smith. This happens to be one of the main trades of the village. Rahim said there were some farmers in the village, but there was not much wet rice land in the area. However, many people have sawah in other kampongs. Other trades in the village involved commercial enterprises, and being a prau man. A river runs by here and it is mentioned in Friedericy as the one where Goa once levied a river mouth tax on all praus. I
124 later found out that the lad was willing to give up his trade
● 465 for a while and work for me. He was somewhat ashamed
156 when Rahim asked him about a salary. He said he would leave that matter up to me and Rahim said that this was acting as a typical Makassarese, that is malu [timid, shy, ashamed], although I wonder if he would be so malu when talking about pay with the Chinese who runs the gold and silver business. Later I talked with Rahim about the matter of salary for this man. He told me that things were expensive now, the man had to give up his work, and so forth. He added that he needed more than three to four guilders a day
[593] for his family. And he added that if he did not receive enough his wife would complain. Evidently he must keep his wife happy. So even among the Makassarese a wife nags. Rahim is very strong on the point of getting and keeping in the good graces of one's wife. This is a revelation to me, as I thought women in Mohammedan lands kept their mouths shut. But here, perhaps, is an indication of the underlying qualities of Malayo-Polynesian women. Rahim finally said that one hundred rupiah per month would be all right. I asked about the regular pay which a smith might receive. He said that it was very good, as much as f.10 or f.15 per day. I then said that maybe f.100 was too low, and that I would go up to f.150. He seemed pleased that I was not going to be a chiseler, and said that I could pay a reasonable salary and then if I wanted to, at the end, I could give a bonus. I asked if I had better not give some sort of advance, and he agreed. Hence I gave f. 30 to be given to the assistant (named Mohammed Saleh) who will call on Rahim Thursday after Hari Merdeka.

S Then I remembered a night in Makale hearing Karaeng
691 Djongala (whom I met again, remarkably, on a trip in Makale,
683 and found to be not a bad fellow at all, and now speaking
578 Dutch) and de Boer comparing notes regarding legal cases.
828 De Boer said eighty cases a month was not at all uncommon, while the Karaeng said that in his place in Makale there were perhaps twenty, mainly knifings.

A police fellow and the Controleur said that there was much irrational knifing here too. The pattern seems to run something like this. First people become panas hati [literally, hot livered, i.e., hot tempered--Analyst],then they kill someone, and finally become all right. They consider themselves not to be criminals, but victims of unbearable emotion, and thus not really criminals.

M Regarding literacy, Andi said that the percentage of
212 literates here now is about 27 per cent, and this is used by
871 him as a reason for not taking over democracy for a long
556 time. This in turn might enable them to maintain control just as the Dutch did. However, they are setting up schools rapidly, and so are slitting their own throats. Maybe they are sincere, but I look for trouble. As for schools I asked a number of questions today (my last day in Bone this trip). There are village schools for the first three years. Then students may go on to a continuing school in town, in Bukaka which is not far away. Or they may enter the sekolah agama [(Islamic) religious school], in which religion and Arabic are taught. The sekolah agama is located in the village. I got the feeling that these religious schools are losing out in competition with town schools. Only the rich can afford to go beyond the second year high school level, as it is necessary to go to Makassar. I asked about the poor and they said there were no scholarships, so they were usually only able to attend the desa schools. Beyond that they might possibly go to the sekolah agama. In Watampone the breakdown is something like this. There are six years of primary schooling offered followed by four years of middle instruction. After these ten years, if a further education is desired, students must go to Makassar. There is a normal school in Watampone for desa school teachers, but for higher normal training one must go to Makassar. Thus there seems to be the same problem as in the United States. There is a need for schools in every town and at all levels because the poor cannot pay room and
M board in big towns away from home. This leads on to the
556 question of the poor again (I always stress the factor of social
● 465 mobility in America). The village folks said there were
651 many poor people. They usually live with richer (though none
735 are really rich) people in the houses of the latter and work for
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food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua. M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads. M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaëng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over" M 471 443 563 M 461 463 C 647 563 152 829

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/58 cont./ With a few exceptions these colonists owned no land in Buginese country (3). They worked fields that

> 3. The group in Paria was primarily making a living from a number of fishponds situated along the seacoast. They had found these in a deplorable state but had restored them completely. They lived on the ponds where they bred and marketed fish under very favorable conditions at the time of the study.

belonged to large landowners, who here are both members of the nobility as well as merchants who have become wealthy during the last 10 to 15 years. Since 1939 the leadership of the Sadang irrigation project has been turning extensive /59/ dry-land regions into potentially fertile sawah areas. The shortage of manpower, however, is extreme. As long as this continues, the colonists can demand very good working conditions. Their bargaining position is strong. For example, one group demanded of a certain large landowner that he let no others cut rice in his sawahs.

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There is little expression of a need for securing a more solid economic position by buying land in the new region of residence. Some even considered a sawah at such a distance from the homeland an unsafe possession. Several colonists seemed to have redeemed sawahs which they had earlier mortgaged in their homeland with money they earned in Buginese country, and even to have given mortgages on new sawahs there. At this point, therefore, the tie with the homeland seemed to be very strong.

571 /107 cont./ them. If, for instance, a young unmarried
602 man goes to work for a prominent uncle (3), this is always a

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3. Here used in the sense of purina, thus someone belonging to a higher generation.

temporary arrangement. For a person who helps his uncle thereby increases the difference in standing existing between that uncle and his own family. Consequently, a young man will prefer, in the long run, to work for his parents, younger brothers, and unmarried sisters rather than to help his uncle gain more social standing.

People who work for a blood relative can be called
554 followers, but this occurs only if they /108/ serve as followers
571 of one head together with non-kinsmen. In that case they
602 occupy the highest position among them. Because of their less pronounced personal qualities they are bound to obey, that is, to follow their kinsman, but with respect to the other followers they are higher, and therefore the leaders, by reason of their descent.

The dwelling of the adat community head is the center
634 of Borongloë. The adat community office is, as it were, merely one of its extensions. Matters of taxation, transferences of land and cattle, quarrels which end in fights, elopements, marriages, foreigners, and all that concerns the ornament worship are handled by the head. In the case of some problems the persons involved were referred to the office and to office hours, but the head receives most of them at his home where their problem is discussed and settled right away, if possible.
571 An active head in this way attracts much information. A
634 number of followers will regularly be found around him.

These work for him in the sawahs and in the gardens, and in addition they run errands for him. Some of them

554 /109 cont./ completely to the established ideal, the more
565 followers, the greater the standing. But in view of the experience
571 with the adat community head's group of relatives who, even though on /110/ a lower level, gave the same representation of the matter, it is necessary to be careful here, too, so long as we must proceed entirely from unauthenticated reports.

178 The importance of the system of followers in the earlier
571 form described by Kooreman decreased. New forms arose; these are to be found in the big-city relationships of Macassar. In the country areas, the relationship of large landowner to day laborer is an example.

The system of followers in and around the city of Macassar
178 is observable wherever wealthy merchants earn their money
441 by means of the sale and purchase of rice and fish, sand and
571 stones. For their trade they employ a large number of people. This employment relationship can best be described as that of followers to their master in which the personal qualities of the merchant, the punggawa, are of overriding importance. Here, too, a follower avenges an insult done to his punggawa. Here, too, services performed -- frequently in addition to a fixed salary or piece wage -- are rewarded irregularly and in a general way. Here the punggawa also has a personal tie with a number of his people. When he dies his trade immediately goes down. His organization is built upon personal ties with his subordinates.

Large Landownership

491 Some characteristics of the system of followers can also
571 be found connected with large landownership (1), in the

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1. No figures are available to indicate precisely when we can begin to speak of large

471 /110 cont./ landownership. The examples given here are taken from conditions where no doubt can exist about the existence of large landownership. A single individual in each case owned more than 20 hectares.

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relationship of the large landowner to his representative (koasa), and of each of these to their respective laborers. In South Celebes there are, on the whole, sufficient grounds on the basis of which a large number of small farmers could be forced to work the land of others. The form of large landowner-
[554] ship encountered here must be understood from the point of view of relationships obtaining between high and low. The two factors, descent and personal qualities, with which we already have become acquainted above, are important in this respect.

A large landowner generally has a few hundred /111/ sawahs which lie distributed in various kampongs far removed from each other. The landowner himself, who usually lives far away from these, therefore employs someone to be his koasa in a kampong or, if this happens to be convenient, in a district. The koasa sees to it that the sawahs located there are worked. He, in turn, hires a number of people from that region as laborers. The latter receive as many sawah sections as they desire or are able to handle. The koasa's task is to see to it that the sawahs are worked, that this is done as well as possible, that the distribution of the harvested sheaves takes place according to the agreements made, and finally, that a reasonable number of sheaves reaches the landowner. The latter, therefore, must be able to trust his representatives. Consequently, he chooses by preference someone who already has a personal relationship to him and someone who

466 471 571 /111 cont./ furthermore has demonstrated that he is capable of administering and working his own lands well. A koasa is frequently an energetic personality. Such an individual in turn easily attracts laborers, either among his own kinsmen, or among the other kampong residents. Through his koasaship he gains in standing. The reason that the sunrang was higher for a girl than was customary in her group of relatives was explained by the fact that her father was a koasa.

One whose standing is solely based upon descent will not necessarily be a large landowner at the same time. After all, he frequently may not possess the personal qualities necessary to attach the best koasa to himself; inferior koasa, in their turn, attract inferior workers. The distribution of the harvest is less well organized, the number of sheaves that such a large landowner would receive in his house would therefore be scarcely worthwhile. A large landowner who might attempt to make working contracts which are too advantageous for him would find out that this is not appreciated. As a consequence of such a move workers who do not need his land to provide for their sustenance would either go to work the lands of others, or else start up for themselves.

Not every nobleman, therefore, is able to muster up the [565] initiative and the organizational ability to develop a new complex of sawahs. This can only be done by a nobleman who possesses, in addition to the necessary descent, the personal qualities required for such an undertaking. If these personal qualities are present, many people, rather than setting out for themselves, develop a tract of land for him under the leadership /112/ of one of his koasa. The tie with the superior is then regarded as of great importance (1).

1. Sometimes a person who possesses much land employs a so-called koasa-lompo ("large representative") who, in his turn, hires local

466 /112 cont./ koasa, sometimes called,
471 for purposes of differentiation,
571 "small representative"
(koasa tja'di).

One who owes his standing solely to his personal qualities
441 obtains no more in returns from his land than a person whose
471 standing is based entirely upon his descent, as might be expected
454 on rational economic grounds. During the postwar periods when many Makassarese merchants were earning large sums, one might have expected that many of them would have invested even a small part of their money in pices of land in the interior. One would have thought that they might have bought sawahs, or that at least they would have had large pieces of land entered in their name in the land-tax registers with the purpose of having them developed later. Nothing of this kind, however, appears from the Goa land-tax registers. The opinion of one of these merchants that he did buy jewelry with this money but no land because land is difficult to sell quickly if one needs money merely points to the direction in which the explanation must be looked for.

For a merchant who is not related to the nobility of Goa,
571 it is difficult to attach a good koasa to himself and through him
565 a large number of laborers. If he were to purchase several
554 pieces of land, his share in the harvest would not be worth the trouble. An ordinary kampong individual prefers to work the land of a prominent man from the karaëng group. In that he has confidence; it strengthens his position. A tie with a nobleman always appears valuable. On the other hand, so long as economic necessity is not coercive and the personality of the large landowner does not convince him of his special personal qualities, there is no reason for the kampong man to work for this wealthy stranger. In principle, this stranger is regarded as an equal with whom one can therefore

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old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 567
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are 535
none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

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465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to
499 borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
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/41 cont./ 2. This suggestion is based both upon the figures following below for kampong Pakatto, the homeland of the Kapala group, as well as upon the impression obtained in the colonists' kampongs.

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/42/ I limited my investigation to the registers of the remaining kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë. In only 7 of these 13 were names of Bontoramba residents encountered by me. The distribution was as follows:

	Sawah Land	Dry Land	Number of Sawah-land Owners	Number of Dry-land Owners
Pagentungang.	1,432 ares	--	48	--
Songkolo . . .	280 ares	354 ares	4	5
Buttadidi . . .	684 ares	37 ares	23	3
Borong	308 ares	904 ares	6	8
Tjambaja. . .	1,428 ares	798 ares	21	5
Pakatto	514 ares		4	
Parang Banua .	54 ares		2	(1)

1. In Indonesian landholding statistics land held in mortgage or as security was always included.

A glance at the map shows that the first three kampongs border on Bontoramba, and that the fourth is situated very close to it. Kampong Pakatto was already mentioned as the one from which many of the present-day Bontoramba residents are derived;

423 /42 cont./ some of them still appear to have land there, obtained through inheritance. The great number of landholdings in Tjambaja is connected with good reclamation opportunities there.

The people from Bontoramba own no land in 6 of the 14 kampongs of Borongloë. Their ownership is concentrated in their immediate vicinity, with the exception of Pakatto and Tjambaja. Territorial-administrative kampong boundaries, [612] therefore, do not seem to affect the relationship of kin groups to land. The distance from the house to the land does seem to be of importance. There is reason to assume that the number of Bontoramba residents owning land outside their adat community as well as inside it (with the exception of people from the Mangenre group) is inconsiderable.

In addition to the Bontoramba residents who have land outside Bontoramba, there are a number of persons residing outside Bontoramba who own /43/ land within the territory of Bontoramba. There were 90 such people. Of these, 68 lived in one of the 13 other kampongs of Borongloë. They owned, together, 1, 522 ares of sawah land and 1, 758 ares of dry land. In the adjoining kampongs of Buttadidi, Pagentungang, Songkolo, and Borong, there lived respectively 27, 8, 11, and 7 of these landowners. In addition, there are 3 more landowners who live in the kampongs of Pakatto, Parang Banua, Bontoa, and Borongkaluku, while in Kotjikang there are 2, and in Tjambaja 1. There does not appear to exist any special interest in Bontoramba territory on the part of Pakatto or Tjambaja residents; this was different the other way around.

The remaining 22 landowners, of whom 2 lived outside Goa and 20 within Goa but outside Borongloë, owned 645 ares of sawah land and 498 ares of dry land (1). Here it is only

1. Among these 22, there were 13 sawah owners and 10 dry-land owners. One man owned dry land in Bontoramba as well as a sawah.

423 /43 cont./ noteworthy that of these 20 landowners, 12 lived in
471 kampong Romangpolong situated very close to Bontoramba, where the Kapala of Bontoramba has a large number of kinsmen.

471 The following figures indicate how the sawah land is distributed over the various houses.

556 The inhabitants of 25 out of the total of 133 houses own
612 more than 1 hectare of sawah land. Twenty-one of these are houses belonging to the Kapala group, and 4 belong to the Rest. The inhabitants of 8 of these 25 houses own more than 2 hectares, and of these, 7 belong to the Kapala group, 1 to the Rest. Only one man has more than 3 hectares; in fact, he owns 7.5 hectares of sawah land. He owes this to his own abilities.

The relationship of individuals to their land, as is apparent from these figures, may therefore be stated quite simply. The administrative kampong boundaries (2) do not appear to be

[622]

2. The kapala collects the taxes on all land located in his kampong territory. He takes care that all men who live there and are able to perform work carry out their services. He reports offences committed in his district, etc.

relevant to the location of land which belongs to kampong residents. Landownership is not restricted by kampong territory.

311 The distance from the living quarters to the fields is,
423 generally speaking, small. The land of the majority of people is located in their own kampong and in one of the kampongs adjoining it. Those who owned land in Tjambaja also had land in Bontoramba itself. This shows that people do not purchase or work /44/ land at a greater distance away until they already own some in their immediate vicinity. The exchange of land
437 between people having land in each other's kampong of residence,
425 with the intention that both will have a piece of land close by, instead of one far removed from their house, occurs regularly.

428 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through
●471 inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong
602

1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there-
[241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

231 2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes,
556 goats, horses) among the
612 three groups is as follows:

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one
471 individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more
558 than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be re-
556 garded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

471 /44 cont./ In kampong Borongpalala, for instance, the total
556 sawah area amounts to approximately 450 hectares. The area of dry land is very insignificant here. Of these 450 hectares, around 160 hectares are in the hands of residents of Borongpalala, and around 290 are in the hands of people who live outside Borongpalala. Approximately 3 hectares of the latter amount belong to a number of small farmers of the Bontoramba type. The rest, almost 290 hectares therefore, belongs to a few kinsmen of the Prince /45/ of Goa, who in part live in kampong Karuisi 15 kilometers away from Borongpalala, and in part in Bone, 250 to 300 kilometers away. This kampong is clearly acquainted with large landownership. Deputies (koasa) of the large landowners direct operations there and collect the proceeds. These conditions will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Harvest Ritual

241 The tie between kampong residents and their land finds
346 expression at the harvest festival, which is held at a certain
778 place in the kampong territory, "the Lord of the Land" (Patanna pa'rasanganga) so-called. At this spot stands an old mango tree, and at its foot lie a few large, flat stones. Next to it a "little house" (saukang) has been built. It rests on four posts; the floor, 1.5 square meters, is about 1.0 meter above the ground; the walls are composed of completely transparent braiding; atop leaves serve as roof covering. In the center a fifth post extends about 20 centimeters through the floor, and this is called the "lopped-off house post" (benteng polong). Tree, stones, and the little house together form an important element of the sawah ritual. Usually, both before the planting as well as after the harvest, but also on other occasions of the rice growing, offerings are presented there, coupled with simple and essentially household festivities. Only the harvest festival will be described here.

241 /45 cont./ When all the sawahs have been completely harvested, the day for the ritual is set. This is the job of the [793] pinati (1) of Bontoramba, who is also the person who carries

1. Pinati is the title of the functionary who is usually charged with the execution of the ritual. Compare B.F. Matthes, Wb., p. 111.

out the actual ritual on that day. Around ten o'clock in the morning, those who wanted to take part in this harvest ritual [821] had already begun to gather at "the Lord of the Land." The ritual must take place before the sun begins to descend again, because, so it is believed, the rising of the sun benefits the growth of the rice. The women brought bowls of offerings 241 with them. Every house is expected to bring an offering, it is 782 said, and one proceeds from the assumption that everyone is interested in the harvest. When the ritual began, I counted only 45 offering bowls from 42 different houses. Thirty-four of these 42 /46/ houses belonged to the Kapala group, 1 was occupied by members of the Mangenre group, and 5 belonged to the Rest group. Two bowls were from people outside Bontoramba who owned land in this region.

The second offering bowl from one and the same house, in two out of three cases, was designated for the second family living in that house.

In the three out of five cases in which the Rest group brought 471 an offering bowl, it appeared that no one from the house con- 241 cerned had been recorded in the land-tax register. One of these 782 concerned a follower who brought the offering for the sawahs of his master, who lived elsewhere; the second concerned one who worked sawahs belonging to a kinsman residing in Buttadidi; the third case is that of one of the kampong functionaries who •

471 /46 cont./ had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his participation in the life of the kampong at this communal festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
[626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated, this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
773 "Lord of the Land," the following story was told. /47/

1. Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga," niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land," called Besenga.
2. Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

554 /109 cont./ completely to the established ideal, the more
565 followers, the greater the standing. But in view of the experience
571 with the adat community head's group of relatives who, even though on /110/ a lower level, gave the same representation of the matter, it is necessary to be careful here, too, so long as we must proceed entirely from unauthenticated reports.

178 The importance of the system of followers in the earlier
571 form described by Kooreman decreased. New forms arose; these are to be found in the big-city relationships of Macassar. In the country areas, the relationship of large landowner to day laborer is an example.

The system of followers in and around the city of Macassar
178 is observable wherever wealthy merchants earn their money
441 by means of the sale and purchase of rice and fish, sand and
571 stones. For their trade they employ a large number of people. This employment relationship can best be described as that of followers to their master in which the personal qualities of the merchant, the punggawa, are of overriding importance. Here, too, a follower avenges an insult done to his punggawa. Here, too, services performed -- frequently in addition to a fixed salary or piece wage -- are rewarded irregularly and in a general way. Here the punggawa also has a personal tie with a number of his people. When he dies his trade immediately goes down. His organization is built upon personal ties with his subordinates.

Large Landownership

491 Some characteristics of the system of followers can also
571 be found connected with large landownership (1), in the
466

1. No figures are available to indicate precisely when we can begin to speak of large

491 /110 cont./ landownership. The examples given here are taken from conditions where no doubt can exist about the existence of large landownership. A single individual in each case owned more than 20 hectares.
571
466

relationship of the large landowner to his representative (koasa), and of each of these to their respective laborers. In South Celebes there are, on the whole, sufficient grounds on the basis of which a large number of small farmers could be forced to work the land of others. The form of large landowner-
[554] ship encountered here must be understood from the point of view of relationships obtaining between high and low. The two factors, descent and personal qualities, with which we already have become acquainted above, are important in this respect.

A large landowner generally has a few hundred /111/ sawahs which lie distributed in various kampongs far removed from each other. The landowner himself, who usually lives far away from these, therefore employs someone to be his koasa in a kampong or, if this happens to be convenient, in a district. The koasa sees to it that the sawahs located there are worked. He, in turn, hires a number of people from that region as laborers. The latter receive as many sawah sections as they desire or are able to handle. The koasa's task is to see to it that the sawahs are worked, that this is done as well as possible, that the distribution of the harvested sheaves takes place according to the agreements made, and finally, that a reasonable number of sheaves reaches the landowner. The latter, therefore, must be able to trust his representatives. Consequently, he chooses by preference someone who already has a personal relationship to him and someone who

466 /111 cont./ furthermore has demonstrated that he is capable
471 of administering and working his own lands well. A koasa is
571 frequently an energetic personality. Such an individual in turn easily attracts laborers, either among his own kinsmen, or among the other kampong residents. Through his koasaship he gains in standing. The reason that the sunrang was higher for a girl than was customary in her group of relatives was explained by the fact that her father was a koasa.

One whose standing is solely based upon descent will not necessarily be a large landowner at the same time. After all, he frequently may not possess the personal qualities necessary to attach the best koasa to himself; inferior koasa, in their turn, attract inferior workers. The distribution of the harvest is less well organized, the number of sheaves that such a large landowner would receive in his house would therefore be scarcely worthwhile. A large landowner who might attempt to make working contracts which are too advantageous for him would find out that this is not appreciated. As a consequence of such a move workers who do not need his land to provide for their sustenance would either go to work the lands of others, or else start up for themselves.

Not every nobleman, therefore, is able to muster up the
[565] initiative and the organizational ability to develop a new complex of sawahs. This can only be done by a nobleman who possesses, in addition to the necessary descent, the personal qualities required for such an undertaking. If these personal qualities are present, many people, rather than setting out for themselves, develop a tract of land for him under the leadership /112/ of one of his koasa. The tie with the superior is then regarded as of great importance (1).

1. Sometimes a person who possesses much land employs a so-called koasa-lompo ("large representative") who, in his turn, hires local

466 /112 cont./ koasa, sometimes called,
471 for purposes of differentiation,
571 "small representative"
(koasa tja'di).

441 One who owes his standing solely to his personal qualities
471 obtains no more in returns from his land than a person whose
454 standing is based entirely upon his descent, as might be expected on rational economic grounds. During the postwar periods when many Makassarese merchants were earning large sums, one might have expected that many of them would have invested even a small part of their money in pices of land in the interior. One would have thought that they might have bought sawahs, or that at least they would have had large pieces of land entered in their name in the land-tax registers with the purpose of having them developed later. Nothing of this kind, however, appears from the Goa land-tax registers. The opinion of one of these merchants that he did buy jewelry with this money but no land because land is difficult to sell quickly if one needs money merely points to the direction in which the explanation must be looked for.

571 For a merchant who is not related to the nobility of Goa,
565 it is difficult to attach a good koasa to himself and through him
554 a large number of laborers. If he were to purchase several pieces of land, his share in the harvest would not be worth the trouble. An ordinary kampong individual prefers to work the land of a prominent man from the karaëng group. In that he has confidence; it strengthens his position. A tie with a nobleman always appears valuable. On the other hand, so long as economic necessity is not coercive and the personality of the large landowner does not convince him of his special personal qualities, there is no reason for the kampong man to work for this wealthy stranger. In principle, this stranger is regarded as an equal with whom one can therefore

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua.

M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads.

M 651 466

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaëng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over"

653 M 471 443 563

M 461 463

C 647 563 152 829

The camera, as usual, made quite an impression. In general, rapport was good, and I came back in the afternoon to give my assistant more paper. He drew a fine rough map of the kampong and is a very good man. But I need to have an expansion of many of his answers [to RK's questionnaire]. The trouble is that it is hard for me to read Malay. I have to get around it by having it translated into Dutch! 126 124

Balombaru, September 1, 1949. Second day: This time without Rahim. I have arranged, I think, to have a man type up Saleh's notes in Dutch. I got to the house at 8:30 A.M., and looked over some pages to give to the translator. The material consists of page after page of complete census data, house by house, giving age, occupation, family connections, and so forth. I can also check the material with the accompanying map. Saleh did a fine job; he is a remarkable fellow. Rahim says that although he went only as far as the lower school, he reads a lot and is interested in things in general. 124

First, I talked over the census with Saleh, his hadji father, his cousin's helper at gold work, and the old bearded sea captain carpenter. Then, after coffee we went off on a ride around the kampong following his good map. We went first to the cement factory, run by a Makassarese named Liyu who was once a poor man but learned a lot about business and has now become the richest individual in the village. He owns the cement factory. It is located near a river, where the big praus used to be able to sail in near the old market place (twenty-five years ago). The river here is now a wide, dry bed. In the distance is Gusungdjonga where Saleh's father lives. It is an island in the wet season. I noted the remnants of a bamboo bridge going across to the other side. It was standing one hundred years ago. The cement factory, with four big kiln chimneys in two buildings together with several other buildings, uses local lime rock and wood from the nearby woods. The rock is broken up and put into the blazing ovens at the top of the fire. It comes out as fine cement. Because of the great amount of road building going on now sales are way up. On the bank of the river are many big heaps of sand, and plenty of trucks to haul it away. Also, Saleh says that there are plenty of men working here. I took a photograph of the factory. Liyu's house, a big one, is situated nearby. 339 472

Then we went to the site of the old pasar, in the center of the village. On one side we noted a row of cement houses rented by the radja to Chinese, who can't own the land. Nor 563 427

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
764 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photograph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photograph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
782 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
412 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers, etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This belonged to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
743 leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map) [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss
758 Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows. These dwelling places are much better than native houses. There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the children especially get leprosy, and that when children are born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

4216 They say that there are not many who have run up debts
465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to
499 borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
466 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at
[435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f.30 per month, and one meal costs about f.1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f.1 per day.

563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop-
443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The
472 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only
433 manufacturing center in the area.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the
661 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.

208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa-
668 ganda against it coming from Makassar, But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.

286 /37 cont./ 1. Here again the Kapaia group appeared to be comparatively the best provided. In its 81 houses, 73 looms were found; in the 18 houses of the Mangenre group, 11; and in the 30 houses of the Rest group, 17. In a few houses I observed two looms.
592

looms in their own houses and are therefore dependent upon kinsmen for use of one. Wherever the household is incapable of fulfilling a certain task, the latter is taken over by the related group. It is safe to assume that the lack of yarn during more than five consecutive years, in any case until 1948, the year of this registration, was the reason that no new looms were acquired, while disuse caused many of them to deteriorate. The remaining 101 will therefore probably be used up after a few years.

602 One can observe regularly that female relatives "get" from each other a household article or a few ingredients for
476 a meal. In such a case one does not speak of borrowing, and it is not regarded as such, for these are all everyday matters. Without these items one is helpless, and therefore they use them among each other. Soap, rice (beras), and a saucepan are apparently equally common articles, but these definitely do not go from hand to hand every day. What is stated here applies to female relatives; among them this
[609] mutual assistance is a matter of course. But they have a different attitude toward a non-relative. Should she come to get something several times in a row, there are many ways of making clear to her that this is little appreciated.

462 The men have the task of bringing home from pasar, garden, or sawah whatever is necessary for daily existence. They cultivate the sawah and garden. They provide the women with

462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The 462 household always constitutes the center of these activities. 592 Male members of the household work together at these jobs. Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a [476] single house are insufficient for a certain job.

By no means does every house have its own plow. 241 592 Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

[556]

1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangenre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

[602] is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

[609 427]

although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

476 Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each 602 other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

476 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened
602 by this. A household that is apart from the others can request
476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency,
558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever
609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior.
592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower
361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 Differences are thus observable between a household which
612 lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in
621 the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of
592 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30
592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

858 /143 cont./ Boys seem to go through a difficult period
867 at the age of approximately eleven to fourteen years. Before that, despite small differences from the girls, they were considered to be children, and as such they quite naturally stayed in the women's rooms. But around the age of ten to eleven, the older women make it plain to them that they
561 no longer belong there. Compared to women, however, men have less unity. For them the difference in age plays a much
562 more important role. It prevents the smooth interaction between older and younger men, because the older expect
561 obedience and a certain respect from the younger. The young
855 boys therefore find no unity in the group of men which makes them feel at home. At the same time they do not possess
858 the sexual maturity to participate in the boasting conversations about conquests and sexual achievements that are customary in the circle of young men. They are physically not yet strong enough to participate in brawls and great work schemes, and therefore they cannot talk about their exploits. They do not count among the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds. At the same time these twelve-year-old boys have not yet had much opportunity to associate with each other. So they first look for their age mates. They roam around, they are little noticed, and they don't feel at home anywhere.

Division of Labor

462 The domain of the women is house and yard. There they cook, wash, weave, and take care of the children. They leave the house only to pay visits or to run over to neighbors, who are also the closest kinsmen. When male visitors arrive they withdraw into the back part of the house. There is the kitchen; there they have their own separate entrance. One could regard the women as a group whose
462 members /144/ help each other with daily household problems,
476

462 /144 cont./ whose older members supervise the younger
476 ones, and at the same time protect and lead them. This group forms a unit with respect to the group of men, but it does not act jointly otherwise.

462 The activities of women tie them to house and yard. Among their tasks are pounding rice, preparation of daily meals, festive meals, and offerings. Furthermore, they are charged with the spinning of yarn, weaving of sarongs, laundering and maintenance of clothes, and the care of small children. Except at harvest time women do not work in the sawahs (1).

[243]

1. A poor district, such as the vicinity of Takalar where plantings frequently have to be done several times because the first attempts fail, constitutes an exception. There the women help with planting.

[443] Older women who need a job on the side, sell home-made cookies at pasars and festivals. Sometimes they keep a small coffee warong /shop/.

177 At the present time a comparatively large number of
462 these activities have been taken away from the women. Spinning practically no longer occurs. Commercial yarns
[283] have taken the place of homespun products. During the Japanese period a temporary revival of spinning was note in a number of districts where the imported yarns could not fill the demand. Weaving decreased because of the large
[286] import of cheap sarongs. Only better ones continued to be woven at home. Where rice mills are established, pounding
[252] at home becomes an unnecessary drudgery (2).
[256]

2: Wilken--333 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Redjang-Lampong OD12 Java OE1
Ambon OH4
Gorontolo OG4
Makassar OG6
Batak OD5

A M G U I 584 476

[282 cont.]

Young people get acquainted in various ways. Activities in the rice fields often present occasions for getting acquainted, especially where such work is done with mutual assistance, as on Java during the rice harvest. The rice harvest, where men and women, old and young, participate in festive attire, gives young men and girls the finest opportunity for establishing tender relationships and marriages are never more frequent than during the first weeks of harvest time (4). The Alfoer of the Minahasa

4. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 525.

practice this mutual assistance and call it mapulus. Most acquaintance are made through this, and most engagements follow a mapulus. This is also the case among other peoples, e.g., the Ambonese (5), the Makassarese (6), etc.

5. Tijdschrift Ned. Aardr. Gen.
Vol. I, p. 243, note.

6. Ind. Gids, 1881, Vol. II, p. 829.

RL I 883 584 291

Among other peoples there are gatherings where boys and girls meet and have [283] the opportunity to become acquainted with one another. Here, I want to mention the Lampong specifically. Boys and girls often meet at night to chat or to pass the time in some other way. In general this is usually called manjara, which probably means the same as the Malayan mĕnjahut = to answer. The favorite pastime on this occasion is to make compliments in veiled terms, or recite pantuns, serambah in Lampong, in a singing tone drawn out as required. They must then be answered by the girl. I need not say that most love affairs start on these occasions. (I remind the reader of the regulation that on these occasions the boys must appear with the upper body bare, which I mentioned earlier concerning clothing. The adat prohibits the use of a badju [baju]) (1). Also among the Batak the boys

I Bt 883

423 556 612 /41 cont./ them landownership is also more regularly distributed over the various houses.

It appeared that the few houses of the Kapala group without landowners were homes of younger people who worked the lands of their parents or an older brother and who received a part of the harvested crop in exchange for this. The Mangenre group and the Rest group include warông owners /shop-keepers/, the bicycle repairman, merchants, and "porters." The last named are men who transport goods for another person to a distant pasar and who receive their wages partly in money and partly in goods. Several of them do not own any land. [482 465]

Those who own land outside Bontoramba live scattered over 57 of the total of 133 houses (1); 53 of these 57 are

1. In 54 houses there are people who own only sawah land elsewhere, in 14 those who own only dry land elsewhere. In 11 houses, therefore, there are people who own both sawahs as well as dry land.

occupied by members of the Kapala group, 4 by those of the Rest. According to these figures people of the Mangenre group do not seem to have land anywhere outside Bontoramba. It may well be that these figures are incorrect, probably too low, especially as regards the Mangenre group. The land-tax administration registered the names of landowners in each kampong, and it would thus be necessary to go through all the land-tax registers of South Celebes (there are a few thousand of them) in order to state with certainty that no other land than that reported are held by Bontoramba residents. And it is just among the individuals of the Mangenre group that one might expect to find that they have more land in their homeland of Pangkadjene (2).

838 /153 cont./ this festival. Lower women performed the first
[554] task, higher ones the latter. Taking participated in both.

Outside the house he behaved like a man. He would go
[482] on his way without escort, but whenever he was carrying something at the same time, he would do so by preference on his head (like a woman) and not on a yoke over his shoulders (like a man). When called upon as a witness in a legal case, however, he appeared completely in man's clothing with a black cap (topi), and upon that occasion had some good-natured fun poked at him. In everyday life, his presence in the women's group was accepted as a matter of course. According to my information, this dated from his childhood years. I was able to observe a little boy called Jusu at the age of about seven years. This is the age at which a difference starts to arise between boys' and girls' games.

Jusu by preference played with the girls of his own age.
[857] The latter permitted this without poking fun at him. A high noblewoman took him into her house and into her following. /154/ He would go with a couple of her nieces his age to pay visits and attend festivals. The acceptance of a kawe kawe into the women's group from his childhood years on explains the naturalness with which he is treated.

Details concerning Taking's sexual life could not be obtained. It was believed that he desired no contact with women. Concerning his relationship with other men only jokes were made. His reaction at the mention of anal coitus was one of decided aversion, and at the mention of mutual masturbation his reaction was neutral.

In addition to the commonly occurring kawe kawe, I once observed a woman in the adat community of Takalar who did not feel at home with those of her own sex. She wore her hair like a woman, but her sarong like a man. She preferred to work in the sawah with the patjol /hoe/ (typically male work). She carried burdens on a yoke over her shoulders the way a man does, and she would go alone to pasars and

585 /194 cont./ festival is the being "good" of man and wife (pabadjikang). There are no further guests present on the occasion. Only the mutual housemates of man and wife are invited. Together the young man and wife are seated on the bridal bed (2). The wife has betel and areca nuts in her hand.

[482 554]

2. The woman was carried to the bed by her oldest brother. A second brother carried her back again at the conclusion of the ceremony. These brothers evidently regarded this as an honor.

He must ask her for them; she must surrender them to him. In public, therefore, she complies with a request made by him. If she begins by refusing, she must be "bribed" by him. He promises her a present. Sometimes he is urged to take the betel and areca nuts away from her forcibly. The element of competition becomes clearly apparent here. Just as in the case of the eating ceremonial, comments are made by those present. Here the man must win in the end. He must obtain the betel and areca nuts since this indicates that man and wife are "good" (badji') with each other, and that is ultimately the purpose of the entire wedding festival.

The pabadjikang was not celebrated in former times, [178] according to one of the informants, unless sexual intercourse had already taken place /195/. At present it is celebrated, at least in Goa, even if no sexual contact has taken place, as for instance in the case of a child marriage.

585 833 Several men who had been married for years stated proudly that they had immediately been "good" with their wife. By this they meant that shortly after, possibly the very evening of the nikka', coitus had taken place. Here physical prowess

l:chabot
E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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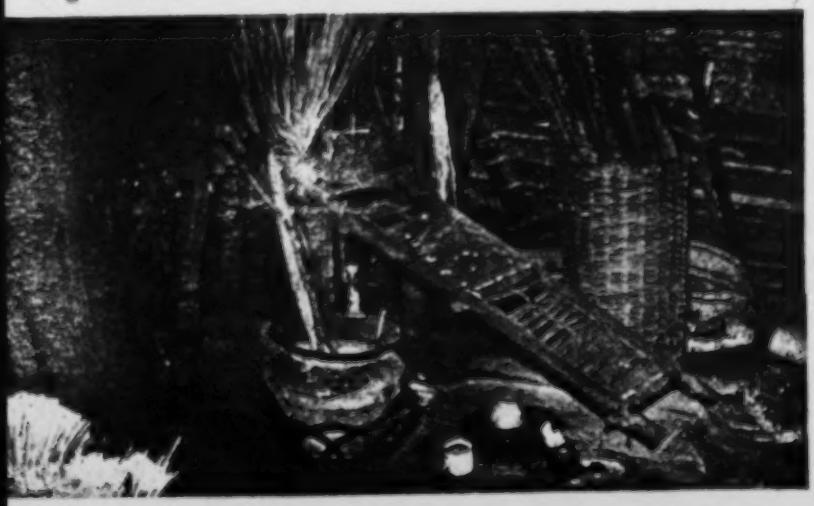
A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.



769
778
352
415

The little ancestral house (pantasa') in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END PLATE 3]

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there
203 are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The
205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoe on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

114 /253 cont./ Minor Native Law Court (Hadat Ketjil) of
217 Borongloë. The registers of "major" matters handled by the
671 Native Law Court (Hadat Besar) of Goa are to be found in the provincial office in Sungguminasa. In the civil registers are listed name and place of residence of the parties; the demand and the answer; the statements by the witnesses, the decision of the judge, and a single consideration in which is stated how the judge arrived at his decision. Relatively the same applies to criminal matters. These considerations are not directly comparable to those found in the registers of government judges.

Community-Labor Register

114 The kampong head has a register with the names of the
217 men in his kampong who are subject to government corvée,
651 nowadays community labor. This, however, does not list the total number of men able to work because a few kinsmen of the head and a few kampong functionaries are exempted from such labor, and because many heads are inclined to extend the number of exemptions according to their own judgment in order to strengthen their position in the kampong. This register is poorly kept. Old registers are not preserved.

/254/ Overnight Register

114 The kampong head keeps an overnight register (buku
217 bermalan) in which the person who spends the night in a kampong
486 is recorded by his name, his place of residence, the duration of his stay, and name of his host. Its purpose during the turbulent years of 1946 and 1947 was to exercise a certain control over strangers who came into the kampong. Now that this control is no longer so important, a name is entered only now and then so that the book will not be completely blank when a checkup is made. More than 90 per cent of overnight stays were not noted, so far as I was able to observe. The register therefore is of no use in measuring a certain horizontal mobility.

/257 cont./ resided in the same kampong because my informant, the school director himself, was very well informed about local conditions and accordingly would have been quite familiar, in most cases, with the domicile if this had remained unchanged. But no positive answer was forthcoming to the question concerning the domicile of 154 ex-pupils. There was no time to investigate this matter in another way.

There is a certain correlation between the number of pupils who went to school in Bontomanai from a certain kampong during those years and the distance that these children had to cover. The numbers and the distances in kilometers follow here:

80 from Bontomanai itself
77 from Pakatto, about 1 kilometer
25 from Borong, 2.5 kilometers
24 from Songkolo, 2.5 to 3 kilometers
20 from Kotjikang, 2.5 kilometers
15 from Parang Banua, 4 to 5 kilometers
13 from Borongkaluku, 2.5 kilometers
8 from Bontoramba, 5 kilometers
5 from Bontoa, 6 kilometers
4 from Buttadidi, 4 kilometers
3 from Bolangi (1), 4 kilometers

1. Kampong of an adjoining adat community.

2 from Borongpalala, 3 kilometers
1 from Bonto Bonto, 6 kilometers

There were no pupils from two kampongs.

One of these kampongs is situated 7 kilometers from Bontomanai and 3 kilometers from another place with a school. The children therefore went there.

All the kampongs mentioned are connected with Bontomanai by means of good footpaths, with the exception of Borongpalala.

and the five days circulate around them. Then, another 443
circle runs east into the Tanette Riatang wanua, where there 366
are four markets in different kampongs. That circle gears
in with the big market at Watumpone too.

I asked whether the range of distance from which the people 489
come to market has increased with the use of buses. They 493
said that it probably had. They also mentioned bicycles as
another easing factor in getting to the market place.

As for education, much discussion resulted. Andi in 871
particular seemed to be critical of the educational possibilities 434
here. He said they would like to progress, but were unable to. 464
They have only lower, and I think, middle schools in Watumpone. However, they are building another school now. Up to this month schools have been free, and the children have thronged to classes. But Andi said that now they expected a sharp drop. He said that if they charged even five cents a month it would be too much for many. (Later Thierens said that he doubted this and also that there was so little money in the kampong. He added that they could get jobs as coolies as there was a big demand for this type of labor. For example, they could work on roads at f.50 a month. The point seems to be, however, that they do not want to. He has a dim view of their energy, and perhaps he is right.) No one in the kampong has attended the University. Some have gone to middle school and many have attended lower school. Quite a few (?), relatively speaking, have gone to Makassar, and they must do so if they wish to get further education, for example, by going to normal school (except for the teachers school for the villages in Watumpone). Evidently, few, if any, go outside of
Indonesia for education. There are Mohammedan schools in 871
the village. I asked about their support. They said that the 578
arus gave money from their own funds, and also got some contributions. They received no money from the Bone treasury. At this point they became irritated, saying that in South Celebes if schools are Christian they get a subsidy from the treasury, but this is not so if the schools are Mohammedan. (Maybe they meant that the government schools should be included too when they said, "why should not the religious (Mohammedan) schools get funds too, since this is a Mohammedan country?") Anyway, there is a great deal of feeling on this matter. Formerly there was much feeling against education, and there still is to some extent, especially by the lowers. But, increasingly, more and more want it. I told what I had heard about even the radjas not wanting their children to go to Makassar for more than a few years. They said that that was generally so, and Andi again said that Bone is quite backward.

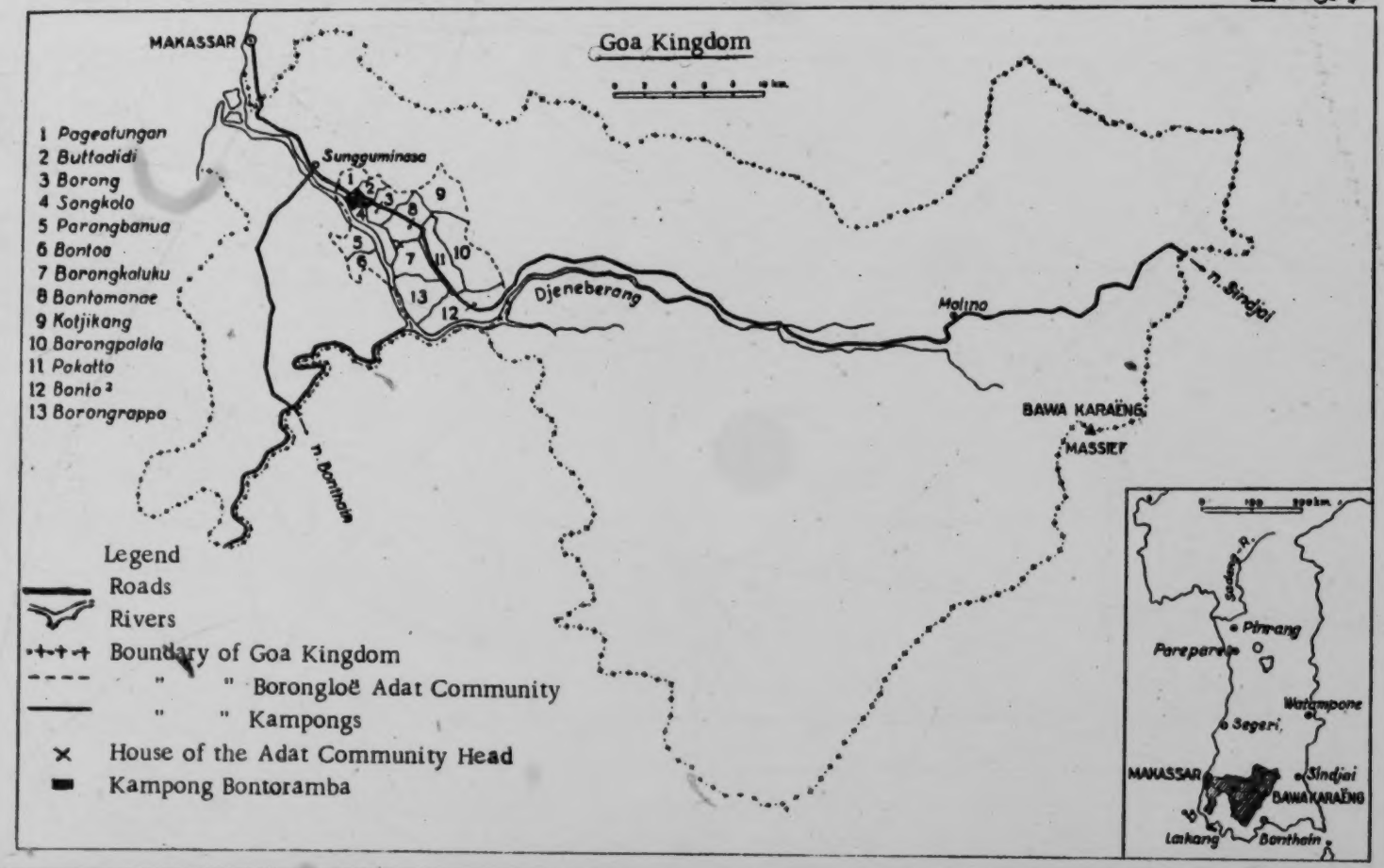
few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. 000
During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the
old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today.
The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general
the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones
tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have
been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in
pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know
that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and [439]
import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is
hardly worth speaking of.

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. For- 436
merly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C. [pro- 178
bably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East
India Company)--Analyst]coins and also kepeng. Now they
still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was
some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me.

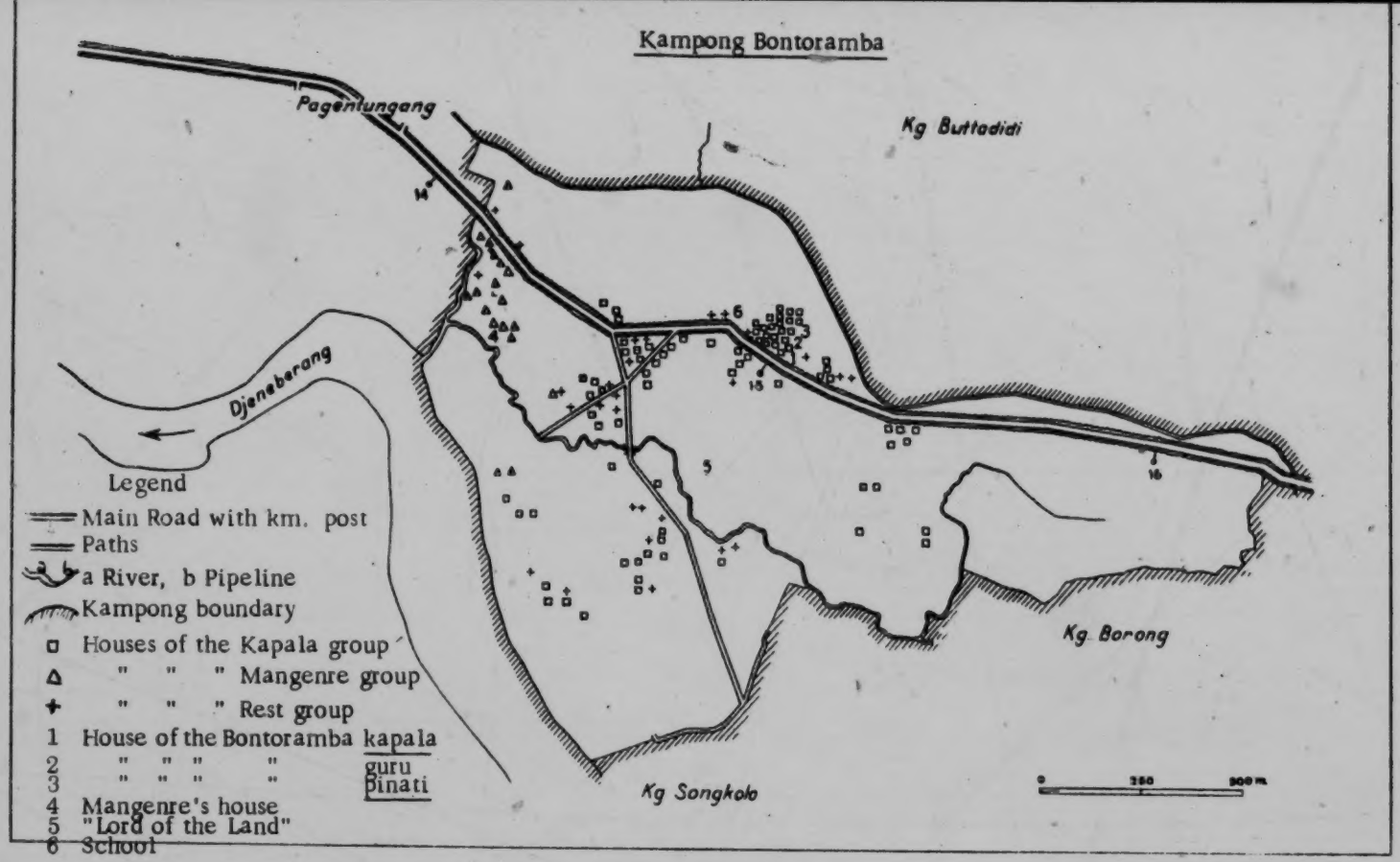
As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including 177
four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were 489
three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. 493
There is much travel by bus today.

As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic 428
and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main
thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance 562
it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that 591
the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one. 611
But the girls generally get the house. This is important be-
cause the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though
there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more proper-
ty than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Never-
theless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's
house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his
kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal
state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he [578]
might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not
right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the
thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really ex-
cited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would
fight, and even knife him.

1:Chabot--vi E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6



1:Chabot--vii E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6



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000 /14 cont./2. E. E. Evans-Pritchard,
The Nuer, Oxford, 1940, p. 261.

/15/ Chapter I

Kinship

131 Goa Province extends from the ocean to the mountains.
133 The Djene'berang River, originating on the almost 3,000 meters high Bawakaraëng and emerging into the sea just to the south of Macassar, flows entirely through Goa's regions.
●491 The large motor highway which connects Macassar with
361 Malino, situated 70 kilometers away in the mountain, runs practically parallel with the river. Approximately 10 kilometers outside Macassar lies the little town of Sungguminasa, still entirely in the plain, the residence of the Prince of Goa. Only 30 kilometers further on the road begins to climb
[133] steeply. The 30 kilometers to Sungguminasa lead through an undulating plain where woods and sawahs alternate. Groups of houses lie scattered through the country. At kilometer post 15, just past Sungguminasa, lies Kampong Bontoramba.
369 Elegant automobiles belonging to the residents of the large city roar through it, but this has little influence on village life and everyday thought. Some of the old people have never seen Macassar. For the majority a visit to the large city is a significant event, but more because of the many curiosities to be seen and experienced there than because of the changes to be introduced into one's own life after returning home.

631 Bontoramba is one of the 14 kampongs which form the adat community of Borongloë, and at present Borongloë, together with 10 other adat communities, forms the federative unit which for hundreds of years has been known as Goa Kingdom.

124 Levij of the Voorlichtings Ministerie (Kementerian
Penerangan Indonesia Timoer) [Ministry of Information for
the State of East Indonesia] offered to do this providing I
would pay the expenses, using his office staff. I went with
361 Rahim and van Heekeren to Balombaru this morning.
491 Balombaru is in the adatgemeenschap [native community]
Karawisi, in which there are perhaps six other kampongs
(check). To get to Balombaru we went out [south] on the Goa
road for about six kilometers, then turned right on a side
road, and finally again on a dirt road. As the limits of the
municipality are reached the road at once appears to be full
of holes; and in the dry monsoon period there is terrible
dust. We were stopped by a police cordon and later found
out that the reason was that they expected to have a meeting
of the police school (I think) in the afternoon and wanted to
keep cars out so that there would be less dust! We went by a
side route, and first stopped at a stucco house with an office
which belonged to the district head, the Karaeng. He is an
important man in Goa. He was not in. His assistant im-
pressed me by his poise and by his quiet manner. We went
363 on, and got to the village [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] itself,
going around a plaza, a dusty kind of turnabout with the enter-
ing road coming in at right angles to the "main street" of the
kampong. Rahim said that there were side streets too. It ap-
peared that most of the houses were located along the roads.
I will see. We stopped (before this, and outside the kampong
proper) at the house of the Imam, near the mosque (I must
check the name of the main kampong where the Karaeng and
342 the Imam and the mosque are located). The Imam lives in a
very nice Makassar type house. We went upstairs to the
main room, which was large, and in which there was a bed
with a klambu [mosquito net]. There seemed to be several
other rooms in the rear. The floor was of wide planks not
placed too close together so that the air could come up into
the room. The house itself was of wood with atap thatch [i.e.,
of palm leaves or the like]. The Imam said he had seven chil-
156 dren. He married in 1929 in Mecca, and seemed very proud
562 of this. He brought it in at the very first chance. He is a
576 small, quite handsome man, perhaps forty years old. His
wife is pretty, has gold teeth, and looked as if she were
dressed in Javanese style. She is evidently modern in a
sense, as she came right up to us, and shook our hands.
Rahim said this was not the old style, as ordinarily women
would stay behind. She also broke into the conversation
from time to time. However, she did sit at another
table, listening. We sat at a table in the middle of

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
● 491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

585 /194 cont./ become familiar in these common things. The content of twice nine young coconuts are now poured out over them, and the passili ritual is performed on them (1).

> 1. This bathing festival generally takes place three days after the arrival of the bridegroom in the house of the bride. During almost three times 24 hours, the bridegroom is forbidden to step on the earth outside the house. If he violates this prohibition he is scolded: "Why do you do that? Do we have to become unlucky?"

Thereupon they must "see which of them is the first to have the ground under their feet as they get up from the ladder." Whoever wins will be boss in the house in their marriage. The bridegroom usually runs right across the pannjambungi down the front steps. The bride is quickly carried to her little room where a lump of earth has previously been placed in readiness. It is always declared that the bride has won even though it is practically impossible to ascertain the actual outcome. But nobody is interested in the latter anyway.

After this the couple goes to spend a few days in the bridegroom's house. There festivities again take place, and subsequently they again return to the wife's house.

Being "Good"

Another small family festival takes place there,/in the wife's house/ in conclusion, a week or two after the nikka'. This

588 /231 cont./ Rappung shook hands with those present (a'djama taëng) in the order of rank and status, first the Imam [554 who urged him to go to his wife, who remained seated motion- 576] less. He just touched her hand. He then went to the two witnesses, first the oldest, then the Imam's younger brother, and finally to his two kinsmen who had come along.

The Imam opened the round copper box (kampu) in which the sunrang was contained. In it were: two kalomping (betel leaves folded in a special way), two pieces of areca nut, a few grains of rice, and 4.25 guldens. Of this, 0.25 gulden was designated for the Kali of Goa, and 0.25 gulden for each of the witnesses. The rest was for the Imam. And finally there was a small lump of earth symbolizing the sawah transferred as sunrang. The money was taken out of the box and distributed. Thereupon, the couple left, and with them their companions.

[493] Two three-wheeled bicycles with baskets (tallu roda) stood in readiness. Rappung and his wife sat down on the one in front. "They find it pleasant to sit close together" (nangai siampika), those on the second tallu roda shouted, but Djawi turned her back to him /232/ and by this demonstrative aversion showed that she knew how a just-married woman should behave.

Reconciliation

602 The reconciliation can be defined as the solemn arrival 627 of the two tumannjala together with the man's kinsmen and acquaintances at the house of the father or one of the brothers of the wife. There many of her kinsmen are gathered for the occasion. Wife and husband ask for forgiveness from all those present and offer the sunrang, the fine, and cookies.

622 The kampong head, or a higher functionary, is always 627 present on such an occasion. He is the one under whose authority the reconciliation comes about. In his presence the

and the five days circulate around them. Then, another 443
circle runs east into the Tanette Riatang wanua, where there 366
are four markets in different kampongs. That circle gears
in with the big market at Watumpone too.

I asked whether the range of distance from which the people 489
come to market has increased with the use of buses. They 493
said that it probably had. They also mentioned bicycles as
another easing factor in getting to the market place.

As for education, much discussion resulted. Andi in 871
particular seemed to be critical of the educational possibilities 434
here. He said they would like to progress, but were unable to. 464
They have only lower, and I think, middle schools in Watumpone. However, they are building another school now. Up to this month schools have been free, and the children have thronged to classes. But Andi said that now they expected a sharp drop. He said that if they charged even five cents a month it would be too much for many. (Later Thierens said that he doubted this and also that there was so little money in the kampong. He added that they could get jobs as coolies as there was a big demand for this type of labor. For example, they could work on roads at f.50 a month. The point seems to be, however, that they do not want to. He has a dim view of their energy, and perhaps he is right.) No one in the kampong has attended the University. Some have gone to middle school and many have attended lower school. Quite a few (?), relatively speaking, have gone to Makassar, and they must do so if they wish to get further education, for example, by going to normal school (except for the teachers school for the villages in Watumpone). Evidently, few, if any, go outside of
Indonesia for education. There are Mohammedan schools in 871
the village. I asked about their support. They said that the 578
arus gave money from their own funds, and also got some contributions. They received no money from the Bone treasury. At this point they became irritated, saying that in South Celebes if schools are Christian they get a subsidy from the treasury, but this is not so if the schools are Mohammedan. (Maybe they meant that the government schools should be included too when they said, "why should not the religious (Mohammedan) schools get funds too, since this is a Mohammedan country?") Anyway, there is a great deal of feeling on this matter. Formerly there was much feeling against education, and there still is to some extent, especially by the lowers. But, increasingly, more and more want it. I told what I had heard about even the radjas not wanting their children to go to Makassar for more than a few years. They said that that was generally so, and Andi again said that Bone is quite backward.

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. 000
During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today. The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and [439]
import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is hardly worth speaking of.

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. For- 436
merly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C.[pro- 178
bably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East India Company)--Analyst]coins and also kepeng. Now they still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me.

As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including 177
four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were 489
three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. 493
There is much travel by bus today.

As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic 428
and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main 562
thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance 591
it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that 611
the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one. But the girls generally get the house. This is important because the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more property than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Nevertheless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he [578]
might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really excited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would fight, and even knife him.

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, 203
and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting 666
on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems 624
that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the 596
head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his
clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs.
Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like
Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc
splits.

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van 778
Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, 565
kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the
karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he
was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave.
As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next 574
door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and
the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people
around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a
broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-
Heekeren.

The store hasa brick underwall, and a house above. It
appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and
berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always ac-
cepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim
talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked be-
tween ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United 872
States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim 346
said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in 494
a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen 198
the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it ap- 435
peared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual
style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used
Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling,
but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth
grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further
schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong,
[i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa,
and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is
quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather
far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later.
That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I 212
asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim
said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general.
He added that there was a press in Makassar.

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

426 They say that there are not many who have run up debts
465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
499 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and
466 elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at
[435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f.30 per month, and one meal costs about f.1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f.1 per day.

563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop-
443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The
472 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only
433 manufacturing center in the area.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the
661 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.

208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa-
668 ganda against it coming from Makassar. But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.

Makassar OG6
Celebes OG1
Chinese

as the Javanese or Sundanese. 000

Makassar: This is quite a fine city, not so smelly as M
Batavia. There is a fine harbor with many sailing praus. 501
There is a beautiful seaside branch of the club, and at sunset 362
I saw a large two-masted schooner with all sails set come by.
There are also fast lateen rigged smaller ones. Strange to
say, fish is expensive and housing short. The Dutch have a
fine club, but are nervous, and talk and laugh a lot. This C
place [i.e., Makassar--Analyst] is full of ministries and they 578
in turn are full of Minahasans. I had heard that bad feeling 563
is growing up between the Minahasans and the local Makass- 152
arese-Buginese over the former's taking over control here.
Katuppo, Minister of Education, for example, is a Minahasan, [126]
and there are plenty more. Many Chinese are appearing and
in the offices there are pretty Minahasan girls. One fat girl,
a Minahasan-Chinese mixture, Miss Soh, is connected with
Public Relations in the Information Ministry. According to
Levij, she collaborated and is not a good character. However,
she is making maps for me and works very hard. This may
be an example of the usual Minahasan drive, and perhaps op-
portunism. Zandstra, the capitalist who blamed the United C
States for everything but who nevertheless wants to go there, 511
said the Dutch are having a hard time. The price of cocoa 435
is down, the future is dim, there is false gaiety, and every- 426
where they are in debt. I overheard one woman in the hotel
ask another if she had any money. The answer was no. The
false price structure is ruining them. And they can't get
decent goods because there is no foreign exchange. For ex-
ample, I tried to buy a razor, and saw only an inferior
plastic one. Guilder prices are absurd. For example, I
bought a plastic soap carrier, worth about ten cents, for 3
guilders. The Chinese ride around in new cars, and so do
government officials. The hotel is like a kampong with many
children in the rooms. How they can afford to pay hotel prices
is hard to see, and perhaps Zandstra is right about everyone
being in debt.

[In Makassar--Analyst] Chinese: This afternoon I heard C
slow ragged band music. A boy said that it was perhaps a 764
wedding parade. In the street there were three men, one with 534
a clarinet and two with trumpets. Also there was a man with 292
a drum and cymbal on a bicycle with a boy pushing. After
that was a hearse, which was a large pick-up truck. On it
were wreaths. After it was a man, alone, strewing squares
of paper on the street. Then came three mourning women
remarkably clad in straw mats on the upper part of their body

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501] used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there
203 are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The
205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

563 I then asked whether there were other stores in the kampong. He said there were several, mostly belonging to Chinese. Rahim said the Chinese live in a few houses along one street. He pointed them out saying that the Chinese, or at least some of them, had been there for a long time and speak Makassarese well. But, though they marry Makassarese girls, the children of such marriages never do, but instead follow their fathers' line. Evidently they marry Chinese. Thus it appeared that the Chinese breed mates for their own folk by first mating or marrying with local girls. Rahim added that although Chinese men married Makassarese girls, Makassarese men never married Chinese girls. This is understandable, as there are no Chinese girls until the second generation. Then they are considered Chinese and marry Chinese. I must ask about the
000 feeling toward the Chinese on various points. Rahim went to this kampong school, and then to an intermediate school in Makassar, and then, I suppose, to a higher school.

123 As we left the store the lads asked if I would take them to
● 512 the mosque in my jeep. The old man especially said that it
562 was a long walk for him. Indeed it was so. In fact, I wondered if he would have done it if there had been no jeep. Four of them, including Rahim's father, piled in, and I took them to the mosque. This is Friday, and many people were walking in that direction. Rahim said that it was taboo for women, and there were no women going.

346 The mosque was quite a fine one, white, with (amazing!) an
177 old cremation urn at the top of one tower. Van Heekeren said this was usual. These urns were imported from China four to five hundred years ago, and were evidently used for ashes in Hindu days. But it is remarkable to me that one should be on top of a mosque!

285 I saw some very fine baskets in a store. One was vari-colored with a round top which had words plaited in around the border. Perhaps I will buy it later.

342 Thus went the first day or at least the first morning. I will leave things alone for a while. And on Monday I will meet my assistant. My general impression of the houses in the kampong is one of a mixture. The good houses are built mainly of wood and thatch, but there are several of these which are poor and are falling down. Van Heekeren said that bamboo is scarce, hence the use of wood. And maybe that accounts for the lack of good repair in some cases. The people are pleasant and polite, I have been pleasantly impressed. I see very few women around here and wonder where they are. One sees many more in Java. And those one does see here, though often very fine, are not generally so handsome as the Javanese or Sundanese.

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. 842
But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Per- 611
haps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here?
I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They [123]
listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families.
They said there simply was no control here. The more the
better. I talked at length regarding the future decision con-
cerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather
a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of
Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that
here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children,
but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very inter-
esting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories.

We quit at 6 P.M as the guru had to go to prayer. This is 512
Friday (or maybe he goes everyday).

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The 123
people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is 574
true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always 562
tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must al-
ways be served to guests, and the Kepala kampong said that
if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there
may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come
into the front when I am present, a difference from the be-
havior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served
by the Kepala kampong or his son or a retainer. The Kepala 576
kampong, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends
over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes
hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the
younger ones not so much.

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. 595
Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten 852
days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several 574
houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is
sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant.
We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a 000
house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way
we saw the kampong Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later
the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watam-
pone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a
three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children
soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim
like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they
marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau.
The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am
not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the
marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the
marriage is completed.

342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
764 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always re-
513 moved. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate.
625 The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well
102 things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaeng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]
368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

576 /11/ A stranger is first stared at quietly, "in order to get used to him, " as it is said; one looks at his face and judges whether he is "good" or not. Once established, this judgment, whose criteria have not become clear to me, is not subject to much modification.

Nobody seemed to find it strange that I participated at a 123 festive meal in long trousers and not, like the others, in a 576 sarong; but it was regarded as impolite that I kept my shoes on, and it was found odd when, at a subsequent time, the sarong fit was "wrong.". I am left-handed and therefore ate with that [264 hand, but the touching of food with the left hand was observed 514] with disgust, because it is considered that one uses one's left hand in cleaning after defecating.

In themselves these are all small things, but they concern forms of social intercourse which are carried out as a matter of course and thereby furnish emotional security. The foreigner who takes no account of this is offensive, and it is impossible to say beforehand which offense will be felt as so troublesome that his work will suffer from it.

Informants

The strict separation of the sexes in this society makes it 123 difficult for a male investigator to work regularly with a female [576] informant. The great mobility of the men also makes regular [166] work with a man difficult. For instance, it was impossible for me to have daily contact with a number of individuals over a long period of time in order to give an account of their life.

The men who functioned best as daily informants were not [115] those who were of the highest standing in their community, but precisely those who, afflicted with a "clerical" mentality in the good sense of the word, were in a position to work regularly and possessed a sense of actuality and detail. Since my stay in Borongloë after the war lasted for only six weeks both times, it was possible for me to adapt myself to this typical mobility by not residing longer than six days in a row with one and the

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Before the commencement of the Dikir on the occasion of the Maulud festival in Laikang. Dikir is men's work; a girl is jokingly chased away. Page 193.

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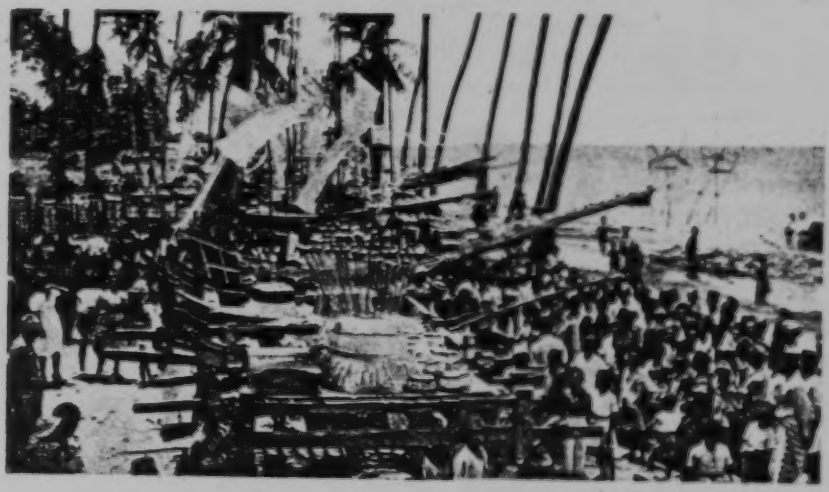

General view of the Maulud festival in Laikang. The scaffolds are sent in by kampongs. In their size and construction the competitive spirit between kampongs finds expression.

[end plate 4]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

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The Imam of Borongloë (center) marries the bridegroom (right); to the left in the foreground is the father of the bride; to the right in the background the back of the bride can be seen. Pages 259-260.

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Bride and bridegroom amidst the women and children waiting for their first joint "meal." Page 263.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 5]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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During the festive meal in the pannjambungi, the men sit in rows according to their prestige. Pages 195-196 and 243. In the foreground one can see, among other things, the coconuts, whose contents will be poured over the bridal couple at their first common bath. Page 265.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 6]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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During a circumcision festival held for a son of the adat community head, he and his little sister also have their teeth filed.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

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On the occasion of the same festival, the old Imam also cuts the children's hair in a ritual manner.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

[end plate 4]

123 /9 cont. / to look and listen. Everything that the investigator is able to carry out on top of just listening and looking without causing any damage during this time is pure gain.

Introduction

The investigator is a foreign element in the community to which he comes to work. The relationship to the individuals in his environment must constantly be adjusted. There are some manners which they accept from him. There are also manners which they find so troublesome, especially after a while, that his contact and thus his work suffers from it. Frequently the first month is decisive in this. Hence a person who feels free to show his disapproval of the stranger's behavior in a way that is comprehensible to the stranger is the best mentor.

As a Dutch official I was regarded as a high guest in Macassar [554 country. It is discourteous to display one's disapproval of his 576] conduct to a higher person; this violates the profoundest feelings. My gratitude toward my mentor is therefore so great precisely because his personality was dynamic enough to allow him to be a bad Makassare in the sense that, contrary to his feelings, he nevertheless pointed out my mistakes.

Initially I laughed too loud and talked too loud, for loud [517 talking and laughing really occur only when several men are 555] together. Then one of them likes to tell tall or absurd stories because the person who can do this well raises his standing. I 123 learned that as a male guest I belonged in the parlor and that I 574 could not walk through the back; that I could ask men or boys, and possibly also older women, something, but that young girls [562 and newly married women landed in difficulties if I so much as 576] greeted them, because this is enough to point to a "contact" with the stranger, which is forbidden. I noticed that somebody constantly kept me company and found this troublesome. Only later did it become apparent that this belongs to the ordinary courtesies observed toward a guest. /10/ A Makassarese does not like to be alone and therefore believes that his guest would also find this unpleasant.

Atjehnese OD4 Makassar OG6
Sumatra OD1 New Guinea OJ1
Halmahera OH12 Orang Laut OB4
Bajao OA8 Moluccas OH1
Madura OE6

I 224 [262] [385 cont.] among the animals fish is much more important than meat. One kind of wild animal that is hunted primarily for its meat is the deer, but even so [386] the great deer hunts, such as those in the Preanger and on southern Celebes, are held more for pleasure than as a means of obtaining meat. There is actually no category of persons on the archipelago whose trade is hunting, except in some areas that are harassed by tigers, where there is a kind of professional tiger hunter, and on New Guinea and the surrounding islands, where the hunting of birds of paradise, parrotlike birds, and crowned pigeons is actually a means of livelihood for many.

MK [224 517] I [463] N I [223]

I 226 [463] Fishing is of much greater importance than hunting as a means of livelihood. While in general only a few persons make hunting their chief occupation, the situation is quite different with regard to fishing; everywhere on the coast one finds persons who live solely by fishing and commonly even whole villages of fishermen. The inhabitants of various small islands of the Riau-Lingga Archipelago and in the Moluccas (in the broad sense) subsist almost exclusively by fishing. This can also be said of: the coastal inhabitants of Madura, a large part of Atjeh, Palembang, and some parts of Halmahera, and, as a fishing people par excellence, the Badjo or Badjau [Bajau], the sea nomads, who live on the east coast of Borneo and further eastward.

O Ml S Md A H B [226]

Ml N 227 As fishing implements, there are: all kinds of nets, rods, lines, palings, and traps; a peculiarity on some islands, the Moluccas among others, are long fishspears; on New Guinea bows and arrows are also used. Throughout the archipelago there is fishing with toeba, a fish poison obtained from some poisonous parts of plants and thrown into the water to drug the fish and make them easier to catch. Derris elliptica Bth. of the Leguminosae family, a subfamily of the Papilionaceae, is used primarily. At low water, a dam is made in the river; the toeba is thrown into the water higher up the river. The fishermen, with much hullabaloo, drive the half-drugged fish to the dam, where they are caught in great numbers. A toeba fishing-

I 226 227

library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but 000
this was no longer the case. Thus few people read. There are
no newspapers here, and only a few, for example, the teachers, 212
read papers from Makassar or from places like Java. Very 204
few indeed ever write. (The Minangkabau man said that there 538
are no creative writers here at all, but that in Java and
Sumatra there are many. He is probably right.) They do not
even write letters here. They did not know that their script [171]
came from India originally, and they were surprised when I [123]
gave a talk on old Indic script. As for Chinese, they teach
their own language to their children and the latter also learn 871
Buginese, as adults do. Nevertheless, Chinese children al- 868
ways have a decided accent. They go mainly to their own
school. The Toradja in Tolangi speak Toradja when their
relatives visit them, but speak Buginese well in addition.

As for the radio, there are only a few in the area and only 207
radio owners and their families listen to broadcasts. During
the Japanese time there was a central loud speaker for propa-
ganda which was set up in the market place at Watumpone.
They agreed that if they had one set up now many would listen
to it.

As for movies, they say that everyone loves them. Never- 517
theless, many never go at all, especially the poor and the 434
farmers who live in remote places. Those near Watumpone 546
go a lot. The prices are: f.2 for the first [i.e., best seats--
Analyst], f.1 for the second, and f.0.25 for the third. Most
people want the latter. Most of the films are from the United
States and England. They talk constantly about war films.
Later I learned that these are the ones which came out during
the war in the United States and which are just now getting
into Indonesia. Also I found out later that newsreels which
are amazingly old are also shown. It takes years for films
to get out here. In addition, they have some very old Malay
films, evidently made in Singapore before the war. They had
seen many cowboy pictures. Later on the old Sulewatang
showed me that he had learned much about the United States
from the movies. He was especially impressed by the ice-
dancing Sonja Henie films. He could not understand why she
did not fall down. Children in particular love movies and [857]
Andi said they remember entire stories and tell them over
and over again. Later I heard a woman say that her maid
thinks movies are wonderful. People here talk about cowboy
(accent on the last syllable), chorus girl dancing, etc. Andi
said they liked the war films a lot and also the ones with fist
fighting.

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed [791]
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumufun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that 554
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 782
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 796
They said that women have two stones, and men only one!
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

517 are mad about movies and this shows a trememdous poten-
546 tial value for visual education here. Indeed, the only out-
side amusement is the movies.

526 As for sports, there is a badminton court in the kampong,
367 but it is near Watumpone. In Watumpone they play soccer
and the kampong boys do this too except that they do not
have a field within the kampong. They also play the real
rattan-ball football. In addition, but only in Watumpone, a
few people play tennis. Probably no one from the kampong
does this.

524 As for games, they have children's games, but evidently
not many. One is a sort of tag in a square. Then there are
kites, especially (only ?) after the rice harvest. Children
fly kites, but fathers pretending to help the children often
take over the kites. Andi is amused by this pretention. They
525 have a string-sawing kite contest too. There is much gam-
541 bling with dice, but evidently no cards. No chess or checkers
are found here. There are cock fights but they are illegal.
They know about cricket fights. They are a bit reticent on
all this, perhaps because it is secret.

517 There are no real local arts aside from crafts. These
53 people are not at all artistic. Even their weaving is banal,
except for the colors. This is their one beauty spot. The
designs are in checks, plaid, or consist entirely of horizon-
tal stripes. The designs are dull except for the colors. And
aside from the padjoge there is no dancing. There is no carv-
ing of stone, and but little wood carving on houses. There is
practically no music and the people do not go in much for any
instruments. They did say that they play flutes, which is
true especially for those who watch the water buffalo. There
is no drama at all. There is no painting except for a few
banal efforts on the houses. Poor stuff, poor people.

517 As for leisure, that depends on a number of variables.
538 Some of the farmers work all day except for midday. Some
368 who have office jobs have regular hours. I didn't get very
461 far on this. In their spare time they mainly sit, walk, talk.
549 They almost never read, but said that if they could get books
they might read a lot. But there are no books available. They
agreed that a library is sadly needed. I was surprised that
they said that there was very little if any story-telling. This
checks with the Minangkabau man who could get no stories
here. They haven't even got imagination enough to tell tales.
Maybe in the kampong I could find some, but clearly they
517 reflect the general poverty in this sphere. As for the desire
to go where there is more entertainment, more fun, the
181 general impression is that there is not much of an urge in

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I 517
got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The 181
Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did 167
not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if 186
he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is 178
general and there is not much to say. The death punishment 681
is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the 796
common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even 805
included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They [241]
knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: 574
I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and 852
two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of [562]
men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear 176
part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much 874
new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus 401
chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third 403
grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

178 /117 cont./ taken over by lower groups, like so many other
565 cultural elements belonging to the highest group. In this case,
567 the possession of slaves was not prohibited by this highest group to the lower ones, but at the same time it was not simply permitted, either. This explains why, in his first conversations with the investigator, the adat community head claimed the number of his ata to be very large. At the same time it explains why, when the ata question was repeatedly brought up, he later remarked that it was a little silly to talk so much about his ata.

Most of the external characteristics that distinguished slaves during Kooreman's, and perhaps still in Friedericy's, time have disappeared. A single characteristic to be found with only a few individuals today is still reminiscent of a complex which half a century ago occupied a much more important place in the culture.

Loyalty Oath

521 Whenever Makassarese men between fifteen and thirty-five years of age -- referring to those I have in mind -- are together, it is a part of etiquette to tell tales which give to the observer an impression of boasting and exaggeration. Successes with women (always unrecognizably indicated in the vaguest terms), successes gained in a fight, or a victory in a verbal battle, they like to elaborate on all these. A valiant deed or a regal gesture is not kept quiet. In describing a feast, the number of buffaloes slaughtered for the occasion, the number of guests present, and the length of the festival are always made to appear as great as possible. Earlier festivals, in these stories, invariably surpass /118/ those of present times in all respects. The size of the speaker's own group of relatives in the past is clearly represented in this manner to those now alive, and thus also to the younger men, who are always among the audience.

443 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They
462 go around alone or with a number of men of their own age. Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 The activities of men and women therefore complement
562 each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more helpless, if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding gardens.

562 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that
554 of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the
576 meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status
571 with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the
521 others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator may place himself in the center of the story since, after all, those present share in the standing he won in this manner. The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them. Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people, and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men, four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression.
562 Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and
571 go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned. Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are free in their actions and speech.

521 562 571 576 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally. They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the same time about topics which they would also discuss at an ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 673 834 The forms of social intercourse between men and women are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

These strict rules do not apply to children and older [561 858] people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small [687] dagger/, which frequently results in death.

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

Young women and men often evade each other
571 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
626 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
834 of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
177 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
834 new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

595 578 /170 cont./ which this rule was taken could not be traced down, just as it was not possible to find the Makassarese text.

595 The two wives each has her own house. In 24 of the 27 polygamous marriages, the two houses were even in different kampongs. If it is said of a man that he owns two houses, this means that he has two wives. The wives live each in her own house together with their children and a single kinsman, leading their own lives. They never see each other. They are thought to ignore each other. When they go to pay visits, kinsmen take care that the one does not come where the other is. At festivals the second wife always yields to the first, but in actuality she always gets just as much of a chance to be present, even though it is just for a short period of time. In practice, the two women know everything about each other that can be regarded of any interest at all. [521] Female "friends" tell the news, especially the bad news, that each wife wants to hear about the other. In the course of many years the sharpest edges are often worn off this relationship. The children of the one go to the house of the other with their father. An instance where the two women at a greater age visited each other from time to time remains an exception, however.

It is expected that the husband takes his first wife's feelings into consideration and that he will do nothing that could remind her of her rival. An old example is that a man must [593] put away the contents of his betel box before he comes to the [576] other wife, because filling this box is, all the way up to the 276 highest social circles, a special task that a woman performs for her husband, so that a woman, upon seeing the fresh betel leaves, is immediately reminded of the other woman (2).

585 /195 cont./ is not the issue, but rather the tactfulness in
833 getting the wife to perform the sexual act. They had thus satisfied the wishes of those around them. Their masculine pride
[156] was flattered because they had shown that they were good conquerors of women. This characteristic is particularly prized in Makassarese. A woman always shows herself averse to a man, even to her husband. It is the latter's art to win her for himself through a pleasant outward appearance, a well-chosen word, a strategic touch, and very little physical force. That is how the ladies' man Sawerigading (1) does it.

1. See R. A. Kern, I La Galigo, p. 333.

The art of conquering women that Sawerigading possessed to the highest degree is at most held up as an ideal to the young Makassarese. Even before the wedding ceremony takes
581 place according to Moslem rite, one of the older women con-
593 ducts a number of conversations with the bridegroom. She talks,
● 521 and the young man listens. She tells him that it will be difficult for him to make his wife happy, but that his happiness in his future life will be dependent upon this. She also tells him that he must not be rough with her. She asks him whether he knows what he must say to his wife later on and whether he knows what to answer when she asks him something. She tells him what questions he can expect and what his answers should be to them. They do not like to talk about this. I could only obtain a single example of this. "Where do you place me?" (Keremaë nupatinro) was given as an example of such a question, and the answer was supposed to be: "I place you above me" (Irateangkuko) (2).

2. It is possible that the only informant who drew my attention to these questions

521 /195 cont./ and answers owed them to
581 tarekat influence, and that
593 therefore they are not in general use. Elsewhere, people denied knowledge of their existence. Nevertheless, a report of these questions and answers seems to be in place here.

521 Such a conversation between older woman and bridegroom
585 bears an intimate character; it is regarded as of great importance for the future /[illegible]/ life of the bridegroom. The older one must have the [illegible]ce of the younger. The bride learns the questions a[illegible]ers from one of her kinsmen, suitable for this inst[illegible]nd if the man and woman concerned are not rela[illegible]ch other, the older people establish contact concerning this matter in order to be sure that enough of a connection exists between the questions and the answers.

This conversation conducted in whispers between older and younger persons is not so intimate that an older man might not interrupt it with the question, "Are you being examined?" And there is general laughter. All the older people know what
[831] the two are discussing there. The instruction given to the young man is not so serious that an obscene remark could not be interjected.

585 Frequently as soon as the evening following the nikka',
833 when the guests have already returned to their houses, the bridegroom is taken by the older aunt to the partitioned-off shed where his bride is. The old women are still awake at this time. Some of them urge him to enter. They call him "my cock." Others try to hold him back from it, but this is mere make-believe. In so doing they are holding on to the idea that they must protect the young girl, as is the case in

585 /196 cont./ ordinary life. In reality, however, they all
833 hope that bridegroom and bride will be "good" with each other as soon as possible, that is to say, that coitus will take place. The old women listen at the walls.

If the young man expressly refuses to enter and join his wife, the older people rest satisfied, at least for the time being.
[626] But they show their disapproval and renew, possibly even the following evening, their attempts to make him go in. The same situation obtains if the bride resists once the bridegroom has been led in to her. If she knocks violently on the door, she is let out.

The older people talk to the marriage partner who seems
585 to refuse sexual contact with the other. They point out that in
833 previous marriages young married couples again and again
626 submitted to what is now demanded of him (her). The bride is told in such a case that all women have at one time undergone this experience, that her mother was also married in this way. The end of the conversation frequently consists of the questions so difficult for younger people to answer: "Surely you don't want to make your aunt (that is, the speaker) ashamed?" (namely, by sticking to the refusal /197/ and thus causing to fail the marriage that she is trying to bring about). To
[888 contradict an older and sometimes at the same time a higher
576] person is discourteous. The individual who does not wish to capitulate in such a situation can do nothing but remain silent.

Because of the strictly maintained separation of the sexes,
834 young unmarried men and women live in separate worlds.
585 When they are brought together, it is to be expected that it
● 521 will be difficult for them to talk to each other. Whatever they have learned and applied up to that point is no longer of any use. The prepared questions and answers thus serve, one could say, to facilitate the very first contact. Formally, they are an element of the ritual to bring man and wife together and to get them used to the fact that now other forms of social intercourse obtain between them than before. In

834
585 /197 cont./ content, they have the purpose of teaching the
521 parties the attitude which they must adopt toward each other.

834 If one compares the crying, passive Makassarese bride
who clearly demonstrates her aversion to her husband, with
585 the happy, beaming Dutch bride who looks up to her bride-
186 groom with full confidence, it is clear that every opportunity for misunderstandings is present. Then the criticism of an old Makassarese who had attended the wedding reception of a Dutch couple and had seen how man and wife finally were driven off together in a car amidst the cheers of the reception guests becomes comprehensible. In all these expressions on the part of the woman, he merely saw a display of her feelings of desire for her husband, and he found this quite indecent.

The fact of their leaving together signified to him that there was nothing more to prevent this man from giving in to his sexual desires. From the bride's conduct it seemed to him all too clear that the bridegroom would not have to make any effort to gain the bride for himself. The effort, tact, and considerateness displayed on this occasion are, to the Makassarese, the essence of the relationship between man and wife. Based on what he observed, this old man could only conclude that what was most important for him, was lacking among the Dutch.

177 Now the difficulties which arose at /198/ the marriage of
585 a young Makassarese man of high nobility to a girl from one of the prominent Makassarese Indo-European families also become understandable. In her house the atmosphere, dress, and so forth was to be European, and in his house it was to be Makassarese. This had been agreed upon beforehand by both families. In her house, therefore, the bridegroom was dressed in a tuxedo, and she was dressed in white with a short train. He was the gay, energetic bridegroom, and she the radiant

538 /217 cont./ 1. The suggestion I made
684 in 1938 to the effect that a
deeper knowledge of the
[114] Makassarese marriage arrange-
ment would clarify the reasons
that lead to a silariang
marriage has therefore proved
incorrect. See /Ibid./
Vol. 149, p. 334.

Silariang is inevitably preceded by a violation of rules concerning social intercourse between the sexes, regardless of whether this was intentional or not. Only when one continues to search for the reasons leading to the transgression of these social rules, does one find the desire on the part of the individuals whose marriage is prevented by social or economic factors and who therefore resort to silariang.

521 Even if nobody else knows of this transgression but the
684 man and the woman, the latter can still not be sure that he will not boast of it in order to appear as a "ladies' man" among his companions. Boasting of success with women is typical of young men (tau rungka). They like to suggest extensive successes, even though actually little more has happened than that a number of significant glances were exchanged, and a few remarks of a general nature but, in his opinion, cleverly stated were made in her presence. At the same time, a young man has a valid reason for remaining vague when he makes such boasts, for if he were to be too explicit, so that another could understand to whom he is referring, his bragging immediately imperils the girl. Then
[626] her brother might hear of it. The fact that people "talk about her" is one of the worst things that can happen to a young woman. In that case she must certainly flee because
[558] her brother or cousin can do nothing but stab unless he wants

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

When she is being discussed, one of the older women,
[571] sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say,
[602] they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

155 /240 cont./ 1. For the ideas followed
867 here, see A. Kardiner,
The Individual and His
Society, fourth edition,
New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years
of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.
571 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same
578 descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to
rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of
this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival
in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but
a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle,
[685] and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The
theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

The previous discussion took place in the evening in the house of the Kepala kampong [of Balombaru--Analyst]. As we talked about various subjects I found that whenever I spoke about the United States I got a good reaction. The village head, a spirited individual, said that he wanted to go there. I said that in a few years perhaps he could. I found out later that one reason the Kepala kampong appeared to be so clever is that he once was a sailor and traveled a good deal. One source said that this was not true but that he had merely been a customs official. In any event he does act like a very special person. 521 156 842 829

I said that there were few children per family in the United States because of the long period of education and the great expense involved. They said that in Makassar everyone wanted lots of children. However, they volunteered nothing regarding education. Then the village head said jokingly that he was going to the United States to help the population problem there. He said that if he got there he would make lots of children! That is the spirit I notice here. The men are very jocular. They like good and rough conversation. In their talk they are quite direct. There is little refinement, halus, such as there is in Java. Nevertheless, they are remarkably polite. All goes very nicely. And there never seems to be an embarrassing or false step.

Later in the evening, I sat with a Dutchman. An acquaintance of his was drunk. He said that he was not interested in the United States when I talked about it. He was very rough indeed, and the other Dutchman was ashamed. Maybe it was a matter of the alcohol involved. 000

These folk are amazingly attractive. Maybe they are not so when just amongst themselves, and perhaps their appearance now is because of the presence of a visitor. I would like to know what goes on from day to day, and if they are on their best behavior now. 609 123

I talked Malay with them and this went over quite well. I told them about the United States and about Yale and about the shrinking world. Perhaps they are just polite, but they seemed interested. One thing went over especially well. I said that there was no pangkat [rank, class] in the United States. I gave the case of President Truman. His father was a tani [farmer] and he had no special rank. Nevertheless he worked himself up. But the thing which hit the Kepala kampong the hardest, and that which he told most eloquently to the people, was that every four years a man like Truman must stand up before the country for election. And if he is not

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one family. They said that they had a very small house and were very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants
161 whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small
592 houses have many more. The population has risen some despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
● 521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk about it, but they have no money so they have to remain. When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in. I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies. They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world, but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar,
207 and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay. There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst] put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

829 As for the ideas of the horizon of political life,
208 he said that outwardly there had been no change, and that the horizon is actually non-existent.
521 However, he suspects that much more goes on beneath the surface. He said that every man, even the lowers, knows about the Java troubles. But one never hears a word about this in public. As for outside places, they know a lot about the United States and Russia, that is, they know about the troubles involved. They know the communists have China. And they know that India is free. They know about the Pakistan-Hindustan trouble. They know a little bit about Burma. And they know that MacArthur wants to use Japan against Russia. They know the Philippines are free. They know Germany wants to fight against Russia. All of this is known in varying degrees, but in general much news goes on under cover. Most knowledge, however, centers around the United States, Russia, and China. A poor last is India.

As for colonialism, Andi said this is another jail matter. People just keep their mouths shut. But he knows, and thinks other people know, that the radjas and the Dutch are working together. I made a speech on this and he agreed. I can see that he knows quite a bit, and is probably very Republican in sympathy, which means that he and his fellows must talk quite a bit on the side.

661 As for ideas about Holland and the like, that is also taboo.
829 As for any knowledge of other countries' politics, as above it
521 centers mostly around the United States, Russia, China, and then last India. Some knowledge is shown concerning Germany
203 and Japan, and other Southeast Asian countries. They obtain this knowledge via movies; little information reaches them indirectly from radio sources (i.e., one hears a broadcast and relates the news to others), for example, from the Voice of America or the Republican radio. Some news also travels by rumor and from papers or from people who read papers. Political subjects are seldom or never discussed in public. Such discussions may go in the homes and in secret, but only in intimate circles and even then the people are quite wary. I asked the Controleur about this and he said there were two viewpoints: First, that in 1946 there was a great deal of political trouble here involving extremists, and many were killed. Thus politics seems dangerous and must be suppressed or else it will lead to trouble. The other, to which he and the Assistant Resident incline, is that if they suppress discussion of these matters to a certain degree here there will certainly be an explosion someday. He thinks it would be better if the nobles would get on a more political basis or on the political
665 bandwagon and into political parties. He said that Bone is the
668 only state in South Celebes which has no parties. This seems

to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper 665
administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there 668
are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an
eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad ex- 668
periences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't 663
keep their word, and although he is a conservative, he keeps 576
his word. Thus he is disgusted with politics. Nevertheless, 178
he has a great deal of influence even with those who are relatively radical. When a blazing representative of the Republic here meets the Radja he gives him sembah [homage, respectful greeting with hands placed together on the forehead]. And this is true also in Makassar. But the new and radical politicians are also still caught in the web of the rigid adat of South Celebes. As for the exiled Arumpone, the Controleur said that if the Dutch were to leave, there is a good chance for a coup d'etat here, and in other places as well. He also agreed that if in the Republic, with freedom
the radjas will suffer with a resultant political upsurge. As 648
for the point that many of the people think that the Dutch and 663
the radjas are working together, I get the impression that it 178
is partly true, and the Dutch I meet constantly rationalize 565
this by saying that all would fall apart here if the traditional custom law, the adat, which depends upon the ordered, ranked universe were to be suddenly abolished. But, says the Controleur, the people do not know how much the Dutch keep the radjas from excesses both diplomatically and behind the
scenes. Still, he said that it is difficult now because the 661
Dutch are only here as helpers and can work only through the 656
radjas. In previous times if there was a bad fellow high up in the state, the Dutch could jail him. But now, for example in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use anyway because the replacements would probably be just as bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating the size of the family. For example, they will list a family as consisting of nine members when it really has only five. Then they will give out the ration for five members, keeping the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the Chinese.

Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that 665
if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties 521
would get much support. He also said that the relatively

M 6065 6521 conservative PNI [PartaiNasional Indonesia, i.e.,Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic l life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

M 602 565 212 601

M 602 171

M T 582 563 771

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal, and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

585 /192 cont./ a seated position. The one who reaches him first
524 receives a "pitjuru," a luck-bringing object, sometimes in the form of a coin or ornament. However, care is always taken that the woman wins. On the other hand, she is not allowed to win directly. If she or her husband is very close to the one who knocked, another one will knock who is seated at the other side of the circle, and then they must again push themselves thither. But once the highest guest has knocked upon the ground, no one knocks anymore. He does this only when the man does not have a chance of getting to him first, so that the bride therefore receives the pitjuru from him. "Amèsu" is, therefore, as it were, a game in which the young couple compete with each other, but whose outcome is already fixed from the outset. It is com-
[654] pared to a cock fight. It only takes place when there are high guests present at the festival. It is pleasant for the person who gives the festival if "amèsu" takes place, for that means that he had /193/ high guests, and that means that he is in their favor. For the young man, this pushing competition is un-
[522] pleasant because he always loses to his bride, and people openly make fun of this.

The First Joint Meal

585 The day after the nikka', man and wife for the first time "eat" together. Ritual and play are here closely interwoven. There is no question of ordinary eating. One of the older women takes a handful of rice with coconut oil and sugar, briefly holds this above the incense vessel, mumbles a spell over it, and then gives this to the young woman to eat. Coconut oil, that is to
[824] say, fat, is a symbol of wealth; sugar is a symbol of love and sweetness. She is told to bring this handful of food momentarily to her mouth, and then to offer it to the young husband seated next to her. The people around watch to see how he reacts. If he opens his mouth quickly, this means that he likes her. "Your cock is conquered," the men at that point laughingly

585 /191 cont./ Thereupon I was asked to come and eat outside in the pannjambungi."

So much for the Iman's report. /192/

The First Touch

As has already become apparent from the Imam's report, the best man (tau lalangang) takes the bridegroom by the hand immediately after the nikka', and leads him to his bride, who is seated a few meters before him on the ground with her back turned toward him. Here he touches her for the first time in the presence of all kinsmen and guests. Older women have previously talked to him and told him that he must be gentle and friendly with his bride because his luck is dependent upon this in his later life. At the same time they also tell him what is expected of him at the moment of this first touch. The spot where he touches her (arm, neck, cheek, or ear, and so forth) and the way in which he does this (calmly, gently, indifferently, angrily) are considered important in this connection. From this, the older people deduce the young man's feelings with respect to his wife, and at the same time they determine on the basis of this how she will henceforth have to conduct herself toward him, scolding, instructing him further, and so forth.

The Pushing Game

585 524 This same evening "amèsu" sometimes takes place. This is a "pushing game" (1). The guests sit around in a circle; the

1. B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 697.

higher guests sit in front. Within the circle is the couple, likewise seated upon the ground. One of the higher guests knocks on the ground. The couple must push themselves toward him in

585 /192 cont./ a seated position. The one who reaches him first
524 receives a "pitjuru," a luck-bringing object, sometimes in the form of a coin or ornament. However, care is always taken that the woman wins. On the other hand, she is not allowed to win directly. If she or her husband is very close to the one who knocked, another one will knock who is seated at the other side of the circle, and then they must again push themselves thither. But once the highest guest has knocked upon the ground, no one knocks anymore. He does this only when the man does not have a chance of getting to him first, so that the bride therefore receives the pitjuru from him. "Amèsu" is, therefore, as it were, a game in which the young couple compete with each other, but whose outcome is already fixed from the outset. It is com-
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[522] pleasant because he always loses to his bride, and people openly make fun of this.

The First Joint Meal

585 The day after the nikka', man and wife for the first time "eat" together. Ritual and play are here closely interwoven. There is no question of ordinary eating. One of the older women takes a handful of rice with coconut oil and sugar, briefly holds this above the incense vessel, mumbles a spell over it, and then gives this to the young woman to eat. Coconut oil, that is to
[824] say, fat, is a symbol of wealth; sugar is a symbol of love and sweetness. She is told to bring this handful of food momentarily to her mouth, and then to offer it to the young husband seated next to her. The people around watch to see how he reacts. If he opens his mouth quickly, this means that he likes her. "Your cock is conquered," the men at that point laughingly

Sumatra OD1
Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Java OD1

I 541 525 [126 cont.]
partition. Before the fight the crickets are tickled with a little brush until they become enraged. Then the slide is pulled up and the fighting begins. Again, betting is the great attraction.

S I 525 857 [127] Cricket fighting is not very popular on the Outer Possessions; it is found on Sumatra's west coast, but it is only a game for boys.

I 524 As we saw, betting plays the principal role at all these diversions. There are less cruel amusement, however, where one can also indulge his passion for betting. First there is the lajangan, the flying of kites, which has become a game of chance entirely and in which adults primarily, irrespective of social standing, eagerly participate. Kite flying is usually done during the east monsoon. The kites used are about the same as ours, but instead of a tail a bundle of paper strips is fastened at the back of the kite at the height of the crosspiece of the frame, and it spreads out like a peacock's tail as the kite climbs. The front of the kite is decorated with one or another wajang figure and named accordingly. The fun consists of letting two kites go up at the same time and, after they "stop," bringing them together in such a way that the ropes cross; then, by making the ropes rub each other, the one kite-flyer tries to cut the rope of the other and make his kite fall. To make it possible to do this, the kite cord, generally made from ramie fibers, is smeared at the upper end to a length of about 25 fathoms with a mash of ketan or glutinous rice mixed with powdered glass and little chips of pottery or some such sharp material, which makes it as stiff as wire. The spectators are divided into two groups, each betting on one of the kites. The kite that falls first, sometimes after a few minutes, sometimes after a longer time, makes those who bet on it lose.

B MK S J 524 Besides Java, this game is found in Palembang (1), among

1. De Sturler, Proeve eener beschrijving v. h. gebied van Palembang [A trial description of the territory of Palembang], p. 181.

2: Wilken--162 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Sumatra OD1
Makassar OG6
Java OE1
Javanese OE6

Br
S [127 cont.]
MK the Buginese and Makassarese, and among the Dajak [Dyak] (2).
J
524

2. Hardeland, op. cit., see galas.

Js Another kind of game of chance is gambling with [128]
I dice (Jav. dadu), a sort of heads or tails (Jav. kĕplèk), and
524 betting with coconuts, kĕmiri kernels, etc. by throwing them
525 at one another to see which breaks first, the owner of which is then, of course, the loser. (These games are quite like our well-known "egg-cracking" (1).

1. Another game is similar to our "tolletje trick"; see note.

Card games are also generally widespread. Chinese cards are used, which shows that these games did not originate here. Many of the more civilized peoples play cards, but none of them are as addicted to it as the Buginese and Makassarese.
MK They know a kind of quadrille or omber, omi, and a few
524 others, among which kensi, much like our "twenty-one,"
525 is the most important. It is probably of Portuguese origin (2).

2. Matthes, Tijdschr. v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XI, pp. 525 ff., and especially Bijdrage tot de Ethnologie v. Zuid Celebes, p. 125.

I Besides the games of chance, there are a number of other
Js diversions that require more from the intellect. Among them,
524 for example, are chess, a popular game among the well-to-do (Jav. tjatu), a kind of checkers, tjuki, which is played with white and black beans, and matjanan or rimau-rimau, very similar to our fox-and-geese. This game is often played in the streets, especially on Java, and stones are used instead of our disks.

517 are mad about movies and this shows a trememdous poten-
546 tial value for visual education here. Indeed, the only out-
side amusement is the movies.

526 As for sports, there is a badminton court in the kampong,
but it is near Watumpone. In Watumpone they play soccer
367 and the kampong boys do this too except that they do not
have a field within the kampong. They also play the real
rattan-ball football. In addition, but only in Watumpone, a
few people play tennis. Probably no one from the kampong
does this.

524 As for games, they have children's games, but evidently
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take over the kites. Andi is amused by this pretention. They
525 have a string-sawing kite contest too. There is much gam-
541 bling with dice, but evidently no cards. No chess or checkers
are found here. There are cock fights but they are illegal.
They know about cricket fights. They are a bit reticent on
all this, perhaps because it is secret.

517 There are no real local arts aside from crafts. These
53 people are not at all artistic. Even their weaving is banal,
except for the colors. This is their one beauty spot. The
designs are in checks, plaid, or consist entirely of horizon-
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2: Wilken--159 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Malays AN5
Batak OD5
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7

M1 [125 cont.]
Bt the Malays, as is shown by the name sabung; hence, one finds
541 it exclusively among those of Mandailing. Besides the Malays,
MK the Makassarese and Buginese are also ardent lovers of this sport.
541 Among them cockfights take place not only on festive occasions
231 and marketdays, but almost daily. They raise and maintain their fighting cocks with the greatest care, and their infatuation with them goes so far that a special nobility has been created for these animals. This nobility can be acquired by the bird's own victory or by those of his ancestors. If a cock has particularly distinguished himself during a fight, his descendants are named after him and his pedigree will be faithfully kept. Before an animal fights, one must check to see whether or not he belongs to the nobility. If he does, then there is still the question as to whether his patent of nobility is of a more recent or more ancient date, because the cocks of ancient nobility are highly esteemed and large amounts are bet on them. Makassarese and Buginese writings incessantly mention cocks as examples of courage and heroes are repeatedly compared with fighting cocks. Here, too, the cocks are provided with artificial spurs. One can appreciate how sharp they are by knowing that they are made primarily from old English razors. The betting during the fights
MK sometimes runs very high. Eight thousand guilders has been bet
[525] on a cock of ancient nobility (2).

2. Matthes, Bijdrage t. d. Ethnologie v. Z. Celebes, pp. 116 f. De Serrière, Tijdschr. v. Ned. Ind., 1873, Vol. I, p. 92. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 131.

B1 Besides southern Celebes, cockfights are also held on Bali.
541 This amusement, however, was introduced to the Balinese,
[126] who learned it from the Malays, as was also the case
I among the Javanese, Makassarese, and Buginese. We should
541 add that according to No. 10 of the General Police Criminal
673

Br
S [127 cont.]
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The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
505 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

177 554 576 /133 cont./ Even modern Makassarese find these forms of conduct stiff. They make fun of them but are incapable of changing them, and rather than be impolite they leave the table hungry.

177 554 576 437 A public auction in the Makassarese environment is merely a caricature of what the Western jurists who initiated it had in mind. If a higher person bids, lower person does not dare to outbid him. Accordingly, he asks a man of higher status, an equal of the first bidder, who is favorably inclined toward him, to make a bid for him.

177 554 576 622 437 The head of the community concerned does not like to participate in the bidding personally. He runs the chance of being unexpectedly outbid by an ignorant stranger in Makassarese country. This signifies a challenge to him, and he must continue to bid much more than the object is worth to him in order not to suffer a defeat in the eyes of his subjects. And if the competitive bidding is done by a Dutch lady, as might occur in a small administrative settlement, then he is left merely with a laugh about such a "challenge."

177 554 576 626 A soccer game is based upon the equality of the players. But if a karaëng takes part in the game, there can no longer be any question of equality /134/ (1). When the karaëng

1. The fact that, according to a newspaper report from the Netherlands, Prince Bernhard had gained third prize in a steeplechase was regarded as a gross discourtesy on the part of the two winners.

shouted "Run out" (bakkai) to his goalkeeper, the forward of the opposing team who was running toward him interpreted this as a command directed at him; he stopped, and the

177 /134 cont./ goalkeeper of the karaëng's team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaëng had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaëng
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he, and not the karaëng who was the loser in this collision. It is understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
576 showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams, high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive" in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaëng can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

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546 tial value for visual education here. Indeed, the only out-side amusement is the movies.

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177 /147 cont./ store, the Arab and Chinese storekeepers in
834 Macassar know that they cannot turn directly to the young girls to recommend their wares but that, for this purpose, they have to address the escorting man or older woman, while the younger ones talk among each other and thus make their wishes known. One who does not take these feelings into account runs the risk of being passed over at a subsequent visit to the store.

671 The separate domains of the sexes in the house and the
834 division of labor contribute to the fact that the prohibition against contact is carried out to a great extent in daily life. The strict sanction imposed on their violation lends a forced
[626] character to the relations between young men and girls. Contact may only take place in complete secrecy or, by way of exception, if it is expressly or silently permitted. In that case it is still tied to special regulations. There is never any uninhibited association. Some of these occasions will be described here.

● 527 After harvest, so-called pounding festivals (1) are
571

1. Called Adengka ase lolo, "the pounding of the young paddy."

[374] regularly held. These take place during the evening in the yard before the house by the /148/ glimmer of an oil lamp, preferably when there is a bright moon shining. For this, the pounding block is hung up in rattan strings, and while
[533 the girls pound, two or three of their closest male relatives
534] beat with sticks against the transverse axle of the block in a rapid and powerful rhythm. This sound is audible at great distances; the purpose is to attract young people from far and near to come and look. What they see is four girls

527 /148 cont./ dressed in red jackets, nicely made-up, and
571 decked with jewelry, pounding with precise movements, eyes cast down. After some time they are replaced. Under the surveillance of a couple of older women, four others descend from the house and take over the pounders while the first team again goes up, always with an escort and with eyes cast down. From behind the barred windows of the front rooms -- on this occasion the entire house is the domain of the women -- they peep outside where in the half-light of the yard the men walk around, sit, talk, and smoke (1).

[273]

[554]

1. Little drinking is done. If there is rice wine (ballo'ase) present, the number of bottles is limited. Only the higher guests receive a bottle and share some of this with the others. Serious drunkenness does not occur. Makassarese who drink ballo' proceed to tell taller and taller tales and become increasingly provocative in their remarks. At such times they avoid the company of a higher person.

527 It is reported that formerly a group of young men from
579 another kampong, attracted by the provocative sounds, would
177 once in awhile make an attack and try to run away with one
571 of the young girls. This would then give rise to a general brawl. The young men of the house group would then defend their young sisters and cousins against an attack from outside. Nowadays such a thing no longer occurs. The festival has become a comparatively dull display since fighting and

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

Nuforese	OJ22	Kisar	OF10	Ngadju	OC9
Arfak	OJ7	Gorontalo	OG4	Moluccas	OH1
Aru	OH5	Kai	OH13	Ceram	OH9
Makassar	OG6	Timor	OF20	Wetar	OF21
		New Guinea	OJ1	Leti	OF11
				Babar	OF6

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NL
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MB
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[313 cont.]

I again mention the Olo Ngadju. Among some tribes, there is also the custom of hiding from view the ornaments that cannot be easily removed, such as arm bands, leg rings, etc., by covering them with tree bark. This is done [314] especially in the Moluccas, among others, on Ceram, among the inhabitants of the Loeang-Sermata islands, on Wetar, etc.

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The hairdo is also changed during mourning. It is often arranged quite differently than during normal times. Whereas the women, especially those on Leti, Babar, and Kisar, ordinarily wash and comb their hair, they must abstain from this in case of a death and let the hair hang loose instead of wearing it done up in a bun. This last is also a custom among the Alfoer of the Minahasa and Ceram, on the Kei Islands, and among the Belonese.

NG
NP
Ar
302
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Among various tribes there is also the custom of shearing or cutting off all the hair during mourning which we find among the Papuans, in particular among those who belong to the Noefoerese [Nuforese] tribe and among the Arfak.

Not only the clothing and the hair, but often the whole way of life is changed during mourning. Among some peoples, in case of a death the closest relatives may not leave the house where the death occurred, for example, among the Noeforese. No one may leave the house, not even to bathe. Widows in particular strictly observe this regulation; often this seclusion lasts for months. Among the Alfoer of the Minahasa it is customary for a man, upon the death of his wife, to be taken to a room which he may not leave five, seven, nine, or eleven days. On the Aru Islands it is the widow who must remain secluded in the dwelling during the whole mourning period. Other peoples allow mourners to leave the dwelling, but prohibit them from going out of the village. This is enforced for a whole year on the Loeuang-Sermata islands.

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Furthermore, during mourning there is a general prohibition against either giving feasts or attending them; indeed often

Makassar OG6
Ngadju OC9
Klamantan OC7
Ara OH5
Ceram OH9
New Guinea OJ1

MK I 765 527 [314 cont.]

one may not even perform the usual activities and must maintain a deep silence as far as possible. This is most pronounced among the Buginese and Makassarese. We find it reported of them that during the period of mourning, especially for royalty, which lasts about 100 days, such daily work as pounding rice and weaving may not be done throughout the country, and [315] no one may be so bold as to speak in a loud voice. The crow of the cock is not to be heard, and markets are not to be held in neighboring villages. Among other peoples these limitations do not go as far, but they are found, especially concerning the playing of music and holding festivities.

Fasting during mourning is also related to this, especially abstention from certain foods, for example, from rice in the west and from sago mush in the east.

NU I 765 587 There is another obligation that merits special attention and that is observed especially by women, namely, not to remarry while in mourning. This is found among the Olo Ngadju, among others.

i. End of Mourning

NU HI MK I 765 The question now is when does the mourning period end. Among all peoples a definite time period is specified. For example, among the Makassarese and Buginese, mourning for a ruling sovereign lasts 100 days, for lesser persons 50, 40, 20, or 10 days. A woman of the common class here mourns 40 days for her husband, among the Doeson Timor Dajak, 49 days. Among most of the peoples the duration depends on the funeral, or, rather, on the celebration of the feast of the dead connected with it. Among the Olo Ngadju, the wife upon the death of her husband, the children upon the death of their parents, and brothers and sisters upon the death of one of them are pali = unclean. This uncleanness is removed by the funeral and the feast of the dead, A C NG 765 tiwah, connected with it, with which mourning also ends. This is also the case among the Aru Islanders, the Alfoer of Ceram, the

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside 567
they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 535
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

House status marks: little is known about the rules con- 342
cerned with the number of piles, but much is known about 114
the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written 554
in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me 565
say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now
too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew 773
most of the names and events in the legends of origin, includ- 591
ing the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose.

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline 177
in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the paka- 535
rena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices 527
came in. For example, one of the men said that they were 574
having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between 186
Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite 173
ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is 778
only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language 197
spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much 241
of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and 262
it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

behind where there were many houses for his many slaves. That house had horns on the gables. The sunat feast lasted six days and five buffaloes had been killed for food as well as many fowls. Many fancy cakes were served which had been left over from the feast. I saw the boy who had been cut and he is said to be thirteen, although he looked much younger. I asked about the repeated cutting, up to seven times, and Saleh said that this is usual. He looked wise at this moment, and sizing up the boy, said, "I think it isn't finished with this fellow and that he will have to be cut again!" M 881 [342] 304 565 343

I asked about the gaukang, and they agreed that the radja and the nine bate must have them. As for the others, for example the karaeng, some have them and some do not; but formerly they must all have had them. M 778 565

I asked about the charms, the djimat, and they said that there are still plenty being used in the kampong. M 751

We finally drove to the seaside where there was a bathing beach and bath houses. They say that there are many Dutch who come here and pay a fee. It is owned by the local karaeng. M 529

I had a talk with Emanuel, a student of van Voll, and ter Haar's former assistant. He looked like an Indo [i.e., Eurasian]. He is trying to get through a uniform marriage law for Christians in all of East Indonesia. He admitted that this is a difficult task because the families are so often mixed, and the settlement of property is likewise very confused. 000

I asked Emanuel about the divorce pronouncement by a man. He agreed that it was normal for a man to say it three times in order for it to become a full divorce. If it is said only once or twice the couple can remarry, but if it has been said three times it is final. He said, however, that there are two other forms in Indonesia (he said that ter Haar mentioned this). One form is when a woman gets a man to agree to give talak by offering him a settlement. This is in line with true Mohammedan law. The other kind is peculiar to Indonesia. It occurs when a woman complains to the judge that she has offered a man settlement for the requested talak, but the man has refused. The man is then called to the judge, and if he is still unwilling and all is in order, the judge himself may pronounce talak. I 586 592 C 586 592

I had a talk with engineer Resink, who is here for the Economic Affairs Department. He is an "Indo" and talks about "us" Indonesians. I get the impression he is a radical I 668

517 are mad about movies and this shows a trememdous poten-
546 tial value for visual education here. Indeed, the only out-
side amusement is the movies.

526 As for sports, there is a badminton court in the kampong,
367 but it is near Watumpone. In Watumpone they play soccer
and the kampong boys do this too except that they do not
have a field within the kampong. They also play the real
rattan-ball football. In addition, but only in Watumpone, a
few people play tennis. Probably no one from the kampong
does this.

524 As for games, they have children's games, but evidently
not many. One is a sort of tag in a square. Then there are
kites, especially (only ?) after the rice harvest. Children
fly kites, but fathers pretending to help the children often
take over the kites. Andi is amused by this pretention. They
525 have a string-sawing kite contest too. There is much gam-
541 bling with dice, but evidently no cards. No chess or checkers
are found here. There are cock fights but they are illegal.
They know about cricket fights. They are a bit reticent on
all this, perhaps because it is secret.

517 There are no real local arts aside from crafts. These
● 53 people are not at all artistic. Even their weaving is banal,
except for the colors. This is their one beauty spot. The
designs are in checks, plaid, or consist entirely of horizon-
tal stripes. The designs are dull except for the colors. And
aside from the padjoge there is no dancing. There is no carv-
ing of stone, and but little wood carving on houses. There is
practically no music and the people do not go in much for any
instruments. They did say that they play flutes, which is
true especially for those who watch the water buffalo. There
is no drama at all. There is no painting except for a few
banal efforts on the houses. Poor stuff, poor people.

517 As for leisure, that depends on a number of variables.
538 Some of the farmers work all day except for midday. Some
368 who have office jobs have regular hours. I didn't get very
461 far on this. In their spare time they mainly sit, walk, talk.
549 They almost never read, but said that if they could get books
they might read a lot. But there are no books available. They
agreed that a library is sadly needed. I was surprised that
they said that there was very little if any story-telling. This
checks with the Minangkabau man who could get no stories
here. They haven't even got imagination enough to tell tales.
Maybe in the kampong I could find some, but clearly they
reflect the general poverty in this sphere. As for the desire
517 to go where there is more entertainment, more fun, the
181 general impression is that there is not much of an urge in

Iban OG6
Makassar OG6
Gorontolo OG4
Sangirese OG9

[517 cont.]

I 291 cotton garment in various colors for the lower part of the body, a similar jacket, and a sort of corset or rattan rings, all mounted I in small, vertically placed rings of beaten copper, which tightly [301] fits the body (2).

2. T.J. Bezemer, "De Binnenlandsche Stammen van Borneo [The Interior Tribes of Borneo]," in De Volken van Nederlands Indië, I, p. 283.

M 288 [518] An important independent weaving industry is found on the small island of Saleyer, just off southern Celebes. Bright 531 colors are very popular, and checked and striped patterns are preferred.

G 286 Of the weaving done on northern Celebes we shall mention only the Bèntenan kain. Bèntenan is a little place on the south- 291 east coast of the northern peninsular of Celebes. The fabrics are named after this little place, but they are also made in other places. They are woven cloths, sometimes ikat, sometimes not, which originally seem to have been used only by mothers to carry their babies on their backs, but later, by sewing together three of these quite narrow kain, they were used also as sarongs. In contrast with most of the cloth woven in the archipelago, the Bèntenan fabrics are nearly always tubular cloths woven with a circular warp. The patterns are geometrical figures and are G very similar to the ikat fabrics of the more easterly part of the [292 archipelago. For example, they bear human figures with raised 565] hands (1). Originally, little Bèntenan cloths were used to cover

1. See Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch-Indië, II, pp. 270 ff.

the seats of notables and priests.

S 286 The beautiful koffo fabrics come from the Sangir and Talaud 291 Islands. Nothing shows the relationship between weaving and 531 plaiting better than the koffo cloth. "The pattern of the Sangirese

1:Alkema & Bezemer--624 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia
Ngadju OC9
Makassar OC6

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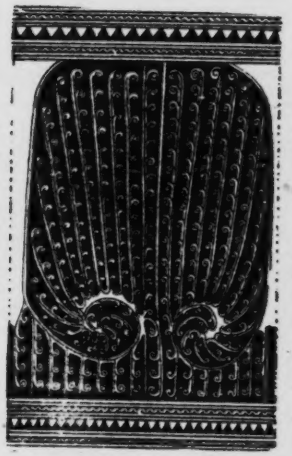
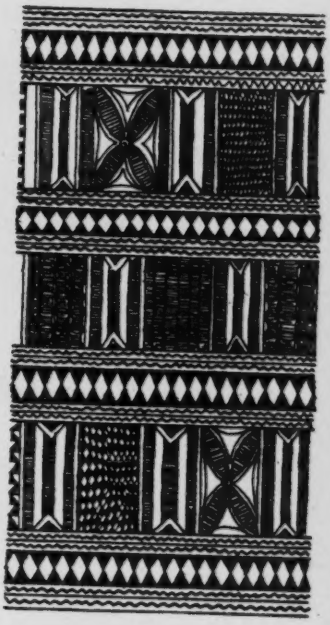


Bamboo Ornamentation on a Bamboo Tube of the Ot Danom, Southern and Eastern Borneo



Bamboo Ornamentation from South Celebes

1:Alkema & Bezemer--644 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia
Makassar 066

[573]

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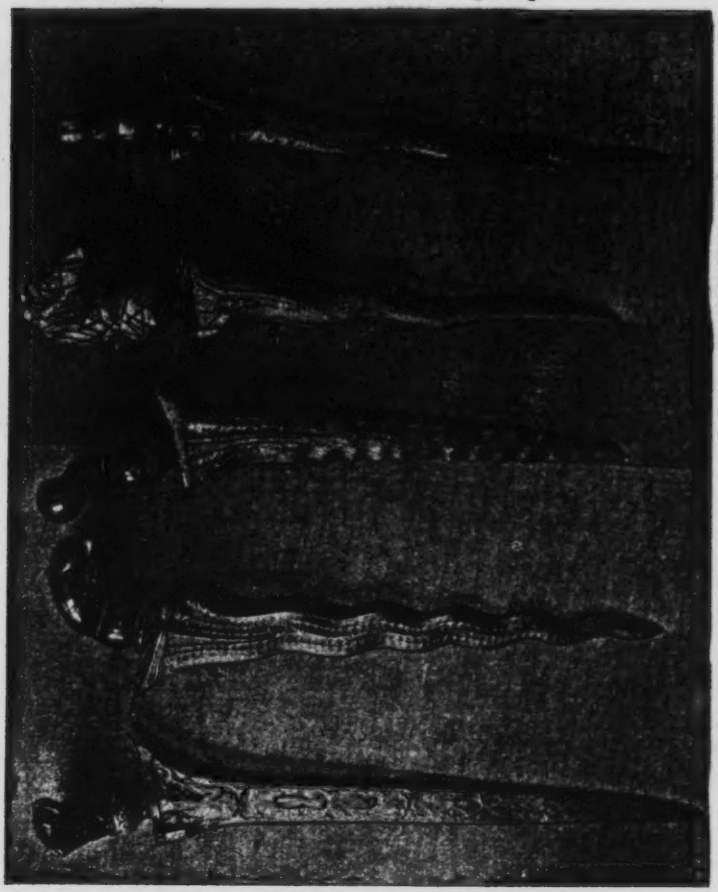

Krises with Pamor Work from Southern Celebes
Museum Rotterdam

RL
Sn
J [77 cont.]
I of Java where heavy rains fall. It is also sometimes used in the
335 Sundanese lands and in the Redjang districts on Sumatra, where
342 it is called atok pakul.
341

g. Decoration of the Houses

I Among most of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago,
342 the houses are built without any decoration. In general the
531 large, windowless houses have a very unpleasant appearance.
532 Through lack of upkeep they soon look dilapidated, especially when inferior materials, such as bamboo and tree bark, are used for construction. More work in the way of ornamentation is put on the exterior of the houses in only a few areas. This is the case, for example, on central Sumatra. The houses here are often [78] artistically decorated with carving, especially on the piles, uprights, and beams, as well as on the doors and the little windows, which are rarely lacking. Often these carved figures are painted in all kinds of colors, red, white, black, and blue, and small glittering mirrors are put here and there on the exterior walls. The edges of the roof, too, are often decorated with strips of beaten tin plate, and the tanduk (roof
M1 tips) are also covered with tin plate. A Malayan house so
342 decorated often has a gay appearance (1).
531
532

1. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving en Taal, Vol. II, p. 153.

J On Java, too, there are some decorated houses. This is
342 the case especially among the well-to-do. In Koedoe, the
531 capital of the regency of the same name in the Japara Residency, the houses generally excel in graceful carvings. The uprights
MK of the pandapa of chiefs' dwellings usually bear carvings that
342 are never painted and only rarely gilded. It must also be noted
531

Makassar OG6
Gorontolo OG4
Java OE1
Sumatra OD1
New Guinea OJ1

MK 342 531 [78 cont.]

that the houses of the well-to-do among the Makassarese are often built with wood of various colors, and they are assembled so artistically that the walls seem to be inlaid.

G 342 356 531 Among the Minahasa, at least the Christian population, it is customary to whitewash the houses with a kind of pipe-clay, and, by mixing this with other materials, to make a blue color that is applied to window-frames, posts, and shutters.

All this is exceptional, however.

G 353 356 372 The interior of the dwelling likewise does not excel in decorativeness. The interior is usually blackened by smoke because cooking is customarily done inside the house. Since there are no chimneys, the smoke stays in the air as long as it cannot escape through doors or cracks and covers everything with a black layer. There is, of course, no lack of vermin in the dwellings.

G S U I 343 We have now discussed the dwellings, but we must not fail to mention a small building [79] often found near the dwelling, the rice granary. As a rule it has the shape of a truncated quadrilateral pyramid standing upside down. On Java it is called lumbung, on Sumatra rangkiang. Where granaries are not built, rice is stored in the dwelling. The Alfoer of the Minahasa, for example, use large barrels made of tree bark, called sangkor, for this purpose, which hold up to 100 gantang.

g. Household Equipment

I NG 352 513 285 The household equipment found in a native dwelling is not usually very significant. In general it is difficult to name any typical objects because of the differences among the various peoples.

The sleeping place is generally a couch of bamboo raised slightly off the floor. It is covered with one or more mats, tikar, with which is used a couple of pillows, stuffed with kapok or often with rice-straw (1) or dry leaves; the latter is used only

and where they have come from. For example, they tell 565
people that they were nobles where they came from. Here 567
is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power 178
of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there 696
were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. 681
If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They 567
became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they
have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is 626
a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember
it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any
event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would [684]
be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or [588]
a woman who married or had something to do with a man of
lower status.

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social 557
sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale 565
by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. 556
The social classes are set. 554

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it 531
would be better to say that there is some. There are many
cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able
to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they
may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which
were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more
wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is
practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all
the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman
and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are
numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes,
terms of address, and manners.

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable 178
flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for 554
an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted 342
only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and 565
nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly 531
use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present.
As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the
"real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide
and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one
except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved
wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used
illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so
used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in
house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was
once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampong wears one. However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it. In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles. Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem to be alternates of all sorts. They call me padaka tuan, as I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone. (This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Makassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was formerly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when approaching their superiors or when passing them. They squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with them. They wait until they are asked a question. And every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the Kepala kampong meets me or says goodbye he holds our right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very best place. The Kapala kampong and other common guests sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked the Kepala kampong who was waiting in the car to come onto the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
764 to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

532 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth
612 in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
669 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past, " he wrote in 1883 (2).

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

532 /74 cont./ After the subjection of the princes of South
778 Celebes in 1905, this period of the tomanurung had passed,
612 however. Tomanurung were thought to deceive and to disturb
669 the peace. They were no longer given an opportunity to create a federation. In spite of this, however, the belief in the tomanurung did not disappear.

It may be that the Kapala of Bontoramba counts on the possibility of a tomanurung appearing who will unite his presently well-integrated group with a number of neighboring groups into a federation. The group from which the ornament of the federation is derived will, as a matter of course, have the leadership. The Kapala is prepared for this. The image is, as it were, an ornament in statu nascendi /in the nascent state/.

The Sacred Spot of Borongloë

778 A five-minute walk from the head's house leads to a
773 grove, the so-called "Flat Rock," (batu lappara') of Borongloë (3). On it /75/ stood, according to the myth, the

[103]

3. Many call the rock batu napara', which according to Matthes' dictionary (p. 635) means "a smooth rock with the bottom part in the water; a rock that is stretched out flat."

ancestral couple of the present-day head's group of relatives, at the moment when they made their final statements to the people prior to ascending to heaven (1).

1. Friedericy relates this myth in his own words in his dissertation. See there, pp. 506 ff.

[193 cont.]

I 776 and earth, between the gods and man, was a very busy one. By
772 means of high mountains, lianas, and rattan, man was able to
[773] reach the dwelling of the gods. Everything in heaven is beautiful and sparkling, but otherwise life there is like life on earth. It is noteworthy, however, that it is easy to deceive the gods. For example, one can make them believe that a pig or a buffalo is being given as an offering when in reality one is offering something paltry.

I 776 Apart from the demigods there are also mountain, sea, and tree gods or spirits. Mountain gods are chiefly volcano gods.

J G 776 In Minahasa every volcano is inhabited by a god, to whom human sacrifices are made. This was also the case on Java, [782] especially in connection with Bråmå. The Bråmå festivals are still celebrated every year, but without human sacrifices, of course. The disasters often caused by these volcanos led people to believe that the gods were the cause, and sacrifices were made to them in order to gain their favor.

J 776 782 Sacrifices are also made to the sea gods on most of the islands. Persons who look for edible bird nests on the southern coast of Java bring offerings to the sea godess Njai (or Ratoe) Lårå Kidoel, a godess who is mentioned as early as the Javanese chronicles.

M 776 [194] In southern Celebes a sea god is revered under the sign of a linga and a yoni (representations of human genitals). The
532 name of this god is Karaeng Lowé, "Great Lord." This cult is
[831] perhaps of Hindu origin or of animistic origin influenced by Hinduism. The inhabitants expect everything from Karaeng Lowé, for he is almighty and able to give life and happiness and also to destroy them. There is no question of one god here, but each area has its Karaèng Lowé.

I 776 The Indonesians have many tree gods or spirits, although they are of even lower rank than the demigods mentioned above. If people hinder them or go through their territory, they do only evil. One can protect oneself against their evil by means of amulets, and if one is made sick by such a spirit, he can be

538 /27 cont./ related that I Maipa was the daughter of the Sultan of Sumbawa. As such, however, she was of nobler blood than Datu Museng, and their marriage was thus likewise a forbidden tie. Matthes, [113] Makassaarsche Chrestomathie /Makassarese Chrestomathy/, 1883: "Aanteekeningen," p. 88.

singers (pakeso'keso') (3).

[533 534] 3. A singer who accompanies himself on a two-stringed violin (keso'keso').

593 In daily life the brother is, in the very first instance, the protector of his sister as a young girl. He is for her the "strong wall," as the verse says (4). He likes to accompany

4. See Chapter III, p. 297.

her and the older women when they pay visits to kinsmen living elsewhere. He is the one who reacts first in case she is siri'; this is as much as to say that he immediately starts the pursuit and stabs if she should want to flee. He carries her [585] as a bride out of the back rooms where she was dressed to the bridal bed in the front room. He is proud of her and of the fact that he may protect her.

601 The /nuclear/ family is clearly reflected in the kinship terminology (see list). It is apparent that only the members of the /nuclear/ family are indicated by individual terms and that for the rest the terminology makes distinctions only between generations. The distinctions made in ego's own generation,

158 /56 cont./ According to reports, adults are also subject
626 to such attacks, however, I never witnessed this. To be sure, an adult sometimes uses it as a threat, for instance, when he (she) has set his (her) mind on something that seems unattainable. A woman from Macassar who had caused a drum (ganrang) to be played at a festival of her kin group in Goa was questioned about this by the kapalakampong /kampong
[533 head/ concerned, since playing the ganrang is a prerogative
565] of the nobility in Goa. She threatened with adjallo' if the use of the drum should be forbidden her, and finally a decision was made that the drum could be played because she did not live in Goa and at home in Macassar she was allowed to play the ganrang.

In Macassar a girl who was sixteen years old and still at school threatened adjallo' because she wanted to continue attending school in spite of obvious disapproval on the part of her mother and aunts. A man arranged his second marriage behind the back of his first wife because, as he said, he was afraid that she would adjallo' and in so doing might well prevent his second marriage if she heard about it beforehand.

The reaction of others to such fits of temper was one of aversion. People turned away; no one made an attempt to help, nor did anyone appear angry. It was believed that nothing could be done about it.

158 Both phenomena, mobility and adjallo', in my opinion
578 should be regarded as expressions of a conflict for which the individual sees no other solution, a conflict which is based on personality structure. It was impossible for me to do any further investigation along these lines. The fact that both sexes participate in mobility to the same extent might suggest the /57/ necessity for an analysis of the "basic personality structure" /cited in English/ (1) of the Makassarese.

1. For this term see A. Kardiner, most recently in The Psychological Frontiers of Society, New York, 1945.

612 /64 cont. / is likewise made between the offering presented
778 to the ancestors in the attic and that which -- on the occasion
184 of the same festival -- is delivered into the water. At a
796 festival in the Kapala group the numbers were 6 and 7 respectively.

The Rojong Song

533 The rojong song constitutes another significant element
796 of the ritual. Old women hum the sounds unintelligibly and monotonously; the exact words frequently are not known to them. This song occurs at wedding feasts and other important solemnities in the related group, and it is coupled with the beating of drums (ganrang). The rojong song recorded in Borongloë before the war has disappeared. The woman who gave it to me was overcome by all kinds of misfortune. She was not prepared to repeat it to me.

Food Taboos

612 In a single related group there is awareness, however
262 feeble, that the members of the group may not eat a certain animal (2). In Goa it is still generally known, perhaps,

2. Dr. Chr. Nooteboom drew my attention to this phenomenon for the first time in 1939.

that the members of the karaëng group (the nobility) may not eat the meat of the white buffalo.

In the related group of the head of the Borongloë adat community the realization faintly continues that a certain type of eel may not be eaten. To explain this the following
773 story is told: A woman who had violated a prohibition was
612 punished for this with the task of carrying water in a basket
262 from the river to a certain place. The basket, however, did

177 /147 cont./ store, the Arab and Chinese storekeepers in
834 Macassar know that they cannot turn directly to the young girls to recommend their wares but that, for this purpose, they have to address the escorting man or older woman, while the younger ones talk among each other and thus make their wishes known. One who does not take these feelings into account runs the risk of being passed over at a subsequent visit to the store.

571 The separate domains of the sexes in the house and the
834 division of labor contribute to the fact that the prohibition against contact is carried out to a great extent in daily life. The strict sanction imposed on their violation lends a forced
[626] character to the relations between young men and girls. Contact may only take place in complete secrecy or, by way of exception, if it is expressly or silently permitted. In that case it is still tied to special regulations. There is never any uninhibited association. Some of these occasions will be described here.

527 After harvest, so-called pounding festivals (1) are
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[374] regularly held. These take place during the evening in the yard before the house by the /148/ glimmer of an oil lamp, preferably when there is a bright moon shining. For this, the pounding block is hung up in rattan strings, and while
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534] beat with sticks against the transverse axle of the block in a rapid and powerful rhythm. This sound is audible at great distances; the purpose is to attract young people from far and near to come and look. What they see is four girls

838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië, Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 548 Kawe kawe can be encountered in Macassar and in the large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes who make themselves available in exchange for money for the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as male prostitutes.

535 857 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for [534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana) and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time [533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary between young men and women. In this dance they are to a certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded [838] [832] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 535 838 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a

585 /179 cont./ expression. At the moment, so important for the
826 individual, when he meets his marriage partner, "the eye and
832 its environment" must be as good as possible, as one informant expressed it. /180/

585 Awaiting the Karuntigi Leaves

Awaiting the karuntigi leaves (amatamata karuntigi) (1) is,

1. B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 246.

in the first place, regarded as an important social event. On this occasion the bride (and likewise the bridegroom, each in his own house) sits on the wedding bed. It is the eve of the Moslem wedding. Many guests are present. Next to the bride a sister or cousin, as well as the bride's mother and a number of other older women are seated. All of them are in festive dress. They help the bride, fan her with cool air, move a hand, place a leg differently, or change the position of her head, so that she will not get any cramps in these parts of her body. For a bride must remain seated passively, completely immobile, and
[534] with downcast eyes. The incense vessels burns, the drums are
533] beaten, and rojong songs are hummed. Before her stand a number of little bowls. One of these contains the finely cut leaves of the karuntigi (2), a second contains oil, a third powder,

[824] 2. The leaves, it is always stated, are of a reddish color.
[822] Red is the color of fire and life. Personally, I have never been able to observe anything but an ordinary green color. The leaves are chewed beforehand.

and a fourth water.

noticeable in the Kepala kampong's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim. M 156 609

I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs, a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampong had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampong's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better. M 565 342 554

At the Karaëng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa". I 192

I asked Rahim about the Karaëng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i.e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaëng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes. M 156 554

I went back to the Karaëng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaëng as well as to the Kepala kampong. Rahim said that the Karaëng was ana tino [i.e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i.e., the nine electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought. M 124 565

The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him. M 124

Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were M 541 533 177

M school children with their teachers. I noticed much lining
541 up in schoolyards also. Is this Dutch or Japanese? One
●533 group had a band. There were a few, poorly made, little
177 drums--possibly home made--and a number of bamboo flutes.
The playing was not bad.

C Parepare is on the coast and has a fine bay. There are
485 many rivers along this bay and at each one finds many praus.
133 Some are rather large and are tied up near the road bridge for evidently they cannot go further inland. From Parepare I went north to Pinrang where the road turns inland and begins to worsen. Then I went on to Rappang where the slope of the land begins to rise gently and where the road has no surfacing but many loose stones. There was not much traffic. I went on to Enrekang which is quite high up and is fairly large. There is a pasanggrahan [government rest house] on a hill, and beneath it plenty of white government buildings. I had a miserable meal of fried rice, eggs, and awful coffee. It cost
C me f.3, which was too much. When taking a picture of flying
136 foxes hanging in the trees, I dropped and broke my polaroid exposure meter here. There are thousands of these flying foxes in the trees, making a terrific noise. They evidently scream all day in crowds while hanging upside down with their leathery wings folded. They looked fantastic through the glasses. They are big with furry bodies, and with faces and heads almost looking like bears. Horrible! Later a woman in the Makale pasanggrahan said that they smell awful too.

000 The jeep and everything in it was now covered with dust which seeps in everywhere. After Enrekang I went up into the hills to Kalosi and here it is really high up. I thought that this was already Toradja country here, but later a girl told me that I was mistaken and that the local people are still Buginese. I noticed that there was a wide area, almost uninhabited, between the Buginese lowland and the Toradja mountains. Finally I arrived in Makale and went to the pasanggrahan which appeared to be quite good. I got the single room, ate, drank, and talked with two Dutch couples until 11 P.M. when the lights go out. One woman who was quite pretty said she was born in Medan and went to school in Batavia. She had been only twice to Holland, and then not for very long. She said that this is her country.

In the morning I talked with one of the men. He was formerly a controleur in West Borneo, and was now starting the same program in Makale. He said, however, that he had no power and felt quite frustrated. He said that the economic

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the out- 567
side they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 535
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouthwash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
● 533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
565 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

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565 643 /98 cont./ Several characteristics are linked to the Prince's group of relatives, and as such becomes status characteristics.

/99/ The Prince speaks of his slaves (ata), but if the adat community head were to speak of his slaves in the company of a man of nobility, it would make him ridiculous. The Prince regards the use of a certain kind of spear (lallung) at the ornament ritual as prohibited to anyone except his own kin group. Difficulties have never arisen about this, for it appeared that this type of spear is frequently unknown among members of the lower groups of relatives. But difficulties did arise concerning the use of the festive drum (ganrang) which is likewise exclusively reserved for kinsmen of the Prince. It turned out that the ganrang was regularly played in secret by others, too. In many cases the Prince winked at this practice, but when, in 1941, he heard that in a certain kampong the drum had been played where, in his [534] opinion, this should not have happened, he sent out the kapala concerned to investigate. No punishment followed the misdemeanor, and no prohibition for the future. The fact that the guest who had brought the drum with him came from outside Goa was accepted as an excuse, but only in order to prevent the further difficulties that would have resulted from an actual prohibition. Playing the ganrang is a privilege of the Prince of Goa; everyone, even the stranger, must comply with that. This fact corresponds to what was reported above about the amount of the sunrang for Buginese who in their own land have a much higher bride price (sompa) than the Prince of Goa, but who place themselves under his sunrang, at least formally, while they reside inside his kingdom.

565 634 643 At his inauguration the prince of Goa stands upon the Goan investiture rock where the prescribed ritual is performed on him. There he accepts the vows of faithfulness from the great of the realm and adat community heads. The last two adat community heads of Borongloe stood on the "Flat Rock"

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1:Chabot--210 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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2: Wilken--151 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Javanese OE5 Batak OD5 Malays AN5
Nias OD11 Gorontalo OG4
Punan OC10 Moluccas OH1
Celebes OG1 Makassar OG6
Bali OF7 Borneo OC1

Mo [118 cont.]
MI Sumatra know the bonang, which they call tălèmpuăng or
G tălempòng and the Alfoer of northern Celebes call it kolintang,
I 534 whereas in the Moluccas it is known as tatabuwan.

The kĕndang, with which we are already acquainted, is
I also found everywhere and is played in the same manner, namely
MK by putting the instrument on the lap and playing it with the
Br fingers. Its name is gĕndang or gandang, a word that occurs in
Bt 534 various languages of the archipelago. (Mak. ganrang, Bug. genrang, Daj. ganang, Bat. gondang.) Besides this kind of drum, another is used with only one side covered with skin, the tambourine, which is known on most of the islands as rabana (Jav. tĕrbang). It is played with the hand. Another instrument belonging to the same category as the gambang and
MK having wooden or metal keys is found among the Makassarese
MI and the Malays of Sumatra's west coast. The latter call it
534 kelèntang.

Besides the percussion instruments, which, with the drum,
I 534 tifa, of the eastern parts of the archipelago, have all been discussed, we find a wind instrument, the flute, known everywhere
Bl as the suling and played like a clarinet. [119] It is made of
G bamboo and has three, four, or six little holes. Special men-
P tion must be made of the nose flute, which is blown with the
N 534 nose and not with the mouth and is used a great deal by the Niassans, the Punan, the tribes of central Celebes, the Balinese, and particularly on the Philippines (1).

1. Pleyte, "Recensie [review] van Dr. A.B. Meyer's Publicationen, etc., Vol. VIII), Nord Luzon," Ind. Gids, 1891, Vol. II, p. 1465.

I We also find stringed instruments on the islands beyond
J 534 Java, and all the peoples who are at the same stage of development as the Javanese and who are Mohammedans have the rĕbab or arbab, the violin of Persian or Arabian origin.

838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië, Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 548 Kawe kawe can be encountered in Macassar and in the large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes who make themselves available in exchange for money for the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as male prostitutes.

●535 857 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for [534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana) and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time [533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary between young men and women. In this dance they are to a certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded [838] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a [832] kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 535 838 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a

177 /156 cont./ sudden great popularity (1). The onlookers, men,
535
838

1. So great was the interest in this dance that teachers complained about the sleepiness of their pupils during the day in school (report by the ex-teacher Noeroeddin to Dr. A. A. Cense).

according to reports principally married men, showed their enthusiasm by stuffing money in large sums down the necks [648] of the little dancers. After some time the dance was prohibited by the administration. Only after the capitulation of the Dutch East Indies in 1942, have Masrî representations been given again.

The name of the dance probably betrays the land of 171 origin /157/ (1). Lane (2) first gives a description of a dance
174

1. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Dr. G. F. Pijper.

2. E. W. Lane, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London and New York, 1908, p. 389.

by women who at the same time are prostitutes, and then reports that the only thing which is really disapproved in it is the fact that women perform this dance. Consequently, men may also take the place of women as performers of this dance. They are usually young men, accompanied by the rabab. They represent women, but in order to prevent people from

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar
OG6

291
535
786
838

Bissu of Segeri during their dance, in which they are in a trance and attempt to press a kris into the body. Pages 208-209.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 10]

Java OE1
Moluccas OH1
Gorontalo OG4
Makassar OG6

I [426 cont.]
J and these serve solely for the amusement of the spectators; an
535 example is the distinguished character dance of the Javanese.
MA The war dances Tjakalélá in the Moluccas), which are found
535 primarily in the east of the archipelago, are also purely for the enjoyment of the audience and probably never had any religious significance.

I We shall now give some examples of each of the above-
535 mentioned dances; it will be seen that there is a definite development from purely religious or magical ceremony to mere amusement, although perhaps this statement is too sweeping, for it is by no means certain that the development has always
MK been the same among all the peoples of the archipelago. [427]
G [Illustration appears here.]

I [428] Shaman Dances. In the archipelago certain dances are
756 one of the ways shamans are put in a trance; likewise, possession
535 by a spirit is also expressed in more or less wild dances. Where the shamans formed a closed society, as was the case among the Buginese and the old Minahasa, for instance, it was natural that the women in particular should apply themselves to the art of dancing. The original shamanistic dances gradually became secularized; dancing became a pastime and retained only faint
J traces of its former significance. This is probably the explana-
I tion for the existence of a class of professional dancing girls,
[540] who at the same time are often prostitutes. The usual name for these dancing girls on western Java is ronggèng, on central and eastern Java, talèdèk.

J The dances of these women are usually designated as
I
535 tandakken, derived from a Malayan dialect word tandak; the proper Javanese word for dancing is andjogèd, the Sundanese ngigel; in the Malayan of Sumatra, Riau, etc., one speaks of menari. This tandakken is done in exactly the same manner as the ordinary form of dancing described above; the ronggèng hold a slèndang in front of the mouth and during the dance strike at the end of the slèndang again and again in a peculiar way with the hands, meanwhile uttering little songs that can hardly be understood owing to the covering of the mouth. In

Melanesians OK2
Toradja 0611

Java OE1
Sumatra OD1
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7
Batak OD5

J [428 cont.]
I
535 Government lands the use of the covering for the mouth is obligatory, but not in the Principalities.

Bl Public or professional dancing girls like those on Java are also
S found in Palembang, where they are called pelandoek (actually,
535 "chevrotain"); among the Makassarese and Buginese, where they are known as padjogé; and on Bali, where they are called djogèd. The two last names are related to the Javanese word
MK mentioned above, andjogèd. Although the Buginese bissoe
535 still execute a kind of dance during their performances, never-
756 theless a direct connection between these shamans and the padjogé is no longer apparent, at least at present.

Bt Among the Toba Batak, besides the ordinary sibaso [429] or
756 shamans, there are also sibaso marèndé-èndé; among them the
756 spirits are not called down to deliver oracles concerning sickness,
535 etc., but rather the intention is to show the dances inspired by the spirit, during which all kinds of songs are sung (Batak, èndé, of the same form as the Malayan pantoen). This is an example of shaman dancing where the dance is actually a diversion.

I Masked Dances. The animistic or magical character of these
535 dances is to be seen quite clearly among some peoples; among others it is no longer recognizable, although it may be assumed
Ml on good grounds that they once had this character.
I Throughout the world, masks originally had a close connec-
[532] tion with religious conceptions, especially with ancestor worship. This is the case among the Melanesians in particular, where, for example, on New Mecklenburg, there are enormous, beautifully carved dance-masks. On New Caledonia there are masks which are the front part of the skull of an ancestor, more or less touched up; this is perhaps the most primitive form of mask and one which shows plainly that the object of putting on masks in some cases was to give a representation of the deceased ancestors. Wooden masks are found in various parts of the archipelago. Among the
T Toradja they are called pémia, a word which means "make after
532 the model of a human being, image of a human being." They are used at the great festivals for the dead. These pémia are

Batak OD5
Celebes OG1
Moluccas OH1
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7

[119 cont.]

8t 534 Finally, we should include a description of the Batak orchestra to the extent it differs from a Javanese orchestra. We have chosen the Batak orchestra in particular because it is assembled according to fixed rules. A complete orchestra consists of: 1. four gongs, ogung, of various sizes, played by two men; 2. nine gordang, which are beaten with sticks by two men; 3. two odup (tambourines, each played by one person with the hand); 4. the sarune, the flute; and 5. a hawar-hawar, cymbals, played by one person. The whole orchestra consists of eight persons, from which comes its name Si-radja na-uwalu. Such fixed rules are not found among all peoples, however; among most of them, only those instruments that happen to be Mo available are assembled. When there is a bonang, it is the C central feature, for example, in northern Celebes and in the 534 Moluccas. One would look in vain for regularity in their music; it is only a boring ting-tang or an ear-deafening drumming.

Song and Dance

Mo MK Bl I 535 Song and dance are linked with music on the Outer Possessions, too. As a rule dancing is not a profession for women, although there are exceptions, such as among the Makassarese and Buginese, in Palembang, and on Bali. In Palembang they are called pelandok = chevrotain, and they MK wear a [120] peculiar costume, while among the Buginese and [292] Makassarese they are called padjoge. Every native has the right to dance with the padjoge for a payment of 10, 30, or 60 pennies and is then called pangibing. The adat prohibits one MK from walking amidst such persons when they are dancing. If 689 a native commits such an outrage, the pangibing will stab him 535 with a kris; if a Hollander should do it, then people shrug their shoulders at such ignorance (1).

2: Wilken--153 E5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Malays	AN5	Makassar	OG6
Gorontolo	OG4	Sumatra	OG1
Buru	OH8	Moluccas	OH1
Lampong-Redjang	OD12	Batak	OD5

[120 cont.]

MK 689 535

1. Matthes, Bijdrage tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes, p. 127.

I 533 535 Dancing and singing are a part of all festivities and gatherings, but they are done then by the celebrants themselves. Dancing is not always coupled with singing, however, and among the various dances there are the principal kinds: dances with singing, and dances without song. The first is represented S 535 in the so-called mĕnari, which is found primarily on Sumatra. The dancers line up for a kind of row or round dance. The former takes place without singing, the latter with it. The mĕnari corresponds chiefly with the dances of the ronggèng on Java and therefore consists of artificial contortions and movements of hands, fingers, and hips (2). The women generally re-

2. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 120. Engelhard, "Het eiland Saleyer," Bijdr. t. d. T. L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 263 ff. The reading of this article is especially recommended on account of the lively style of the author.

Mo Bt 535 main standing in one place while moving the body imperceptibly up and down. The men bend backward and then forward over the women. The mĕnari is also performed among the Batak and in the Moluccas.

Bu G LR M1 533 538 883 As we have said, there is also the dance without song. At the same time there is the custom of young people of both sexes assembling in the evening in order to address each other in song or to dance. This is the custom, for example, among the Malays, the Lampong, the Redjang, the Alfoer of the Minahasa, the Alfoer of Buru, etc. The little songs that the young people sing to one another on such occasions are called pantun, little verses of four lines of which the first two lines [121] usually have no meaning and only serve to give the terminal rhymes. There are people, however, who assert that

159 are plenty of people in his house including the two very pretty young girls who do the fine weaving. Saleh said that they both had learned gold work too, and that during a rush the, are able to help him and his cousin helper. When there is not so much rush, they weave. The old man said he was also a carpenter in the old days, and pointed out the houses he had built in the leprosarium. He said he was born in Laikang, where there is much salt making from sea water.

774 Saleh uses the word dewata for spirit in the animistic sense, and also understands the term sumangat.

000 Most of the day was spent in looking around. Tomorrow I will go through my notes for questions and further discussion.

871 Balombaru, September 2, 1949: This third day I thought
157 I would go through my notes, but I got sidetracked onto Saleh's answers to the schedule. This is all right, al-
326 though the going is very slow. One thing is very dramatic.
159 Saleh told me about his personal tragedy as far as education is concerned. He said that he wanted to go to normal school, but that the fee was f.65. Neither he nor his father could afford this. They tried to sell portions of their rice fields, but times were bad then and there were no buyers. Saleh said that he then went to the teacher (I gather it was the superintendent) of the normal school and asked why he must pay f.65. The answer was that that was the price of board and room. At this Saleh offered to bring a mat and sleep on the floor and to get his own food. However, the superintendent said no. As Saleh told me the story, much affect could be noted. And he added that plenty of other boys have had the same trouble. He is truly an ambitious man and would have justified any help given him. He said that he had trained lots of young goldsmiths and that they were now scattered all over. He said that he had trained so many that often one found villages around here where there were formerly no goldsmiths at all and which now consisted of a good number of goldsmiths.

● [535] One thing before the schedule: I talked about the dancing
584 girls. They told me that the Makassarese are very strict regarding all girls. One might not approach á girl directly
834 but only through relatives and always in a respectable fashion. In regard to the go-between in marriage, they said that many of the girls in school today are scorning the old practice. However, an old man, cackling, said that the padjoge in the Buginese country were different. He said

there is much news exchange carried on in the pasar. Most 203
people, they said, are not much interested in any news except that which applies to local affairs.

Ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world: 829
there is little good geographical knowledge to be had except in 186
the school. This is the big thing here.' They saw my point when I told them about van Baal's argument that children lose pride when they see that Goa is little and unimportant, while their fathers think of it as the navel of the world and can thus feel that they belong to a great place. They seemed a bit puzzled and distressed. As for ideas regarding the population of Indonesia and the world, they said that maybe ten individuals knew the population of Indonesia (though it is being spread by the Ministry of Information in propaganda). As for the population of the world, Saleh said he did not know this, and that no one else in the village did. He said that there was plenty of local patriotism.

Contact relations with other villages and neighborhoods: Of this there is not much yet, but they said that the old enmity against the Buginese is now gone. They could tell me nothing regarding any other enmities. However, they admitted that in higher political circles rivalry probably persists. We talked about the arrest of the Goa and Bone royalty and they are not sore about this; indeed, they merely said that they had no knowledge of these things. They added that they could not understand why the Dutch took the Goa radja because he is a quiet man who sat in the palace all the time reading kitab. They have a feeling for justice, but feel so ignorant and get so little news that they don't even try to comprehend why things like that happen.

Modern dancing: I remarked that there was plenty of 177
modern dancing in the Philippines. They said that it was 535 ●
simply non-existent here, and that seems to be the case. 609
This is a real difference. They said that the people merely like to look at it. They evidently meant the staring at European dancing couples which I have observed. But tolerance stands out all over. There is no criticism of the "wickedness" of alien customs, etc. There is merely an attitude of "that is the way it is."

Flores: The following information was obtained from the 000
Secretary of the Cultureel Centrum here. His name is van der Wetering. This Cultureel Centrum here is a branch of a private organization in Amsterdam which gets a subsidy from the East Indonesian government. Van der Wetering said that the Catholic Mission has Flores, the Protestant

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy
having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the
gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of
boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only
to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood
clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circum-
cision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with
a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but
but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the out- 567
side they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 535
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are
none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including
two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to
have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the
line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have
the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble
The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere
chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-
way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles
and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

House status marks: little is known about the rules con- 342
cerned with the number of piles, but much is known about 114
the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written 554
in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me 565
say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some
of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it
was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the
commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with
the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is
a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social
indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In
regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now
too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew 773
most of the names and events in the legends of origin, includ- 591
ing the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding
marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a
while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they
may go where they choose.

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline 177
in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the paka- 535
rena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices 527
came in. For example, one of the men said that they were 574
having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the
Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they
are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between 186
Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite 173
ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one,
Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name
of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is 778
only about three kilometers from here. I will go there to-
morrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It
is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite
serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for in-
vulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there
is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language 197
spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was
really a different language. They imitated it and laughed.
They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much 241
of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and 262
it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouthwash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

although he told me that they were "his people". He said 535
that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would 565
be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He 567
said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may
not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one [435
of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must 582]
pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And
even later, when they are no longer able to perform as
padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry.
The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and
he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner
who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the
kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as
padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prostitutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are
not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fifteen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot,
and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese dancing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be
a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, deadpan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They
are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and
chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fascinated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically
doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job
because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth.
The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and
their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented
out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with
cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also powdered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older
and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother
said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There 574
were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the 431
birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty 181
of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about be- 576
fore the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around
in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and 567
finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer [292]
came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very
humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been
ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought
immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I
have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic examples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f.88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f.12 and a commoner might pay
567 f.22 or f.44. They said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
588 must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese 535
in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and 181
there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead- 152
pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the sim- 832
ple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the 292
local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face toward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and 124
finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Mohammedan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living 163
children per woman was three, but that the average number of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average number who die to each woman is two. They say there has been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not much if any difference according to class. This I do notice, that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is 861
the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. 828
I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex] (and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. 562
They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, 584
women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women 883
never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) 181
If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or someone else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional pair coming from school together, but this is carried out for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

771 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here
178 were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very
182 rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is
no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As
for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation
or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means
any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in
the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They
saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the
776 Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for
the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them
(maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those
that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong
knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names
of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew
saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata.
Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paeppo,
but called them popo, as did the Makassarese. In all spirit
cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping
or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also
[861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of
these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used
now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the
"spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan
ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa
Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go
back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala
838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which
793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got
much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo-
548 sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over,
●535 it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an
[759] aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they
are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and
also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example,
to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They
know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all
this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated
them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry,
etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and
that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as
ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they
act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go
for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night
for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he
would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved
wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evidently a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed [791]
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and shook them saying that they did this. This proves shamanism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the singing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on today. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mystic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 795
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is 829
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that 554
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 782
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 796
They said that women have two stones, and men only one!
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
●535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
565 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

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525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

I 635 668 666 boasting pattern in the United States and Indonesian culture. He said that they will give their "platform" in incidental speeches and on wall posters.

All of this is not too clear. Anyway, I see that Stefel, like Riekerk, thinks that the "radical" tendency in elections is encouraging. At least some Dutch officials seem to want to have "radicalism" here. Stefel says that the absence of political parties in general is a sign of political immaturity only; they will come.

M 304 565 881 778 852 535 Makassar, October 11, 1949: I had a talk with Rahim. He showed me photographs of circumcision, with tooth filing and hair cutting as well, taken in kampong Borongkaluku of district Borolloe. This is under Gallarang, one of the nine bate of Goa.. This kampong is eighteen kilometers east of Makassar on the way to Malino. In the pictures there were three children being fixed, all of nobility. Two of them were girls, one was a boy. Also their youthful lower-class followers participated, wearing very elaborate, decorative dress too. Only nobles can afford to have these great feasts. There is a big procession, with people carrying all sorts of magical objects. This goes to the holy stone of Songkolo' (there are only three in all Goa), which is near Borongkaluku in the district of Borolloe. The stone is in a fenced-in bamboo place, like the stone at Kale Goa. Here a man does a kris dance before an open door of the flat stone sanctuary. A woman does a holy dance in the same place. These are fine photographs. They also show a mother having her first teeth filing. This is done ceremonially only, with a gold ring. She has clamped between her teeth a piece of wood. A fowl is being held by the operator who smears the blood from it on her teeth. Then there are photographs of the boy and the two girls (look to be about 8 to 5 years old) being "filed". (Here again it is only mock filing with a gold ring; after a few years they will get the real filing with a stone). They also have pieces of wood clamped in their teeth. Other photographs show these same children getting their hair locks cut off. There is a wonderful picture of a boy's penis being clamped and cut (supercision) and another showing the bloody scar on the top of the penis. This is done with a steel knife. There is also a photograph of one of the girls being cut, but her vulva is behind a cloth sheet and the operator is working on it underneath, so that from the picture one cannot see what is going on. Another photograph shows the Mohammedan prayers being offered at one side and a pagan stick offering on the other.

537 643 /118 cont./ This boastful tone also comes to the fore in the loyalty oath (aru) made to the prince by lower chieftains or prominent followers at the inauguration of a new prince or at other very important happenings such as war. It is a combination of expressions of the greatest self-glorification and words expressing the most abject subjection to the superior. It is the same kind of self-abasement which in the end is nothing but a self-elevation, as has already been noted in cases where men of standing call themselves the slaves of the prince.

This oath is uttered with a drawn kris and amidst signs of the strongest emotion. Senience after sentence is shouted rather than spoken. The oath following here belongs to the former adat community head of Borongloë. Among other occasions, he uttered it at the inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1937. The recording of the text took place in 1948 (1).

[114]

1. This translation has already appeared in the monthly magazine Oriëntatie for February, 1949. A number of improvements were made in it. The original text became mutilated and could therefore not be reprinted here.

537 539 643 Listen to me,
the most miserable servant of God,
the least among the warriors of the Prophet.
Where there is nobody, there am I
and where there is somebody, there am I
as his twin brother.
I am the man of the women,
the lover of the girls,
the man who is unshakably faithful to the adat,
who holds fast to the adat,

537 /118 cont./
539 who stands firmly for the truth.
643 I am always at work,
like a pack saddle that is never taken off,
like a saddle strap that is never loosened.
I am strong as a crupper which never tears, /119/
as a needle which never breaks,
as a hide that never yells when it is beaten.
Whether it is heavy or light,
I carry all.
If I am sent far away,
then nobody needs to help me at my task;
then one only needs to listen
to the report that I bring back.
For I am as a dove that does not
have to be lured but that comes by itself.
If I get work to perform close by,
then I need no help with it;
then one only needs to look on at my work.
For I am as a cock that does not need to be called,
but that comes of its own accord.
Even if there is but one single piece of rattan from a rattan mat,
even if there is but one single string of lontar,
if the Royal Council should sit on it, I will sit on it.
Even if rain and wind beat against me,
even if the whirlwind turns me around,
I am not afraid,
so long as I find protection with the Royal Council.
I am a descendant of people who persevere;
I am a descendant of people who do not fear death;
I am the most reliable of all confidants;
I am the best of all followers;
I am the most valiant man of Goa,
the hero of Borongloë.
Listen to the Berang River,
the never-breaking anchor cord of Goa.

537 /119 cont./
539 Listen to the mountain, the Bawakaraëng,
643 the never-loosening anchor,
such am I, too,
and only he who can be trusted in this way,
can truly be trusted.
If the Royal Council removes to the west,
then I will also go to the west;
if it removes to the east,
I will also go to the east. /120/
But if the Royal Council resides
with you, my Prince, in the ancestral gathering hall, then I will remain below (1).

[342
645]

1. That is to say, I will not take part in the conference; I follow. Makassarese dwellings are built on posts. If the prince confers with his Royal Council, the lower people wait under the house and listen in.

Opposition

571 Fairchild's definition of the concept "opposition" gives a good picture of conditions in South Celebes. He defines it by: "resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent" (2) /cited in English/. This term will be used here.

2. H.P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, New York, 1944.

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593 /25 cont./ in practice. Younger women are dependent upon the older ones. The element of opposition is not to be found among them; on the contrary, what is prized is their mutual helpfulness and cooperation.

A sexual relationship between a woman and her son 593 practically does not occur. No examples of this were found in 835 the registers of the native courts. Only one of the informants could recall such a case, which was supposed to have taken [538] place before 1905. Stories in which this relationship plays a part are unknown to me.

/26/ A sexual relationship between a man and his daughter occurs with more or less regularity. In the registers of the native courts of all South Celebes, one encounters an estimated four or more such cases annually. This implies that such an occurrence is a rarity in a particular adat community which is still remembered after decades. Stories concerning a father- 538 daughter relationship are found in the Islamic sphere. They generally run about as follows. A well-known religious scholar who has come from Sumatra marries a Makassarese woman. While their child, a girl, is still very small, he moves on, and only 20 years later does he return to Macassar. There he marries a young woman, and after a time he notices by a certain sign on her head or by a certain ornament which he gave to his wife 20 years before that it is his own daughter whom he has married. Together they search for someone who will tell them what they should now do. It is God who tells them that they have committed the greatest sin possible, but that this can be forgiven them because they knew not what they did.

593 In the forms of social intercourse and conduct in daily life, a fear of violating the existing prohibition is here reflected that is not observable in the mother-son relationship. If a man comes home and his grown-up daughter is alone in the house, her little brother or niece is called in as a matter of course. Then both feel more at ease. The risk remains that otherwise people would talk about them. Accordingly, a man prefers not

Accordingly, a man prefers not

593 /26 cont./ to go alone with his grown-up daughter to a kampong
574 where they are unknown, for instance, so that there they will not be regarded as a married couple and addressed as such.

593 The reason for this latter form of incest (salimara') occurring with
835 more or less regularity and that of mother and son so rarely was explained by an informant who said that in general the lower generation must obey the higher one, a son his mother and a daughter her father. So it seems generally assumed that
[833] initiative to a sexual relationship (in this case evil) originates with the man.

A sexual relationship between a man and his sister practically does not occur. I do not recall having encountered a single instance of this in the registers of the native courts. /27/

●538 The brother-sister relationship is one of the leitmotivs in the La Galigo epic. The relationship of Sawerigading to his twin sister Tenriabeng is one of great intimacy (1). In the

[113]

1. R. A. Kern, Catalogus van de Boegineesche tot den I Galigo cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek, alsmede van die in andere Europeesche biblioteken /Catalog of the Buginese Manuscripts belonging to the I Galigo Cycle in the University of Leiden Library, as well as of Those in Other European Libraries, Leiden, 1939/, Leiden, 1939.

heroic poem Datu Museng, the hero's wife I Maipa is likewise described as his twin sister. They were separated shortly after birth and did not meet again, ignorant of each other's past, until they were grown up. Datu Museng became enamored of her, and they married. So the poem is recited (2) by several

2. In the Makassaarsche Chrestomathie one finds another version. There it is

●538 /27 cont./ related that I Maipa was the daughter of the Sultan of Sumbawa. As such, however, she was of nobler blood than Datu Museng, and their marriage was thus likewise a forbidden tie. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomathie /Makassarese Chrestomathy/, 1883: "Aanteekeningen," p. 88.

[113]

singers (pakeso'keso') (3).

[533 534]

3. A singer who accompanies himself on a two-stringed violin (keso'keso').

593 In daily life the brother is, in the very first instance, the protector of his sister as a young girl. He is for her the "strong wall," as the verse says (4). He likes to accompany

4. See Chapter III, p. 297.

her and the older women when they pay visits to kinsmen living elsewhere. He is the one who reacts first in case she is siri'; this is as much as to say that he immediately starts the pursuit and stabs if she should want to flee. He carries her [585] as a bride out of the back rooms where she was dressed to the bridal bed in the front room. He is proud of her and of the fact that he may protect her.

601 The /nuclear/ family is clearly reflected in the kinship terminology (see list). It is apparent that only the members of the /nuclear/ family are indicated by individual terms and that for the rest the terminology makes distinctions only between generations. The distinctions made in ego's own generation,

835 /34 cont./ frequently than those between members of the same family. Such relationships are sometimes also regarded as incest (salimara'). Irrespective of kinship relationship /sic/ these /sexual/ relationships are always considered especially reprehensible.

[583 588] In a case where a man fled with his wife's niece (kamanakang), this was the reason that the reconciliation, otherwise customary after a flight, could not be brought about (1).

1. Compare Chapter III, third part. See pp. ff.

582 835 A marriage between children of the first marriage of a widower and a widow who later married so that their children came to belong to one household was forbidden in rural areas. In Macassar such a marriage was contracted. The person performing the marriage ceremony took the point of view that no objections were to be found against such a marriage under Moslem law.

835 Relations of a man with his brother's daughter or sister's daughter, or with his father's sister or mother's sister, is regarded as salimara'. The native courts punish these cases [684] with banishment for the same number of years as was cited above with respect to relations between a father and daughter. The first mentioned, that between a man with a woman of a lower generation, occurs much more frequently than the last named, that with a woman of a higher generation. The reason for this difference in frequency is said to be /35/ that a young girl has greater difficulty in resisting her uncle than a woman with regard to her nephew. From this it may again be concluded that the common opinion is that the evil initiative toward sexual contact proceeds from the man. [538] Myths or other stories concerning such relationships are unknown to me. According to rumors, such relationships did

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/69 cont./ subordination, the weapons of the men of Borongloë were ritually painted with blood near that ornament, in preparation for the battle.

The history of this related group and its ornament has not become clear (1).

538

1. Oral traditions are always fragmentary. Each group of relatives counts only a few men or women who know anything about the history of their kin group; Their knowledge is limited, however, to a few events, and these at the same time are only those which prove the greatness of the group. A regular narrative can never be obtained. Only in a concrete difficult situation does one of the most important members of the group tell how formerly in a similar situation the solution was found, and how, in his opinion, the conditions at present should be viewed and the difficulties solved. The narrator in so doing chooses his words so casually and easily that it is clear that he does not regard himself as tied to a certain text or even to details. On the contrary, one receives the impression

538 /69 cont./ that he improvises and illuminates the present-day state of affairs by the aid of a few data, just as seems to him best for his group at that moment. At the same time, he seems to be completely convinced of the 'objective' correctness of his representation of the historic facts.

612 794 /70/ The members of these two worship communities are the members of the local group of relatives, a few kinsmen residing outside the kampong boundaries, an occasional follower, and a very occasional slave, as well as possibly also a stranger who for some reason or other joins in the worship.

778 794 [654] Ornaments are therefore found in the kingdom, the adat community, and in the kampong. Nowhere is the worship community of an ornament sharply delimited. The larger the actual power of a group of relatives, the larger does the worship community of this group's ornament seem to be.

612 778 The relationship between the ornaments is a reflection of the actual power relation of the groups of relatives. Two occasions at which this could be observed will be reported.

796 778 612 1. At the ritual "purification of the land" (akawarru butta), which took place for the last time in Borongloë a number of years before the Second World War, the head with his kinsmen and followers carried the ornament of Borongloë through the various kampongs of the adat community. In each kampong they spent the night, a buffalo was killed, a celebration was held, and offerings were made at the ornament. In the kampongs where the people possessed an ornament, the

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to
[562] see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
● 538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
[626 without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the
558] younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

2: Wilken--198 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

[162 cont.]

M1 538

Many of the later sjair deal with historical subjects of recent times, for example: the Sjair pĕrang Batawih = history of the capture of Batavia by the British in 1811; Sjair pĕrang Bali or Sjair Djendral Michlis (Michiels), a poem about the third Bali expedition and the death of General Michiels; Sjair Kompĕni wolanda bĕrpĕrang dengan Tjina, a poem about the struggle between the Company and the Chinese and the murder of the Chinese under Governor General Valckenier.

M1 538 779

We now come to the prose, which includes, first, religious writings and works on Mohammedan jurisprudence. All these come from the Arabic and were written by Mohammedan priests or under their influence. They consist in large part of explanations of the Koran, teachings on the dogma and rites of Islam, and rhetorical prescriptions and adaptations of writings of Arabian jurists. Many of them were drawn up in Atjeh. The Saribu masail or masaila, the thousand questions, is one of the foremost among them. This work is known throughout the Mohammedan world. It contains a thousand questions that were submitted by a learned Jew, Abd'oellah bin Salām, to Mohammed, who answered them with the help of the angel Gabriel, whereupon Abd'oellah and his followers embraced Islam. The questions covered all kinds of subjects, such as religion, geography, astronomy, etc., actually a hodgepodge of all kinds of nonsense. The work is known throughout the Indies, and there is a translation in Buginese. It seems to have been translated originally from the Persian. Another work of some reputation is the Mirror of the Studious, miratu'l-tollab. It also bears a Malayan title, Tjermin sĕgala marika jang mĕnuntut elmu faqih pada mĕmudahkan sĕgala hukum sjai Allah, which is translated as "Mirror for those who want to study jurisprudence [163] in order to facilitate the administration of justice according to the Law of God." This should adequately show its content. It, too, was written by a priest on Atjeh and was compiled by him according to the abridged writings of the Shafiitic sect.

MK [538 779]
M1 671 795

8 [185 cont.]
RL If this takes place in the daytime and the singers are seated in
538 rows, they are called berduwi; if the singers are standing then they are called berlandai. If they are sung in the evening and the singers are seated in rows, they are called njambai. Besides erotic songs, satires are sung, such as the following example of a Redjang serambah:

RL
[539] Dolo rabab bertongkei = Formerly it was playing the violin (making fun),
Kini kopi berbua = Now, it is making coffee (seeing to it that coffee comes).
Dolo hadat dipakei = Formerly the adat was observed,
Kini rodi berguna = Now forced labor is the rule.
Comment is superfluous.

MK This kind of verse is also found among the Makassarese
538 and Buginese. They are called kelong Mak. and elong Bug. (2).

2. Matthes, Boegineesche en Makassaarsche Chrestomatie, notes.

A peculiarity to be kept in mind is that neither the Makassarese nor the Buginese have rhymed poetry. Their poetry is distinguished from the prose only by a kind of rhythm and by a certain parallelism in expressing various ideas in various forms which are placed next to one another, as is done in Arabic and Hebrew poetry. An example of such parallelism is taken from the Psalms: "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path" (3), or "At thy rebuke they fled; at the voice of thy thunder

3. Psalm 119:105.

they hastened away" (4), or "The Lord is compassionate and

4. Psalm 104:7.

[185 cont.]

538 merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy; He hath not dealt with us according to our sins, nor regarded us according to our inquities; for he knoweth our frame, and remembereth that we are dust" (5). One sees that parallelism is

5. Psalm 103:8, 10, and 14.

an accumulation of attributes and [186] expressions of the same idea. This is also true of the kelong and elong, which, however, in content, are similar to the Malayan pantuns in many respects, although usually prettier and also clearer. To judge: "If a drizzling rain should fall, oh pure virgin! gather its drops in the front folds of your garment, for you know that I have changed myself into a cloud and travel in that form" (1). This is clear

1. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomatie, p. 421, col. 2, No. 8.

enough, but if the girl does not care for the young man, her answer is no less clear in the following kelong: "If you should come down as a drizzling rain, take care to avoid me. I have [539] not found it pleasant when a drizzling rain sprinkles me too often." The Buginese elong are generally just as clear as the kelong. We say generally because a peculiar language is found in many elong, known as basa to-Bakkä, that is, the language of the man of Bakkä. Bakkä is a place in Soppeng, and the man of Bakkä is a certain Datu Bakkä, Prince of Boni, who was very famous in ancient times for his great sagacity. The basa to-Bakkä is thus a kind of metaphorical language, which often consists of farfetched plays on words. Let us look at a single example. Imagine for a moment, reader, that you are in 538 Buginese country and that, tired, you arrive at the home of a 574 Buginese who welcomes you with manri mana-no = eat chicken feed. This sounds very peculiar. If you understand the basa to-Bakkä, however, it is clear enough. Chicken feed is

MK [186 cont.]
538 principally bänni = cracked rice, which sounds like mabanni =
[574] spend the night. The Buginese simply wanted to say "remain overnight." One can see that the play on words is farfetched.
MK The elong in the basa Bakkä cannot be understood without ex-
[539] planation. Here is another example. "Do not try to satisfy your passion, because then you always would have only bale ta-kesässi = fish without scales at home. This bale ta-kesässi in the basa to-Bakkä makes one think specifically of a fish awu-awu. This word also means "oh! alas!" The words "then you would only 'have scaleless fish at home'" are meant to express: [187] then you would have only 'oh,' 'alas,' that is, distress and misery, in your house. Before taking leave of the elong, we must mention a particular kind, the so-called elong osong, war songs.

B Besides these shorter poems with four verses, the literature
RL of the peoples named has longer poems. Among the Batak,
538 Lampong, and Redjang, these are romantic or historical poems, which, however, are still not very well known. We are better
MK informed about those of the Makassarese and Buginese, called,
538 respectively, tolo and sinrili, which can best be compared with the Malayan sjair. The parallelism mentioned above is very much in evidence in them. Among these poems there are often very beautiful ones, especially among the Makassarese, which excel in bold images and striking contrasts. As an example, one
MK should read the sinrili No. 53 of Dr. Matthes' Makassaarsche
[764 Chrestomatie, a funeral song by a wife for her husband.
114]

Some sinrili or tolo are heroic lays, of which a few deal with subjects from modern times. For instance, a Buginese epic deals with the Boni war. There are some older ones, however, such as La Galigo, which is written in old, obsolete Buginese
MK and understood by only a few. The content is of a mythological
[773 nature and deals with the adventures of Batara Goeroe (the
776] supreme deity) and his descendants on earth, among whom is La Galigo (1). As a poetical product La Galigo is of little value

1. Wilken, Animisme, Part 2, pp. 232-233.

2: Wilken--225 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia
Makassar OG6
Batak OD5

MK [187 cont.]
538 but it is highly regarded by the Buginese because of its antiquity and its content. They even attribute supernatural power to it, and parts of it are read to the sick as a kind of remedy.

With this we conclude our discussion of poetry and shall turn to prose, limiting ourselves exclusively to the Batak, Buginese, and Makassarese.

B 538 Almost all the prose pieces of the Batak known to us consist [188] of stories that are often very indelicate, but give us important information for a knowledge of the people. These stories have two names, turi-turijan and habar-habaran. The former are rendered in a singsong tone; the latter are spoken. The first-named are often interlarded with andung words (1).

1. Niemann, "Letterkunde der Bataks [Literature of the Batak]," Bijdrage T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind., 1866, pp. 245 ff.

MK 538 173 Makassarese and Buginese prose has more variety. In the first place, there are various historical writings, which give the history of various kingdoms, such as Gowa, Tanette, etc., and also chronicles and journals of sovereigns, sure bilang (which are always very long-winded and therefore unenjoyable). Then there are the stories particularly in Buginese, called pau-pau (2)

2. Matthes, "Boegineesche en Makassaarsche legenden," Bijdrage T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind., 4th series, Vol. X, pp. 431 ff.

and the so-called rapang (Makassarese) or latowa (Buginese) (3).

3. Niemann, "de Latowa," Bijdragen, 4th series, Vol. VIII, pp. 198 ff.

[188 cont.]

MK 538 [173] The rapang and latowa contain the pronouncements and communications of former sovereigns and scholars on all kinds of subjects concerning the art of government, law, morals, etc. The word rapang means "image, likeness." According to Dr. Matthes, the collection may owe its name to the metaphors that often appear in it. It is also possible that it was so-named because it praises the example set by the ancestors, which is to be followed. The word latowa is derived from towa - old, and la, the defining prefix; hence, latowa = the old, because it has come down from the ancestors.

The writings referred to above are all originals. In addition a number of pieces have been taken from the Malay, especially the romantic writings. The Makassarese and Buginese have a prose adaptation of the Sjair Bidasari, for example. The religious writings, too, are mostly translations and as a rule are from Arabic works. In general, however, there is more original Buginese literature than Makassarese.

B 538 The situation is different with regard to Batak literature. A characteristic [189] of it is that actual translations of foreign works do not appear in it. The few that ~~are~~ present have a very Batak character so that only the name betrays the foreign origin.

I 538 Now a few words about the peoples who do not possess alphabetic writing. These peoples, too, have some literary products, those that have been transmitted orally and so preserved. There are no prose works, to use this term for the sake of brevity, but, on the other hand, there are poetical works. This is in the nature of things. Among all peoples song and singing must have been the first forms man used to unburden his feelings and to express the thoughts that he wanted to be saved for posterity. The only evidence of literary theory among people who have no script is the poems, which are transmitted from parent to child and which are sung on various occasions, at feasts and at play. Let us elucidate this with some examples taken from the vernacular of the Ambonese.

A 538

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but 000
this was no longer the case. Thus few people read. There are
no newspapers here, and only a few, for example, the teachers, 212
read papers from Makassar or from places like Java. Very 204
few indeed ever write. (The Minangkabau man said that there 538
are no creative writers here at all, but that in Java and
Sumatra there are many. He is probably right.) They do not
even write letters here. They did not know that their script [171]
came from India originally, and they were surprised when I [123]
gave a talk on old Indic script. As for Chinese, they teach
their own language to their children and the latter also learn 871
Buginese, as adults do. Nevertheless, Chinese children al- 868
ways have a decided accent. They go mainly to their own
school. The Toradja in Tolangi speak Toradja when their
relatives visit them, but speak Buginese well in addition.

As for the radio, there are only a few in the area and only 207
radio owners and their families listen to broadcasts. During
the Japanese time there was a central loud speaker for propa-
ganda which was set up in the market place at Watumpone.
They agreed that if they had one set up now many would listen
to it.

As for movies, they say that everyone loves them. Never- 517
theless, many never go at all, especially the poor and the 434
farmers who live in remote places. Those near Watumpone 546
go a lot. The prices are: f.2 for the first [i.e., best seats--
Analyst], f.1 for the second, and f.0.25 for the third. Most
people want the latter. Most of the films are from the United
States and England. They talk constantly about war films.
Later I learned that these are the ones which came out during
the war in the United States and which are just now getting
into Indonesia. Also I found out later that newsreels which
are amazingly old are also shown. It takes years for films
to get out here. In addition, they have some very old Malay
films, evidently made in Singapore before the war. They had
seen many cowboy pictures. Later on the old Sulewatang
showed me that he had learned much about the United States
from the movies. He was especially impressed by the ice-
dancing Sonja Henie films. He could not understand why she
did not fall down. Children in particular love movies and [857]
Andi said they remember entire stories and tell them over
and over again. Later I heard a woman say that her maid
thinks movies are wonderful. People here talk about cowboy
(accent on the last syllable), chorus girl dancing, etc. Andi
said they liked the war films a lot and also the ones with fist
fighting.

517 are mad about movies and this shows a trememdous poten-
546 tial value for visual education here. Indeed, the only outside amusement is the movies.

526 As for sports, there is a badminton court in the kampong,
367 but it is near Watumpone. In Watumpone they play soccer and the kampong boys do this too except that they do not have a field within the kampong. They also play the real rattan-ball football. In addition, but only in Watumpone, a few people play tennis. Probably no one from the kampong does this.

524 As for games, they have children's games, but evidently not many. One is a sort of tag in a square. Then there are kites, especially (only ?) after the rice harvest. Children fly kites, but fathers pretending to help the children often take over the kites. Andi is amused by this pretention. They
525 have a string-sawing kite contest too. There is much gam-
541 bling with dice, but evidently no cards. No chess or checkers are found here. There are cock fights but they are illegal. They know about cricket fights. They are a bit reticent on all this, perhaps because it is secret.

517 There are no real local arts aside from crafts. These
53 people are not at all artistic. Even their weaving is banal, except for the colors. This is their one beauty spot. The designs are in checks, plaid, or consist entirely of horizontal stripes. The designs are dull except for the colors. And aside from the padjoge there is no dancing. There is no carving of stone, and but little wood carving on houses. There is practically no music and the people do not go in much for any instruments. They did say that they play flutes, which is true especially for those who watch the water buffalo. There is no drama at all. There is no painting except for a few banal efforts on the houses. Poor stuff, poor people.

517 As for leisure, that depends on a number of variables.
538 Some of the farmers work all day except for midday. Some
368 who have office jobs have regular hours. I didn't get very far on this. In their spare time they mainly sit, walk, talk.
461 They almost never read, but said that if they could get books
549 they might read a lot. But there are no books available. They agreed that a library is sadly needed. I was surprised that they said that there was very little if any story-telling. This checks with the Minangkabau man who could get no stories here. They haven't even got imagination enough to tell tales. Maybe in the kampong I could find some, but clearly they reflect the general poverty in this sphere. As for the desire
517 to go where there is more entertainment, more fun, the
181 general impression is that there is not much of an urge in

471 /46 cont./ had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his participation in the life of the kampong at this communal festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
[626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated, this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
773 "Lord of the Land," the following story was told. /47/

1. Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga," niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land," called Besenga.
2. Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

/47 cont./

539 773

3.	Naandjo taua ammantangi ri birinna agang lompoa.	This man lived along the large road.
4.	Naandjo aganga, punna nia' tau ammalo na'bongong iareka nammake pajung, andjo taua balalo mate karampasang.	Now, whenever there were people who came along the way with their sarong over their head or with a pajong /parasol/, these people soon died (1).

[554 576 689]

1. A lower person who appears before a higher one with a sarong over his head or with a pajong, or who simply walks past his house, in so doing shows little respect for him. He can always expect punishment.

5.	Nasiapa are sallona andjo taua appakamma naniareng tommo tau tabesse-besse panggaukanna;	And thereupon this man who had that on his conscience was called an evil man in place of a courageous one.
6.	Sanggenna andjo taua appasang angkana:	Finally, the following statement was issued to this man:
7.	Punna salllang tenama' anrinni (sajanga') punna eroko assarea', nia' antu batu ritangngana pa'rasanganga, andjoremmako sarea';	If in future I will no longer be here (if I will have risen up to heaven) and if you want to give me something, there is a stone there, situated in the middle of the land, there you must then give that to me.

539
773

/47 cont./

8. Mingka antu sallang batua alolokintu timboranna pa'rasanganga ri poko taipaja;	But this stone will later move to the south of the country, to the mango tree. /48/
9. Punna andjoremmondjo batua papparekang tomma' balla', nasalloa' andjoremma' antu lammantang.	When the storm arrives there erect a house for me so that I will be able to live there.
10. Le'baki appasang allannja' tommi.	When he had said this, he ascended to the sky.

773
171

The story appears to be a short edition of the tomanurung stories familiar all over South Celebes. These are stories concerning people descended from the sky (1). In this case

1. See Friedericy's discussion, pp. 469ff and 506 ff.

the narrator has also given an explanation of the name Besenga in the same story. This combination is customary.

241
796

Now we shall try to give a description of this brief harvest ritual (2).

2. For a description of the essentials of the ritual, see pp. 81, 82.

Around half past twelve in the afternoon, the Pinati thinks that it is time to begin. He sits down under the mango tree next to the stone lying there, with his face turned to the south. About 40 bowls with offerings have been placed on top of this stone and next to it, as close together as possible. All of these contain glutinous rice with a hard-boiled egg pressed into

612 /70 cont./ subordination of the latter with respect to that of
778 Borongloë was expressed in the ritual. These festivities
796 strengthened the sense of solidarity within the adat community, and by the wealth displayed on these occasions, they raised the standing of Borongloë both in its own, as well as in others', eyes.

2. A few days before the inauguration of the new prince of Goa in 1947, the ornaments of Goa and of Borongloë encountered each other at a certain place located in Borongloë
[103] by the name of Tamarunang. The following myth is connected with this place.

539

1. Pau-pauanna Tamarunang.	The story of Tamarunang.
2. Riolo, riwattu erona appare' kota Karaëngnga ri Goa,	A long time ago, when the Prince of Goa wanted to build a fort,
3. nanrai' assuro angngalle batu ri binangaja ri Songkolo.	he commanded his people to enter the interior in order to get rocks in the river near Songkolo. /71/
4. Naandjo tau angngallea batu narasai naalle batu aganna Barugaja ri Songkolo.	And the people who got the rocks at that time, accidentally brought back a rock such as lies near the Baruga of Songkolo (1).

[344]

1. A baruga (see Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 195) is a festival shed. At the spot designated as "the baruga of Songkolo," no festival shed is in existence, however. The rock which lies there today is the investiture rock of Borongloë.

/71 cont./

539

5. Le'baki nabonei rakina batu, narasatommi napanai' andjo batua;	When they loaded their raft with rocks, they accidentally loaded this rock onto it, too;
6. nanampa nalurang kalau',	and then they traveled back again,
7. ero'na erang kalau' ri kota napareka Karaëngа ri Goa.	down the river, with the intention of bringing this rock to the fort that was being built for the Prince.
8. Naandjo parakika narapina Pakua tudjunna wara' pammantanganna kammakammanne, rakika tea sikali alolo,	But when the raft pilot came to Pakua, situated to the north of the present-day location of the rock, the raft not only absolutely refused to go on,
9. sanggennandjo rakika tabbuli-bulinta, naandjo batua tenatodong nakkulle tuguru'.	but even turned over; the rock, however, did not come off.
10. Siapa sallona andjo rakika tabbuli-bulinta, andjo batua nampa tommi alolo kale-kale nai'ri pammantanganna kammakammanne.	Some time after the raft had capsized, the rock of its own initiative began to creep toward its present-day location.
11. Djari battunamo nai' andjo batua, nampa tommi ero' alolo andjo rakika kalau'.	Only when the rock had arrived there, was the raft willing to float on down the river. /72/
12. Saba' nitjini' naandjo buata appakamma, naia battuna nai', nia' ngassemmi taua battu antjiniki nani-passamaturukimo ri tau	And because they had seen what this rock did, all the people had come, after it had arrived at its present site, in order to look at it, and all these people agreed

/72 cont./

539 djaia niareng Tamarunang.

that it should be called "the one not falling off the raft" (Tamarunang).

612 778 796 The explanation of the name is clear. In addition, the relationship of Tamarunang to Songkolo and to Goa is indicated.

In conversations that I had in 1948 concerning the significance of this encounter of the ornaments, the Prince emphasized the fact that it expresses the subordination of Borongloë to Goa. For the rest, the case was presented as being insignificant. As for Borongloë, the head declared that by means of this ritual Borongloë had lent support to Goa, without which this country would have been regarded as severely weakened.

If one is to conceive of the rock in the myth as a symbol of Borongloë, then the independence of Borongloë in relation to Goa is here clearly represented (1).

1. The narrator was the Kapala of Bontoramba.

612 778 A group of relatives without an ornament seems to exercise only little actual power. The relationship of opposition between prominent members of this group appears to be the most important reason for this.

Where an ornament is present, the oppositions existing between prominent members of the related group are not removed. In a number of cases they merely recede into the background behind an appearance of unity. Where the local relationships give rise to it, such oppositions come to the fore, possibly with even greater bitterness. The fraternal struggle of Sidenreng is a classic example of this (2).

2. See pp. 159-161.

Where there is an ornament, two groups of relatives may sometimes merge into one. An example will serve to illustrate this point.

537 643 /118 cont./ This boastful tone also comes to the fore in the loyalty oath (aru) made to the prince by lower chieftains or prominent followers at the inauguration of a new prince or at other very important happenings such as war. It is a combination of expressions of the greatest self-glorification and words expressing the most abject subjection to the superior. It is the same kind of self-abasement which in the end is nothing but a self-elevation, as has already been noted in cases where men of standing call themselves the slaves of the prince.

This oath is uttered with a drawn kris and amidst signs of the strongest emotion. Sentence after sentence is shouted rather than spoken. The oath following here belongs to the former adat community head of Borongloë. Among other occasions, he uttered it at the inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1937. The recording of the text took place in 1948 (1).

[114]

1. This translation has already appeared in the monthly magazine Oriëntatie for February, 1949. A number of improvements were made in it. The original text became mutilated and could therefore not be reprinted here.

537 539 643 Listen to me,
the most miserable servant of God,
the least among the warriors of the Prophet.
Where there is nobody, there am I
and where there is somebody, there am I
as his twin brother.
I am the man of the women,
the lover of the girls,
the man who is unshakably faithful to the adat,
who holds fast to the adat,

537 /118 cont./
539 who stands firmly for the truth.
643 I am always at work,
like a pack saddle that is never taken off,
like a saddle strap that is never loosened.
I am strong as a crupper which never tears, /119/
as a needle which never breaks,
as a hide that never yells when it is beaten.
Whether it is heavy or light,
I carry all.
If I am sent far away,
then nobody needs to help me at my task;
then one only needs to listen
to the report that I bring back.
For I am as a dove that does not
have to be lured but that comes by itself.
If I get work to perform close by,
then I need no help with it;
then one only needs to look on at my work.
For I am as a cock that does not need to be called,
but that comes of its own accord.
Even if there is but one single piece of rattan from a rattan mat,
even if there is but one single string of lontar,
if the Royal Council should sit on it; I will sit on it.
Even if rain and wind beat against me,
even if the whirlwind turns me around,
I am not afraid,
so long as I find protection with the Royal Council.
I am a descendant of people who persevere;
I am a descendant of people who do not fear death;
I am the most reliable of all confidants;
I am the best of all followers;
I am the most valiant man of Goa,
the hero of Borongloë.
Listen to the Berang River,
the never-breaking anchor cord of Goa.

537 /119 cont./
539 Listen to the mountain, the Bawakaraëng,
643 the never-loosening anchor,
such am I, too,
and only he who can be trusted in this way,
can truly be trusted.
If the Royal Council removes to the west,
then I will also go to the west;
if it removes to the east,
I will also go to the east. /120/
But if the Royal Council resides
with you, my Prince, in the ancestral gathering hall, then I will remain below (1).

[342
645]

1. That is to say, I will not take part in the conference; I follow. Makassarese dwellings are built on posts. If the prince confers with his Royal Council, the lower people wait under the house and listen in.

Opposition

571 Fairchild's definition of the concept "opposition" gives a good picture of conditions in South Celebes. He defines it by: "resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent" (2) /cited in English/. This term will be used here.

2. H.P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, New York, 1944.

584 /151 cont./ But an atmosphere of intimacy is created pre-
834 cisely because it is forbidden and dangerous. The desire to get married seems to be strengthened by it.

584 The examples described are a number of ways in which young people try to bring about a marriage with a marriage partner chosen by themselves by means of forbidden contacts.

Personality Norms

157 Norms for the personality of men are different from
562 those for women.

A man must be combative and courageous, always ready to challenge someone or to answer a challenge. He must be skillful in debate and a good teller of tall tales. In these stories the emphasis must always be placed on the fact that he, his group, or his prince, did something better than another group or a neighboring prince. In these stories he must also have great success with women and be capable of great sexual achievements. One likes to compare a man to a cock, proud and always ready to do battle. A man is sometimes conceived of as rough. He is always wandering.

562 Man is devoted to woman; he praises her in vague,
idealizing terms.

539 Nampa' ri udjung Borinu, — When I had come to the farthest point of your land,
157

riappa pa'rasangannu — to the remotest point of your land,

nanailalang — then my soul was already in you,

sumangakku, makkaraëng — worshipping you.

157 /152/ The woman must be delicate and tender, shy
562 and withdrawn. She is more devoted to herself. She tries, but as passively as possible, to draw his attention to herself.

157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku	My implanted, straight flowers,
539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku	My blooming tjampaga flowers.
Natjiniku ianu	When N. N. sees me
Nadjandjangku mole mole.	He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that
157 a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in men are at the same time those which they need for success in
182 striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.

554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

[177
192]

1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het, "/"an 'it' person." -- Ed./.

589 /160 cont./ same men, therefore, continued to believe in the reaction expected of women when the marriage is announced to them, as the real manifestation of their feelings. In a kelong recited by women, one hears a different tone, however:

589 539 /161/ Lolobangkomi denangku; — My friend has become an old maid;
djappomi padja bungkenna — her first sarong is already worn-out (1)

1. This refers to a custom by which the first sarong a young girl weaves, after she has just learned to do so, is kept for her bridegroom.

mattajang guru; — in waiting for a man;
mana palukka tania'. — not even a thief was there (2).

2. That is to say, she did not even carry out a marriage by flight.

589 With respect to older unmarried men, it is believed that they could have married but that they did not want to do so. People are satisfied with that; they are not urged to marry. The few older unmarried men who could be observed for some time every day, seemed like quiet, contented individuals who performed all kinds of little tasks in the house, rendered small services to their housemates, and sometimes even looked after the little children. Their standing in the group of relatives [554] is not great. Men who enjoy status in their related group are always married.

/176 cont./

Elements of the Wedding Ritual

The Announcement

584 The announcement to a young girl that she is to marry is made with great care. An older woman is enlisted for this pur-
[554] pose, /177/ one who herself has many children and who has done well in this world. For instance, the wife of a kapala or
[777] someone who has higher blood coupled with personal standing. The parents hope that some of their luck (pitjuru) will be imparted to their child. The girl is taken to the woman and is addressed quietly and in a friendly manner with a few, well-chosen words. "We intend to make you a complete person" (nipadjari tau); "we want to make you into one single whole" (nipakalepu).

When her marriage is announced to her, a girl always cries. A somewhat simple type who remained seated quietly was even
[539] incited to do so: "Cry, child, otherwise people will laugh at you" (ngarruko 'ndi, nakakaliko sallang taua). Not to cry is regarded as a sign that she longs for a man.

A girl who has heard that she must marry generally draws the sarong over her head and sobbingly lies down in a dark corner of the house. She refuses all food and remains there until she is taken up by her female relatives in order to undergo a certain ritual. At that time she keeps herself as passive as possible and thereby shows that the idea of having to marry makes her very unhappy.

It is also expected of a young man that he will be sad when he hears that he must marry. Eh, tenć'na, "What, is he glad," (that he is going to marry), was the disapproving reaction of an old woman when the boy remained completely quiet. The kinsmen repeatedly make remarks to him designed to put him in a sad mood. "Think of your mother." "Now you probably will no longer think of us. Now you will only call your wife's kinsmen your kin group."

126 /181 cont./ latter here followed the system suggested by
585 Professor A. A. Cense. In the translation, I tried to transpose the frequently figurative text into as good Dutch as was possible. It was not my intention to take strict responsibility for the translation.

585
539

	Pakkio' bunting	Address to welcome the bridegroom
1.	Iadende', iadende',	Happily, happily,
2.	nia' todjemmindjo maë	there now finally comes
3.	bunting salloa kutajang,	the bridegroom whom I have been expecting for such a long time,
4.	salloa kuminasai.	for whose arrival I have been hoping for such a long time.
5.	Nampako riudjung borikku, riappa' pa'rasangangku,	Now that you have come to the outermost point, to the border of my land,
6.	nakurappoiko tjini', kutimbarangngiko pangngai.	I give you my best wishes and my love.
7.	Nampako kuasseng nia', nakuitungko labattu,	Now I know that you are there, that you have really arrived,
8.	kunragi memang berasa' ri- mangko' kebo',	I am preparing four-colored rice in a white bowl, /182/
9.	kummatta memang rappobau' ripalakku,	then I will hack a betel nut into little pieces on the palm of my hand,
10.	kunnanro memang kalomping ritalang bulaëng;	and I will place a folded betel leaf on a golden bowl;
11.	kutongko intang, kubelobelo djamarro';	and I will cover all this with jewels and adorn it with emeralds;
12.	intang matjora massingarri dallekannu,	glittering diamonds shine upon your face,

585
539

/182 cont./

13. bulaëng ti'no' assuloi pattjini'nu.	pure gold illuminates your visage.
14. Lakukapeangko anne sumanga'nu mabellaja,	I will wave to your soul which is far away, to turn around,
15. lakukiokangko pole tubunu 'lampa salaja.	I will call back for you your body, which is wandering around aimlessly.
16. Badji' kuallekonne bungabunga tamalate;	I draw you toward myself like a flower which will never wilt.
17. late bunga, tamalate tjinikannu.	A flower wilts, but one can never get enough of looking at you.
18. Kutannangkonne tope talakka' riaja';	I shall make you into a sarong that will always be warm.
19. lakka' tope tamalakkakko ikau.	A sarong may become loose, but you stay.
20. Sangkontu sanrapammamako bulang sampuloa ngngappa',	You are like the full moon,
21. nasusung pale, natinriang wari-wari;	with the evening star by its side which at the same time is accompanied by the morning star; /183/
22. wari-wari kapapasang, pale mannuntunga bangngi.	a morning star which shines through to day break, and an evening star that continues to glitter throughout the night (1).

1. Thus something special, something that has never before been seen.

/183 cont./

585 539

23. Nisailenu kau, tamalladjunu nitjini' ma'mole-mole.	One looks at you, one never gets enough of looking at you.
24. Kukio' Daëndjakondjo, kukanro ana' karaëng.	I call you a man of the nobility and honor you as a prince.
25. Nutuli manai'mo maë riballa'na matoannu, rituka'na ipara'nu,	Come enter the house of your parents-in-law, along the steps of your brothers-in-law and your sisters-in-law,
26. matoang tuna, ipara' kamasemase;	your lowly parents-in-law and your pitiable brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law;
27. mangngondjottommakonne tuka' tallu anronna, patampulo baringanna;	go along the ladder with the three uprights and the forty rungs (2);

[554]

2. These and the following references point to the fact that here one is in the house of a very prominent man.

28. mandjapputtongko pole tjottjorang nita'-buta'bu;	hold on tight to the banister of the ladder, which is divided into joints like sugar cane;
29. nutuli manai';	climb steadily upward;
30. mannjorong pakke'bu nigiring-giring;	push against the door which is provided with little copper bells;
31. mangngondjot tongko dasere' nidjaling kawa', nia'lanro bassi kalling;	step onto the floor boards which are tied to the transverse boards by means of wire;

/183 cont./

585 539

32. mateteongko pallangga nibatang rappo;	also run across the beams of the floor that are made of the stems of the areca;/184/
33. mannosotongko padongko' nitau-tau	pass under the large attic beam which is provided with a few upright beams;
34. nutulimo kalau', rawanganna timbaonu, ammempo ribenteng polonnu.	walk on to the west (that is, the high part of the house), and sit down under the canopy of your bed against the smoothed head pole.
35. A'lapara' tappere' bo'dong;	Sit down on the round little mat;
36. andjo'djo kari kanang;	just point out, left and right, what you desire;
37. mansuro-suro rapannu, mampattudju sangkammannu.	just send off your equals to run errands; let them work for you.
38. Naremba-rembako pole ana' rara patampulo;	Forty young girls will keep you company;
39. nisarimanangko pole lonrong beru ma'bakka';	you will be helped and served by adolescents;
40. benteng polong kanasako, kanako benteng pakkai', kai' topena pasikaiki badjunna.	?
41. Nai' manaung tunibarangbaranginnu; assulu' antama ata maballa' balla'nu.	Your pledgees will run back and forth; your household slaves will go in and out.
42. Numa'djarang, numattedong, numa'djangang rassi lerang;	You will possess many horses and buffaloes, as well as a coop full of chickens;

/184 cont./

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43. nakatumbangngangi pole palampang ase berunu;	you will pile up so much young rice that the barn in which it is kept will collapse; /185/
44. nakatepokangi padongko' ase toanu.	you will possess so much old rice that the great ceiling beam will break under its weight.
45. Tamanraikko ri Ambong nukoasa;	You do not travel on Ambon and yet you are mighty (1);
46. takalaukko ri Djawa, nukalumannjang;	you do not travel on Java and yet you are wealthy (1);

1. The meaning is: "you do not trade, and yet you are mighty or wealthy."

47. tama'botoroko numammeta.	you do not gamble, and yet you win.
48. Assare-saremako sallang rimatoang kasi-asi,	You will also help your poor parents-in-law,
49. appiturummako pole riipara' kamase-mase.	you will also give something to your pitiable brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.
50. Nai'tuannu, ssalla' dasere' dalle'nu.	Your good fortune rises upward between the boards of the floor.
51. Kuminasaidjakondjo sunggu; kutindjakkiko mate'ne;	I hope that you will be fortunate; I make the vow that all will go well with you;
52. nusunggu todjeng numate'ne todjentodong.	and see, you are really fortunate and things are really going well with you.

/185 cont./

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53. La'bu bannang ri Djawa, mala'buang umuru'nu;	Long is the thread from here to Java, but even longer will be the duration of your life;
54. luara' tamparang, luarangngang nawa-nawannu;	wide is the sea, but more expansive are your thoughts;
55. tinggi Bawakaraëng, matinggiampa tuannu.	high is the mountain the Bawakaraëng, but even higher is your good fortune. /186/
56. Le'ba' gentung timbaonu, le'ba' tantang pakkalli'nu;	The canopy of your bed has already been hung, and the curtain of the bed has already been drawn;
57. timbao nikida-kida, pakkalli' niura' tallu.	the canopy is adorned with golden spangles, and the curtain is provided with three strips.
58. Le'ba' basami ba'ra'nu, le'ba' gusu' langiri'nu;	The powder for your face has already been moistened, and the water for the washing of your head is even now ready for use;
59. tattannangi pole tjapparu pa'minnjakkannu.	the pot with hair oil, which is destined for you, stands even now in readiness.
60. Nutulimo ntama ribili' kamua liku, kamua kallang-ngang rapa';	You will enter a little room that is pitch dark and seems like a whirlpool.
61. mannoso' badang; mannimba' bangkeng patjiko.	you will penetrate a body; you will open the rim of the hole.

/186 cont./

585 539

62. Nukana-kanami sallang saraka ripamminangngang;	You will recite the formulas of the bed;
63. tappau'-pau'mi pole bungabunga rikatinroannu.	the flowers in the bed spread their scent.
64. Nusipoke-poke genre, nusita'ba' rappo toa;	You will extend to each other the folded betel leaves, and you will throw ripe areca nuts to each other;
65. nusipattoa-toai, nusipa'loaloai, nusipattjammo-tjammoi;	you will grow old together, and you will live together until you are forgetful and toothless;
66. sitanro takkang, sibuttju' pa'dengka-dengka.	until you will give each other a cane and until you throw an areca pounder toward each other. /187/
67. Lino-linopi anging, pakkeke mappasisa'la'.	Only after everything has become quiet (when the wind has died down), will you be separated by death.
68. Numammana'-mana' sarre,	You will get children just like the sarre plant (1),

[824]

1. Names /sic/ of plants that are well known for their many offshoots and rapid increase.

69. numa'borong unti-djawa,	you will form a forest of of pisang djawa,
70. numattju'la' ase-bakka'.	you will have offshoots just like the rice plant that is called ase-bakka'.

/187 cont./

585 539

71. Pinruang tudju, pintallung tassalapangngi.	Two times seven and three times nine.
72. Manai'ngasemmi maë Anronggurù ningainu, Gallarrang nipangngalikinnu, Kapala nipaemponu,	They will all come to your house, your respected heads, your adat community heads, for whom one has respect, and your kampong heads, who are gladly welcomed,
73. battungasemmi pole bidjannu pammanakannu, bella-bella mbani-bani, tja'di-tja'di lompo-lompo, ana'-ana' tau toa.	all your kinsmen will come from near and far, big and small, old and young.
74. Nipanai'mako ripangkapangka bulaëng,	You will be brought to a golden palace,
75. nipaempomako ritappere' paramadani.	and you will be made to sit on a beautiful carpet.
76. Badji' nangai Na'bi, napudji Alla Taäla.	The Prophet loves you, and God praises you. /188/
77. Sipoko' bu'ne tantanna dje'ne' matannu;	Just as a berry tree drops its fruit, so there will be many tears shed for you;
78. sipoko' tjamba pammatti'na lloro'nu.	you will be envied just as a tamarind tree is envied its fruit.
79. Kupattannangngangkonne anggoro' rigantironu;	I will plant a vine for you under the outermost lower edge of your roof;
80. kupa'lamungangko pole lemotanning ridolangang,	I will also plant a djeruk tanning for you in the middle of the open sea,

/188 cont./

585 539

81. nakatjinnai Somba, napammattikang iloro' Bate-salapang.

which even the Prince himself will covet and for which the mouths of the members of the Royal Council will water.

82. Bunting nilekkakko paleng tunipalele bellakang;

Now you will really go away, bride (1), you will change houses;

[591 795]

1. Here the one who speaks turns to the bride. It is a custom that after the Moslem marriage ceremony the couple goes to the house of the bridegroom's parents, at least for a few days.

83. niërang ri bori'maraëng, pa' rasangang nampa nuondjo'; bori nampa nula'bakki.

you will be brought to another land, the land which you will enter for the first time; the land toward which you are traveling.

84. Nukamma todong djonga,

You resemble a deer that anxiously peers over the hedge,

85. mattoa' ri sampa' mangagajangan tunumalo.

which shyly looks at the passersby.

86. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea: Nampa' 'lampa riballakku, nakudjoli pakkibukku, nakugulung tapperekku kupattantuna, kalengku lammantang puli.

The song of the bridegroom goes: Now I am leaving my house, now /189/ I am locking my door and rolling up my mat, because I am convinced that I shall not return.

/189 cont./

585 539

87. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea:
Takundjunga' sallo lolo, kurunrung balu baine, tamammonea', tope taero'na mmakku.

And the song of the bride goes:
It is not for nothing that I intentionally remained unmarried for a long time, I accept no tope whom my mother does not love.

88. Nakana pole kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea:
Ka'de' kutjini' Batara, kudupai allo-allo, nadjo' djokangku, lebang ripa'maikku.

The song of the bridegroom again goes:
If I should see God, I would burn incense for him' every day since He has shown me the one whom I love.

89. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea:
Kade' nania' erokku, tea' sadju' risa'bea', tea' salasa ri badju montjong buloa.

The song of the bride goes:
If I should have a wish, then it would be: do not make the silken jacket unhappy and do not disappoint the green jacket (1).

1. The jacket here represents its wearer: a young girl, therefore the speaker herself.

90. Nakana pole kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea:
Nampako mattju'la' lebong, nakurompong-rompong memang lompoko nai', kutambai pa'rompongku.

And the bridegroom in turn says:
And if then you grow up like a young bamboo, then I will take care that no one will come near you (2); when you are fully grown I shall strengthen my protection.

/189 cont./

585
539
[241]

2. Young bamboo shoots are protected against goats and buffaloes.

91. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea: Apa kitjini' rinakke, nakke le'leng nakke kodi, nakke tja'di simbolengku.	And the bride says: What do you see in me? I am dark and ugly, and my hair knot is small. /190/
92. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea: Manna le'leng manna kodi, manna tja'di simbolennu, titti' matangku, kala'busang pangngaingku.	And the bridegroom says: Even though you are swarthy and even though you are homely, and even though your hair knot is small, you are the apple of my eye; after you I will love no other.
93. Nakanatosseng kelonna Daëng bunting bainea: Sikatutuiki' tope, narisassa mole-mole, taënamonne, parekanna maloloa.	And the song of the bride goes again: Together we shall take good care of our common sarong; we shall wash it repeatedly; my work as a young girl has now come to an end.
94. Nai'ngasemmaki' maë.	Come in, all of you (1).

1. Literally, "Come upstairs, all of you."

The Wedding Ceremony According to Moslem Rite

585 After this address or, in the case where this address is not recited, when the dikir is held up at the foot of the house steps,

585 /191 cont./ "And I asked further: 'How was the sunrang paid?' And thereupon Malla answered: 'Eight reals in cash and one section of a sawah situated in Bianreng (2) bordering

2. Name of a sectionof kampong Bontoramba.

in the north on the sawah of Rapi, in the west on the sawah of Bagenda, in the south on the sawah of Djumadi, and in the east on the sawah of Genda. This sawah was given for an amount of 16 reals.'

"Thereupon I took the bridegroom's thumb in order to conclude the marriage.

"I asked Malla: 'Do you consent to the marriage of these two?' And Malla said: 'It is good.' Three times I asked this.

"After that I performed the ceremony. As witnesses there were Djuma, the guru of Bontoramba, and Massulukang. I held onto the hand of the bridegroom and recited the vow before him: 'Asjhadu anla Ilaaha Illallah wa asjhadu anna Muhammadan Rasulullah (I truthfully testify that there is no other God than Allah taala; and I also testify that the Prophet Mohammed is the messenger of God).' [539]

"Subsequently I said: 'I pronounce you, Rahimi and Sija, the daughter of Malla, man and wife; your sunrang amounts to 24 reals.'

"And Rahimi said: 'I agree to be joined in marriage with Sija. I am paying a sunrang of 24 reals.' Three times he said this.

And the witnesses said: 'We agree.' Thereupon I let go of his hand. Rahimi was then conducted to his wife by Bandong in order to make her fortunate by his touch. The upper arm of Sija was touched by Rahimi.

The kampu was placed before me. It contained: 20 betel leaves, 2 areca nuts, limestone, and by way of wedding money, 8.25 guldens (8.-guldens in paper money and 25 cents). I gave 1.-gulden to each of the witnesses.

565 /206 cont./ value is placed, as they say, upon keeping the
582 blood pure and the goods together. There this marriage is therefore not regarded as unfavorable. In the higher classes, one can observe the tendency toward contracting marriages between closer relatives.

587 A marriage to someone who has already been married (a widower or divorced man) is regarded as unfavorable. The fact that the first marriage failed is ascribed to a lack of "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means), unless a special reason can be shown. The idea that an individual is as he is, and
[828] that he himself can change little about this, explains fears that the second marriage will fail for the same reason. Attempts are made to dismiss any thoughts of the first marriage by having the second marriage take place from another house, by choosing another bride's mother, and by making other changes. The best attitude imaginable is therefore thought to be that of a remarrying bridegroom who said, "I am going to begin a new life." This man was prepared to react differently in this second marriage than in the first, at which time he submitted with great aversion to all the ritual, gave his bride a rough tap on the back at the first touch, and in all possible ways made his dislike of this marriage apparent.

A woman prefers not to marry a man who has already been married, as the following verse (kelong) testifies, where a young woman is introduced saying:

[539]

> "I would rather be a fallow piece of land, an unplowed sown field, than having a buffalo run over me who has already been under the yoke once."

Actually, it would be very crude if a girl were to recite
[576] this verse. This is only done by older people when it suits them at a certain moment in their marriage policy.

428 /216 cont./ 1. The religious judge
588 (sjarat) acknowledges the share of the inheritance which is due her, but in the case of an "ordinary" division, that is to say, a division which takes place without the religious judge, her existence is officially ignored. At the most this relationship is used as a pretext, without being expressly stated as such, to leave the estate entirely or partially undivided.

593 The first person eligible to act when a woman has taken
684 part in a contact situation is her brother. A little poem
627 illustrates this:

[539]

Sari'battangadji todjeng,	Only the brother is the true,
iadji kalli' madjarre';	he alone is the strong fence,
pindu' tjikali	where cousins
naempoi ranggasela.	of the sixth and fourth degree waver.

There is no mention here of the girl's father. He is the one who must give the official consent to the marriage and later to the reconciliation, but if his son does not agree, he [602] gets into difficulties. Officially, all male kinsmen of the woman are siri' when she has fled, but those who take an active part in such a case are, in the first place, her brother and sometimes also a cousin of the fourth degree, or a follower (2) of her father. The boundaries cannot be sharply

2. "His siri' is that of his master," it is said.

[185 cont.]

538 merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy; He hath not dealt with us according to our sins, nor regarded us according to our inquities; for he knoweth our frame, and remembereth that we are dust" (5). One sees that parallelism is

5. Psalm 103:8, 10, and 14.

an accumulation of attributes and [186] expressions of the same idea. This is also true of the kelong and elong, which, however, in content, are similar to the Malayan pantuns in many respects, although usually prettier and also clearer. To judge: "If a drizzling rain should fall, oh pure virgin! gather its drops in the front folds of your garment, for you know that I have changed myself into a cloud and travel in that form" (1). This is clear

1. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomatie, p. 421, col. 2, No. 8.

enough, but if the girl does not care for the young man, her answer is no less clear in the following kelong: "If you should come down as a drizzling rain, take care to avoid me. I have [539] not found it pleasant when a drizzling rain sprinkles me too often." The Buginese elong are generally just as clear as the kelong. We say generally because a peculiar language is found in many elong, known as basa to-Bakkä, that is, the language of the man of Bakkä. Bakkä is a place in Soppeng, and the man of Bakkä is a certain Datu Bakkä, Prince of Boni, who was very famous in ancient times for his great sagacity. The basa to-Bakkä is thus a kind of metaphorical language, which often consists of farfetched plays on words. Let us look at a single example. Imagine for a moment, reader, that you are in 538 Buginese country and that, tired, you arrive at the home of a 574 Buginese who welcomes you with manri mana-no = eat chicken feed. This sounds very peculiar. If you understand the basa to-Bakkä, however, it is clear enough. Chicken feed is

MK 538 [574] [186 cont.] principally bänni = cracked rice, which sounds like mabanni = spend the night. The Buginese simply wanted to say "remain overnight." One can see that the play on words is farfetched. MK [539] The elong in the basa Bakkä cannot be understood without explanation. Here is another example. "Do not try to satisfy your passion, because then you always would have only bale ta-kesässi = fish without scales at home. This bale ta-kesässi in the basa to-Bakkä makes one think specifically of a fish awu-awu. This word also means "oh! alas!" The words "then you would only 'have scaleless fish at home'" are meant to express [187] then you would have only 'oh,' 'alas,' that is, distress and misery, in your house. Before taking leave of the elong, we must mention a particular kind, the so-called elong osong, war songs.

B RL 538 Besides these shorter poems with four verses, the literature of the peoples named has longer poems. Among the Batak, Lampong, and Redjang, these are romantic or historical poems, which, however, are still not very well known. We are better MK 538 informed about those of the Makassarese and Buginese, called, respectively, tolo and sinrili, which can best be compared with the Malayan sjair. The parallelism mentioned above is very much in evidence in them. Among these poems there are often very beautiful ones, especially among the Makassarese, which excel in bold images and striking contrasts. As an example, one MK [764 114] should read the sinrili No. 53 of Dr. Matthes' Makassaarsche Chrestomatie, a funeral song by a wife for her husband.

Some sinrili or tolo are heroic lays, of which a few deal with subjects from modern times. For instance, a Buginese epic deals with the Boni war. There are some older ones, however, such as La Galigo, which is written in old, obsolete Buginese MK [773 776] and understood by only a few. The content is of a mythological nature and deals with the adventures of Batara Goeroe (the supreme deity) and his descendants on earth, among whom is La Galigo (1). As a poetical product La Galigo is of little value

1. Wilken, Animisme, Part 2, pp. 232-233.

M 778 648 643 789 T 648

/127 cont./

Because of this superstitious fear, it did not even occur to the people to oppose the wishes or the commands of the Datoe. It was told that whenever the Datoe came to punish rebellious tribes, his army was preceded by swarms of wasps which put the rebels out of action before there was an encounter. The Datoe had power over the success or failure of the harvest. Whenever people opposed him, the rice in the cooking pots would change to worms. This /128/ power over the crops that was ascribed to him was the reason that many Toradja continued to deliver their tribute to the Datoe after the Government had already prohibited this, because they thought that through their show of respect their fields would prosper. Whenever now and then there was resistance to Loewoe', this was not aimed at the Datoe, but at the Chief of one of the little realms that made up Loewoe'. There was ascribed to the Datoe another feared weapon with which he held his subjects in check. Namely, he could bring a contagious sickness over the land; he had nine of these sicknesses at his disposal. The Datoe was said to have inherited this power from one of his ancestors called La Dondorio. The tradition connected with this is too remarkable for it not to be reported.

M [631]

M [753]

14. The story of La Dondorio and the To Ngojoe.

M 539 778 643

La Dondorio went to seek supernatural power (mempepali asi-asi) on the other side of the ocean. At sea he met someone in a proa, who said to him: "La Dondorio, do not go to the inhabitants of Wonder island; only women are there; if a man comes to them, they go at him in order to unite with him; they tear him from one another's arms so that he dies. They are the To Ngojoe, who are called this because they have the wind for a husband. When the wind sweeps over their dwelling place, they all go to sit with their faces in the direction from which the wind comes. If a man comes to them, then they cover (naowoeti) him, and the one with whom he mates becomes pregnant; but if the child is a boy, they sit upon him so that he dies. Therefore there are no men on the island."

M 778 • 539 643

/128 cont./

When La Dondorio had listened to this tale, he considered how he could escape the danger: If the women take me as a mate, I shall not come away alive; let me thus manage on my way to get a supply of penes. Where he got them from is not known, but he continued his journey with a supply of male genitalia in his boat. When he was approaching the coast of the island, the To Ngojoe saw that a man was coming to them. They came out of their houses and rushed to the shore and ran to meet him in the sea, for he would oblige whoever reached him first, and the others would have to fight over him.

La Dondorio saw them approaching and he said to the penes: "These are the To Ngojoe, who want to climb into our ship. When they have come close, you must fly up and every one must enter into the arse (tanta'i, but the vulva is surely meant) of each of them, so that they cannot approach me." The genitalia did this so that every one of the To Ngojoe was satisfied. With other men the women stormed their vessel so that it sank and the man drowned.

When all were satisfied, one of the women said to La Dondorio: "You, La Dondorio, are truly a clever man, for you are the only one who is leaving here alive. Therefore we wish to give you something to show our affection for you. We shall give you a protective charm such that all your descendants shall have power over the means that we give. /129/ When you make use of it, it will have effect; so also when your descendants make use of it." In this way La Dondorio received the nine sicknesses.

T 648 753 M 648 643

In former times people were very afraid of them. When a contagious sickness prevailed in Poe'oe-mboto, it was thought that it had been sent by the Datoe, and then rice and chickens were collected in order to go and pay him honor (mepoee). The people were convinced that the Datoe had released one of the nine sicknesses because he was angry at something or other. The sicknesses that La Dondorio had brought along were of all sorts: stomach-ache, headache, fever. The people then went

241 /50 cont./ number of bowls for themselves. They ate in small
796 groups seated around the bowls without any special order
264 according to standing being observed in so doing.
554 Some pinati at the ritual take a few fingers of rice plus
the extreme end of a chicken leg (only the bone) from each
bowl and place this by the parappo. In this manner something
[769] has been put aside for the ancestors from each house.

Men now let their cocks fight again as they did in the
[541] morning. Meanwhile the Pinati goes around and touches
241 everybody who wants it with a mixture of oil, earth, and finely
796 rubbed rice, as well as something else which is his special
secret. The parts of the body suited for this are the forehead,
the neck, and the navel. The purpose is to cause these persons
[769] to share in the prosperity (pitjuru') of this ancestor through the
earth with which he came in contact (nibarakkakki) (1).

1. It is good practice to take for this purpose earth from as close to the stone as possible and as soon after the conclusion of the ritual as possible (see photograph).

After the meal many stay to watch the cocks for a while. Only gradually do they return home. Only a few pisang and betel leaves, some pieces of areca and rice kernels remain by the stone under the tree and in the saukang next to the looped-off center post. The wind easily drives the dried-up leaves asunder; ants and birds make off with the rest. The oil spots alone remain visible as a sign that the ancestors were honored.

Horizontal Mobility

166 Three aspects of horizontal mobility will be described here. First of all, the relationship of place of residence to place of birth; secondly, the migrations which take place during a unit of time in one certain kampong territory; and

[see End Plate 7.-Analyst]

[122 cont.]

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g. Tournaments

The tournament, watangan or sodoran and sĕnèan, belongs exclusively among the amusements of sovereigns and high personages and is performed on the alun-alun. For the sovereign, this festivity takes place on Saturdays; for the regent, it may be done only on Mondays, hence the name sĕnènan = something that happens on Monday, itsnain or sĕnèn. All the participants at a tournament are dressed in ceremonial attire, and the horses, too, are outfitted handsomely with the prabot watangan (2),

2. Note.

ceremonial harness, which is also used at wedding ceremonies. The combatants are armed with long, blunt lances, sodor or watang, and before the tilting begins they ride in pairs around the alun-alun a few times to the music of the gamelang. Then the two front riders leave the procession, execute [123] an about-face, and ride toward each other, with the intention of breaking each other's lances or of unseating the opponent. Then they go to the rear of the cavalcade (1). Now the second pair

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1. Veth, Java, Vol. I, pp. 585 ff.

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[522]

follows, and so on. Clowns also appear at the tournaments; seated on skinny horses and armed with tremendously long lances, they cross the alun-alun in all directions and actually nothing but burlesque the whole sĕnènan. A much appreciated joke at the end is tying life-sized, costumed dolls on unsaddled horses. Fireworks are tied under the tails and lighted, whereupon they gallop around terrified, and the dolls move about in the silliest postures. Actually it is a barbaric, silly joke. A popular sport for high personages is deer hunting, for which a number of deer are driven into an enclosed space and then

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M [123 cont.]
J hunted with saber, lances, or snares by the well-to-do. This
I 541 sport is also held in high esteem by the Dajak, the Makassarese,
224 and the Buginese (2).

2. Tijdschrift v. h. Binnenl. Bestuur, 1887, pp. 150 ff. Sal. Muller, Verhadelingen, etc., op. cit., p. 432, Pl. 55. Matthes, Ethnologie v. Z. Celebes, p. 110.

h. Tiger Fights

J 541 On Java, any spectacle at which animals fight one another is called adu-adu Ng., abĕn-abĕn Kr. Tiger fights are among the most important of them, and they, too, take place on the alun-alun of the royal residence, where a buffalo is made to fight a tiger. Before the fight begins, the buffalo stands in an enclosed space, while the tiger is confined in a cage at the side of the field. At a signal from the sovereign, the door of the cage is raised and the tiger is driven into the battle field where the buffalo, who has been released, awaits him. As a rule the battle begins immediately and usually ends with the defeat of the tiger. If the animals have no [124] desire to fight, they are incited to it by burning straw thrown at the tiger and an infusion of Spanish pepper showered on the buffalo.

Another kind of tiger fight is the rampog- or rampok-matjan. A circle of men three ranks deep stand at a distance in a circle around the caged tiger with their lances couched. The tiger is driven from his cage by setting it afire, and as he tries to gain his liberty by jumping over the lances, he is caught and killed on them.

In former days, criminals armed with a blunt kris fought tigers. If they were fortunate enough to slay them, they were considered not guilty and were set free.

Malays AN5
Batak OD5
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7

M1 [125 cont.]
Bt the Malays, as is shown by the name sabung; hence, one finds
541 it exclusively among those of Mandailing. Besides the Malays,
MK the Makassarese and Buginese are also ardent lovers of this sport.
541 Among them cockfights take place not only on festive occasions
231 and marketdays, but almost daily. They raise and maintain their fighting cocks with the greatest care, and their infatuation with them goes so far that a special nobility has been created for these animals. This nobility can be acquired by the bird's own victory or by those of his ancestors. If a cock has particularly distinguished himself during a fight, his descendants are named after him and his pedigree will be faithfully kept. Before an animal fights, one must check to see whether or not he belongs to the nobility. If he does, then there is still the question as to whether his patent of nobility is of a more recent or more ancient date, because the cocks of ancient nobility are highly esteemed and large amounts are bet on them. Makassarese and Buginese writings incessantly mention cocks as examples of courage and heroes are repeatedly compared with fighting cocks. Here, too, the cocks are provided with artificial spurs. One can appreciate how sharp they are by knowing that they are made primarily from old English razors. The betting during the fights
MK sometimes runs very high. Eight thousand guilders has been bet
[525] on a cock of ancient nobility (2).

2. Matthes, Bijdrage t. d. Ethnologie v. Z. Celebes, pp. 116 f. De Serrière, Tijdschr. v. Ned. Ind., 1873, Vol. I, p. 92. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 131.

B1 Besides southern Celebes, cockfights are also held on Bali.
541 This amusement, however, was introduced to the Balinese,
[126] who learned it from the Malays, as was also the case
I among the Javanese, Makassarese, and Buginese. We should
541 add that according to No. 10 of the General Police Criminal
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I [126 cont.]
544 Regulations the holding of cockfights is prohibited on penalty
673 of a fine of 16-25 guilders, with the alternative of 7-12 days compulsory labor. This does not alter the fact, however, that
MK cockfights are clandestinely held everywhere and on many oc-
544 casions. Naturally, this prohibition does not apply to those areas
673 where the sovereigns have self-government, such as in the states
634 of southern Celebes.

j. Quail Fights

I The quail is called gĕmak or puju; quail fights are known
544 as ngadu gĕmak. Only females are used for quail fights, be-
525 cause they are more beautiful, stronger, and more courageous than the males. The fights take place in a cage, pĕngadon, literally, "fighting place," which is five decimeters high and 7.5 decimeters long, with very thin bars. Both quails are put in the pĕngadon at the same time and immediately begin to fight furiously, both birds trying to hit or stab each other, especially around the eyes and ears. The fight lasts until one falls back. Here, too, betting is primary (1).

1. Tijdschr. v. Ned. Ind., 1873, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff.

k. Cricket Fights

At cricket fights, ngadu-djangkrik only the males do the fighting. They are first tamed by letting them hang horizontally by means of a thread tied around their bodies for 24 hours and after that by holding them under water to make them unconscious. In this condition they are put in a small bamboo tube where they soon come to. The fights take place in a little basket, also called pĕngadon, which is divided into two parts by a sliding

noticeable in the Kepala kampong's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim. M 156 609

I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs, a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampong had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampong's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better. M 565 342 554

At the Karaëng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa". I 192

I asked Rahim about the Karaëng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i.e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaëng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes. M 156 554

I went back to the Karaëng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaëng as well as to the Kepala kampong. Rahim said that the Karaëng was ana tino [i.e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i.e., the nine electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought. M 124 565

The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him. M 124

Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were M 541 533 177

M 541 533 177 school children with their teachers. I noticed much lining up in schoolyards also. Is this Dutch or Japanese? One group had a band. There were a few, poorly made, little drums--possibly home made--and a number of bamboo flutes. The playing was not bad.

C 485 133 Parepare is on the coast and has a fine bay. There are many rivers along this bay and at each one finds many praus. Some are rather large and are tied up near the road bridge for evidently they cannot go further inland. From Parepare I went north to Pinrang where the road turns inland and begins to worsen. Then I went on to Rappang where the slope of the land begins to rise gently and where the road has no surfacing but many loose stones. There was not much traffic. I went on to Enrekang which is quite high up and is fairly large. There is a pasanggrahan [government rest house] on a hill, and beneath it plenty of white government buildings. I had a miserable meal of fried rice, eggs, and awful coffee. It cost me f.3, which was too much. When taking a picture of flying foxes hanging in the trees, I dropped and broke my polaroid exposure meter here. There are thousands of these flying foxes in the trees, making a terrific noise. They evidently scream all day in crowds while hanging upside down with their leathery wings folded. They looked fantastic through the glasses. They are big with furry bodies, and with faces and heads almost looking like bears. Horrible! Later a woman in the Makale pasanggrahan said that they smell awful too.

C 136

000 The jeep and everything in it was now covered with dust which seeps in everywhere. After Enrekang I went up into the hills to Kalosi and here it is really high up. I thought that this was already Toradja country here, but later a girl told me that I was mistaken and that the local people are still Buginese. I noticed that there was a wide area, almost uninhabited, between the Buginese lowland and the Toradja mountains. Finally I arrived in Makale and went to the pasanggrahan which appeared to be quite good. I got the single room, ate, drank, and talked with two Dutch couples until 11 P.M. when the lights go out. One woman who was quite pretty said she was born in Medan and went to school in Batavia. She had been only twice to Holland, and then not for very long. She said that this is her country.

In the morning I talked with one of the men. He was formerly a controleur in West Borneo, and was now starting the same program in Makale. He said, however, that he had no power and felt quite frustrated. He said that the economic

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
● [541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

517 are mad about movies and this shows a trememdous poten-
546 tial value for visual education here. Indeed, the only out-side amusement is the movies.

526 As for sports, there is a badminton court in the kampong,
367 but it is near Watumpone. In Watumpone they play soccer and the kampong boys do this too except that they do not have a field within the kampong. They also play the real rattan-ball football. In addition, but only in Watumpone, a few people play tennis. Probably no one from the kampong does this.

524 As for games, they have children's games, but evidently not many. One is a sort of tag in a square. Then there are kites, especially (only ?) after the rice harvest. Children fly kites, but fathers pretending to help the children often take over the kites. Andi is amused by this pretention. They
525 have a string-sawing kite contest too. There is much gam-
● 541 bling with dice, but evidently no cards. No chess or checkers are found here. There are cock fights but they are illegal. They know about cricket fights. They are a bit reticent on all this, perhaps because it is secret.

517 There are no real local arts aside from crafts. These
53 people are not at all artistic. Even their weaving is banal, except for the colors. This is their one beauty spot. The designs are in checks, plaid, or consist entirely of horizontal stripes. The designs are dull except for the colors. And aside from the padjoge there is no dancing. There is no carving of stone, and but little wood carving on houses. There is practically no music and the people do not go in much for any instruments. They did say that they play flutes, which is true especially for those who watch the water buffalo. There is no drama at all. There is no painting except for a few banal efforts on the houses. Poor stuff, poor people.

517 As for leisure, that depends on a number of variables.
538 Some of the farmers work all day except for midday. Some
368 who have office jobs have regular hours. I didn't get very
461 far on this. In their spare time they mainly sit, walk, talk. They almost never read, but said that if they could get books
549 they might read a lot. But there are no books available. They agreed that a library is sadly needed. I was surprised that they said that there was very little if any story-telling. This checks with the Minangkabau man who could get no stories here. They haven't even got imagination enough to tell tales. Maybe in the kampong I could find some, but clearly they reflect the general poverty in this sphere. As for the desire
517 to go where there is more entertainment, more fun, the
181 general impression is that there is not much of an urge in

000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
586 and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
153 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
152 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with
[565] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas, the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said that this will mean very little in this area except for the formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to receive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect, too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean further insecurity for his position. There are great preparations being made for this event at the present time. There will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge. This is merely a generic term. At the top are the ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here (though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng, descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depending on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only

In the Mamasa area there are plenty of slaves and they are divided in inheritance along with the sawah, houses, etc. They "go with" the houses. S 567 428

He also says that in one region on the coast there have been three cases of slave man-commoner woman marriages in one year. Thus the old taboo seems to be weaker, but he admitted that this was on the coast. I told him about my idea concerning the taboo on marriages of higher women with lower men in the Makassarese and Buginese areas. And he says that the law of punishment by banishment for five years now (down from the former twenty, then ten years) is not written in the law, as the Dutch would never do that. It is in adat, and what happens is that such a case will be judged on the adat level and the exile decreed. The pair do not dare disobey and they also do not dare appeal the judgment to the Dutch type of higher court. They simply follow the decree and go away. They believe that if they did not do this they would be poisoned or "a tree would fall on them," etc. S 565 684 671 582 752

In Mamasa, he says, there is much trouble about the stealing of dogs. The folk there say that although dogs are cheap, the people will not have any in the after-life if they are stolen. The Controleur has decreed, therefore, that all dogs not tied up are fair game. Some have been taken and killed, and the folk are now very careful. S 685 231 775

The houses in the Mamasa area are big like those of the Dyak, housing perhaps as many as a hundred. Each family occupies a separate section, and these sections are arranged according to rank. S 342 592 565

He said that the incest taboo there [in Mamasa--Analyst] extends out to third degree cousins. (What does this mean?) S 835

Sumbawa: The Controleur from Mamasa said that I must ask van der Wolk about an island off Sumbawa where it is reported that there are no men, only women. They are supposed to go once a year to Sumbawa and steal men. They keep them on the island for two or three months and then let them go. Male children are kept for seven or eight years and then sent to Sumbawa. He says that the Controleur is fondled by the women when he visits there and that the Resident of Ambon, upon hearing this, ordered the controleur to stay there only a short time. This sounds amazing, and I must check it. What a story! 000

Watampone: In the last few days before leaving I saw a great commotion over the passing of the resident powers to the Hadat Tinggi in the person of the Ketua, the Arumpone. There were hundreds of guests, horse races, and pasar malam for six days. M 541 642

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
565 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba, and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over. This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English. Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre-Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong. He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

541 728 642 634 [562] [793 838]

The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of his status.

567 554

123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
181 schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this point. I said that they needed business education, and they saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kampong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it. In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told them about the Javanese using these without giving up Mohammedanism, and although they could see the point they responded in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the [illegible]al apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency f[illegible]o follow their fathers' occupation. This also applies [illegible]gious officers. And there is the padjoge training, al[illegible]ere are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for lite[illegible] knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in [illegible]ampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over Dutch because it is an international language. They said that all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can understand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but

368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case.

library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but 000
this was no longer the case. Thus few people read. There are
no newspapers here, and only a few, for example, the teachers, 212
read papers from Makassar or from places like Java. Very 204
few indeed ever write. (The Minangkabau man said that there 538
are no creative writers here at all, but that in Java and
Sumatra there are many. He is probably right.) They do not
even write letters here. They did not know that their script [171]
came from India originally, and they were surprised when I [123]
gave a talk on old Indic script. As for Chinese, they teach
their own language to their children and the latter also learn 871
Buginese, as adults do. Nevertheless, Chinese children al- 868
ways have a decided accent. They go mainly to their own
school. The Toradja in Tolangi speak Toradja when their
relatives visit them, but speak Buginese well in addition.

As for the radio, there are only a few in the area and only 207
radio owners and their families listen to broadcasts. During
the Japanese time there was a central loud speaker for propa-
ganda which was set up in the market place at Watumpone.
They agreed that if they had one set up now many would listen
to it.

As for movies, they say that everyone loves them. Never- 517
theless, many never go at all, especially the poor and the 434
farmers who live in remote places. Those near Watumpone
go a lot. The prices are: f.2 for the first [i.e., best seats-- 546
Analyst], f.1 for the second, and f.0.25 for the third. Most
people want the latter. Most of the films are from the United
States and England. They talk constantly about war films.
Later I learned that these are the ones which came out during
the war in the United States and which are just now getting
into Indonesia. Also I found out later that newsreels which
are amazingly old are also shown. It takes years for films
to get out here. In addition, they have some very old Malay
films, evidently made in Singapore before the war. They had
seen many cowboy pictures. Later on the old Sulewatang
showed me that he had learned much about the United States
from the movies. He was especially impressed by the ice-
dancing Sonja Henie films. He could not understand why she
did not fall down. Children in particular love movies and [857]
Andi said they remember entire stories and tell them over
and over again. Later I heard a woman say that her maid
thinks movies are wonderful. People here talk about cowboy
(accent on the last syllable), chorus girl dancing, etc. Andi
said they liked the war films a lot and also the ones with fist
fighting.

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed [791]
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 554
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 782
They said that women have two stones, and men only one! 796
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

517 are mad about movies and this shows a trememdous poten-
546 tial value for visual education here. Indeed, the only outside amusement is the movies.

526 As for sports, there is a badminton court in the kampong,
367 but it is near Watumpone. In Watumpone they play soccer and the kampong boys do this too except that they do not have a field within the kampong. They also play the real rattan-ball football. In addition, but only in Watumpone, a few people play tennis. Probably no one from the kampong does this.

524 As for games, they have children's games, but evidently not many. One is a sort of tag in a square. Then there are kites, especially (only ?) after the rice harvest. Children fly kites, but fathers pretending to help the children often take over the kites. Andi is amused by this pretention. They
525 have a string-sawing kite contest too. There is much gam-
541 bling with dice, but evidently no cards. No chess or checkers are found here. There are cock fights but they are illegal. They know about cricket fights. They are a bit reticent on all this, perhaps because it is secret.

517 There are no real local arts aside from crafts. These
53 people are not at all artistic. Even their weaving is banal, except for the colors. This is their one beauty spot. The designs are in checks, plaid, or consist entirely of horizontal stripes. The designs are dull except for the colors. And aside from the padjoge there is no dancing. There is no carving of stone, and but little wood carving on houses. There is practically no music and the people do not go in much for any instruments. They did say that they play flutes, which is true especially for those who watch the water buffalo. There is no drama at all. There is no painting except for a few banal efforts on the houses. Poor stuff, poor people.

517 As for leisure, that depends on a number of variables.
538 Some of the farmers work all day except for midday. Some
368 who have office jobs have regular hours. I didn't get very far on this. In their spare time they mainly sit, walk, talk.
461 They almost never read, but said that if they could get books
549 they might read a lot. But there are no books available. They agreed that a library is sadly needed. I was surprised that they said that there was very little if any story-telling. This checks with the Minangkabau man who could get no stories here. They haven't even got imagination enough to tell tales. Maybe in the kampong I could find some, but clearly they reflect the general poverty in this sphere. As for the desire
517 to go where there is more entertainment, more fun, the
181 general impression is that there is not much of an urge in

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546● 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 548 Kawe kawe can be encountered in Macassar and in the large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes who make themselves available in exchange for money for the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as male prostitutes.

535 857 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for [534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana) and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time [533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary between young men and women. In this dance they are to a certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded [838] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a [832] kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 535 838 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a

838
793/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance
178 of the bissu-institution, however, At present, insofar as they
838 did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as
548 prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

114 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and
589 women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated
885 who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

1. Volkstelling 1930,
Part 5, p. 54.

158 /166 cont./ should like to mention the vertical tendency
181 which demands of the Makassarese a constant striving to surpass other men and to be a great conqueror of women. The anxiety about losing the ability for this, or else of falling short in this aspiration, could very well form the basis for the koro phenomenon.

Prostitution

548 Prostitutes are unknown in Makassarese kampongs. There
626 are no women under thirty-five to forty years of age who live
558 alone without kinsmen, and if a woman lives with others in a house, it is impossible for her, for reasons discussed at length above, to receive men more or less regularly, or to have contact with them outside the house. So long as she lives in a house with others, even a single contact situation would cause the young male house mates or neighbors to become siri'. The older women who do not wish to risk any difficulties on behalf of this stranger in such a case will try to send her away in time -- for instance, to a head who lets her marry -- before a brawl could come about through her /167/. Once she is out of the house, there is no reason for the young men who, after all, are not related to her, to be siri' because of her behavior.

Her conduct impairs the social standing of her group, and for that reason she is unacceptable in the rural kampongs. There is little evidence of moral disapproval.

548 Prostitution is an urban phenomenon. Prostitutes live in
[369] Macassar as well as in the larger pasar places such as Parepare, Watampone, and others.

The pasar place of Bontomanai, the center of trade for Borongloë, did not seem large enough yet to accommodate permanent prostitution. It was said of one of the daughters of a prominent man in Borongloë, who had gone to live in Bontomanai with a distant relative, that she received men who

548 /167 cont./ gave her little presents. Her father declared her dead, but her brothers did not follow his example. Consequently, there remained the threat of danger. After a few months she fled to Macassar with a man. An ordinary marriage by flight was therefore the end of the adventure of this woman who broke the ties with her parental house in order to gain greater freedom in Bontomanai than would have been possible in the midst of her own relatives.

156 548 It should not be expected that among prostitutes in the large city one will meet the modest, withdrawn types who, in the country, are held up as the ideal to the young girls. Rather one can expect among them those who submit with difficulty to the many restrictions imposed upon them. Further research would have to take place here.

I would venture to suggest that while in western Europe the innocent, misled, middle-class girl is found as well as the girl who becomes a prostitute for economic reasons, in South Celebes where no economic coercion leads to prostitution, women with aggressive characteristics, probably the adventurous type, practice prostitution.

Polygamous Marriage

162 595 As of April, 1940, there were 34 polygamous men among more than 13,000 inhabitants (1) in the adat community of

1. There is no sense in giving figures for polygamous marriages in the kampong Bontoramba. In 1940 there were none, and in 1949 new figures could not be collected after the war for lack of time.

156 /242 cont./ Among the men who possess to a low degree
833 the qualities established as a norm for them, there are to be
838 found the "kawe kawe," the unmarried men, the married men who refuse to have sexual intercourse with their wives, and possibly the koro patients. It is impossible for me to indicate the boundary between a lack of the qualities demanded by the culture and a supposed lack.

156 Among the women who possess the qualities ascribed to
[548] them to a small degree, one finds the prostitutes and also matrons and bride's mothers, and those who perform the ancestral ritual, all of whom owe their standing to their work, which serves to raise the standing of the community. Among these there are also the princesses, who in these countries frequently played a dominant role. Among females in this
[562] position there is none of the docility left, which is expected in women.

/248/ Appendix

114 Figures drawn from registers constitute a welcome addition
127 to the data that could not have been obtained otherwise, or only with great difficulty through verbal information. However, in making use of register material, there is a danger that the degree of its reliability will not be sufficiently realized.

Data based on registers always make a precise impression. The collector is inclined to believe in their reliability himself. But the reliability can only be judged through an acquaintance with the culture in which they are used. A number of "mistakes" in the registers can be immediately understood as a result of ideas present in that culture. They raise the demand for care in the comparison of figures with other regions.

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 567
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are 535
none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

771 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here
178 were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very
182 rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for
776 the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them (maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata. Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paeppo, but called them popo, as did the Makassarese. In all spirit cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also
[861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the "spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala
838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which
793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got
●548 much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo-
535 sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over, it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an
[759] aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example, to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry, etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed [791]
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that 554
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 782
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 796
They said that women have two stones, and men only one!
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

764 hundred years old and may show that Mohammedanism here
174 came in a little later than in Goa. These tombs seem to date from the period of conversion to Mohammedanism, judging from the dates, especially in Goa. In this cemetery there are also modern, ordinary graves.

The Kepala kampong said that before the war there were many fine urns on the tombs, but the Dutch controleur had taken them. Later on van Heekeren told me that the Japanese took a lot of these urns too.

346 We went to look at the old and the new mosques. Both have
174 urns on top, as in Goa. The one on the old mosque has blue and white figures on it; the one on the new mosque is brown, apparently of a solid color. I asked van Heekeren, and he said that all mosques have these urns, even in the Paloppo and Luwu areas. He says that these urns are of Chinese origin and were formerly used to hold the ashes and charred bones (i.e., some of the bones) of the cremated bodies, before Islam came in. Van Heekeren is sure that there is not very much Hindu influence here; the urn burial trait is not Hindu but merely pre-Islamic Makassarese and Buginese. I
[126] took some photographs and gave some polaroid prints to the Kepala kampong, of him and his wife in Hadji dress, with their little daughter (perhaps one and a half years old, who waves when you say dag [hello or good-bye--Analyst]).

000 While we were talking about slaves an old fellow came in and stood at the foot of the stairs mentioning something to the Kepala kampong. He was the slave of the assistant chief (seriang). They talked in a very low whisper.

838 Talking with Andi, I brought up the homosexual matter
793 again. He maintains that homosexuals are numerous here.
778 The official ones are attached to the aradjang and at the head of them is the puang matoa, chief of the bissu. When the aradjang is taken out, the bissu from many kampongs gather in Watampone and dance. I asked if every wanua has an aradjang. They do not. However, there are some kampongs that have them. The bissu handle and take out these lesser aradjang too. This also would bear research.

838 Andi went on and on about the scandalous behavior of the
548 ordinary homosexuals (tjalabai). They dress and act like women and are found everywhere. There are many in Watampone. They swish and flirt and stick rolled up handkerchiefs in their blouses to imitate breasts. Andi says that many men are crazy about them and spend lots of time and money to have sex with them. He was surprised that I had seen none. I do remember at the pasar malam that I had seen a "girl" in a bright red blouse (kabaya), and a well painted face. "She"

M 838 548 had looked boldly at me, unlike most women here. Maybe she was really a girl, but a prostitute, but on the other hand it may have been a homosexual. I know I was impressed by the frank stare and thought I noticed something a bit odd about the person.

The doctor told me that one day a soldier came in with gonorrhea and that he was on the trail of the woman carrier. So there are prostitutes here.

M 285 435 On the way back I stopped to look at an orchid fiber basket woven with a pretty design and colors. The price was f. 0.60. Andi wanted a photograph of me to keep, so I gave him one.

C 117 I left Watampone on Sunday, October 9, two weeks late. I will be able to get a ship going to Ambon on October 14 or 15 which is good, because it means I will have lost only two weeks.

Makassar: I went to the KPM and found that the Raeal sails for Ambon on the 14th or 15th. I can stay there until December 17, returning to Makassar December 20. Then I will sail to Sumbawa on December 23, arriving December 24. I still do not know of any later sailings. This means I will cut Sumbawa short, but have a full two months period in Ambon. I also went to Fort Rotterdam and talked with Rahim.

C 172 114 [171] I had a talk with van Heekeren who is delighted at the results of his trip to a neolithic site in Galumpang. He is somewhat irritated because the government will not give him more money for this research. They seem to spend most of their funds for restoring monuments. This checks with my complaint about Dutch archeology. Formerly they spent lots of time and money on Hindu-Javan remains but little on the prehistoric. Van Heekeren tells me that he has to spend a great deal of his own money. His budget is very low, but even at that he cannot get more funds. He has two other sites located along the Karama River. He said that the layers are not very thick, made up mostly of limestone and rubble. He said that these are the first neolithic sites to be worked in Indonesia. He had all of the stone materials out on a table. Included were arrow points, adzes (he said that they were the first ones found in Indonesia [? ?]), axes, grinding stones, and a remarkable all-stone tapa beater with grooves, which he said is like the beaters found in the Philippine Islands. There were also lots of sherds, with pretty designs. Many of these designs are similar to those used by the Toradja today, especially on cloth.

123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
181 schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this point. I said that they needed business education, and they saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kampong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it. In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told them about the Javanese using these without giving up Mohammedanism, and although they could see the point they responded in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice-training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over Dutch because it is an international language. They said that all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can understand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but

368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case.

517 are mad about movies and this shows a trememdous poten-
546 tial value for visual education here. Indeed, the only outside amusement is the movies.

526 As for sports, there is a badminton court in the kampong,
367 but it is near Watumpone. In Watumpone they play soccer and the kampong boys do this too except that they do not have a field within the kampong. They also play the real rattan-ball football. In addition, but only in Watumpone, a few people play tennis. Probably no one from the kampong does this.

524 As for games, they have children's games, but evidently not many. One is a sort of tag in a square. Then there are kites, especially (only ?) after the rice harvest. Children fly kites, but fathers pretending to help the children often take over the kites. Andi is amused by this pretention. They
525 have a string-sawing kite contest too. There is much gam-
541 bling with dice, but evidently no cards. No chess or checkers are found here. There are cock fights but they are illegal. They know about cricket fights. They are a bit reticent on all this, perhaps because it is secret.

517 There are no real local arts aside from crafts. These
53 people are not at all artistic. Even their weaving is banal, except for the colors. This is their one beauty spot. The designs are in checks, plaid, or consist entirely of horizontal stripes. The designs are dull except for the colors. And aside from the padjoge there is no dancing. There is no carving of stone, and but little wood carving on houses. There is practically no music and the people do not go in much for any instruments. They did say that they play flutes, which is true especially for those who watch the water buffalo. There is no drama at all. There is no painting except for a few banal efforts on the houses. Poor stuff, poor people.

517 As for leisure, that depends on a number of variables.
538 Some of the farmers work all day except for midday. Some
368 who have office jobs have regular hours. I didn't get very
461 far on this. In their spare time they mainly sit, walk, talk.
549 They almost never read, but said that if they could get books they might read a lot. But there are no books available. They agreed that a library is sadly needed. I was surprised that they said that there was very little if any story-telling. This checks with the Minangkabau man who could get no stories here. They haven't even got imagination enough to tell tales. Maybe in the kampong I could find some, but clearly they reflect the general poverty in this sphere. As for the desire
517 to go where there is more entertainment, more fun, the
181 general impression is that there is not much of an urge in

[213 cont.]

I 551 It need hardly be mentioned that where Islam is the dominant religion, Arabic names are commonly used [214] for both men and women, such as Mohammad, Ali, Abduellah, etc., or Fatima, Aisiha, etc. for women (1).

1. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIII, pp. 237 f.

Concerning the use of proper names, it should be noted that they are rarely used alone. If the person addressed has a title, it is given before the name. If a person has no title or if he has one that is not to be mentioned, as when a superior ad-
J B 551 dresses his inferior or someone does not want to use his title out of modesty, then the Malayan si is used. This si is also found in Batak and is used in the same way in Javanese (Ngoko), while in Krama pun is used. The latter is identical with empu, "grandfather" (2). In kawi and in the krama inggil it is sang (3).

2. Niemann, "Meded. over de letterk. der Boegineezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen t. d. T., L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind. New Series, Vol. VI, p. 67.

3. Kern, Wrtta Sancaya, p. 106.

This sang lives on today as a title in the Batak lands in the form Sangadji (4).

4. Van der Tuuk, Tobasche Spraakkunst, p. 255.

M 551 In Makassarese si becomes i and, according to Dr. Matthes, is used as an honorary title, be it because one does not have such a title or because in speaking of oneself one does

MKI [214 cont.]
551 not want to mention his title out of modesty. Pu, which perhaps has been adopted from the Javanese, is used in the same way. This pu becomes pung before a guttural, pum before a labial, and pun before a dental, hence, Pung kareke, Pum panai, Pun dowang, etc. In Buginese the Makassarese i is sometimes used before masculine names, but usually before feminine names. More gen-
J erally, however, la is used for men and we for women, for exam-
BI ple, La Moehamma, La Padoma, We Potinia (5). The Balinese
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5. Matthes, Makassaarsche Spraakkunst, p. 24. Matthes, Boegineesche Spraakkunst, pp. 98 and 100.

use Li for this, pronounced i.

A similar prefix is ra (6), which still occurs in the Javanese

6. Van der Tuuk, op. cit., p. 253. Van der Tuuk, Tijdschr. v. Ind. T. L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, p. 134, note 2. Kern, Kawi studiën, p. 127. Kern, Wrtta Sancaya, p. 126. Müller, Sprachwissenschaft [Linguistics], pp. 114-115.

danhjang or ranhjang (7).

7. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 315.

I [215] The choice of the name, or the determination of
553 it, is usually done by the father, or it is done wholly arbitrarily without any rules. Among some peoples, however, this is always left to chance, for example, among the Dajak, where the oldest,
Br 553 married male relatives stick some palm-length pieces of rattan upright in a bowl of uncooked rice, giving arbitrary names to them. Then they take the bowl to the mother of the child to be

2: Wilken--259 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Redjang-Lampong	OD12	Nias	OD11
Costal Moro	OA16	Borneo	OC1
Sumbawa	OF18	Makassar	OG6
Enggano	OD6	Moluccas	OH1
Malays	AN5	Timor	OF20
		Savu	OF15

N 551 [217 cont.] On Nias, too, the parents adopt the name of their children, but never that of the eldest, always that of the youngest child (5).

5. Van Rosenberg, Het eiland Nias, op. cit., p. 28.

R-L Br 551 Among the Dajak the parents again take the name of the first-born and prefix it with bopa or indu, as Marsden reports is also done among the Redjang (6). Among the tribes of northern

6. Marsden, History of Sumatra, pp. 285-287.

Borneo where the same thing is found, it is done, according to Low, expressly out of politeness (7).

I MI E Sb Sv T MK Ma CM 551

7. Low, Serawak, p. 197. Spencer St. John, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 197-198. Hupe, Tijdschr. v. Ned. Ind., 1846, pp. 249-250.

The Buginese and Makassarese have the same custom. [218] The former use da for mother, thus, I-da-Batangèng = mother of Batangèng, or indo, thus, Indona I Batje = the mother of I. Batje (1). For the father they use to, a contraction of

1. Matthes, Boegineesch Woordenboek, p. 524. Matthes, Boegineesche Spraakkunst § 99-102. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XXXII, p. 520.

tau = man, for example, To Pananrèng = father of Panangrèng. In Makassarese this is mangga = father. As well as on the islands named above, this custom is found on the Sula Islands (2), the

2. Riedel, Bijdragen T.L. en Vk. v.

2: Wilken--260 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Sumbawa OF18 Makassar OG6
Enggano OD6 Coastal Moro OA16
Malays AN5 Moluccas OH1
Arfak OJ7 Timor OF20
Kei OH13 Savu OF15

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[218 cont.] Ned. Ind., 1885, p. 403.

Philippines, the Moluccas (3), on Timor (4), on Savu (5), on

3 and 7. Riedel, Kroes- en Sluikharige rassen, etc., pp. 5, 137, 154, 238, 260, 353, 392, 418, and 450.

4. Veth, Timor, p. 52.

5. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T. L. and V., Vol. XXIII, p. 560.

Sumbawa (6), on the Southeastern and Southwestern Islands (7) [see

6. Meded. v. wege het Ned. Zend. Gen. Vol. XXXIII, p. 129, and Vol. XXXIV, p. 387.

footnote 3 and 7 above], and, in the western part of the archipelago, on Enggano (8) and on Malacca (9). There are excep-

8. Tijdschr. v. Ind. T. L. and Vk., Vol. XIV, p. [no number given].

9. Journal of the Ind. Archipelago, Vol. I, 323.

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tions, however, for example, among the Arfak, where the child keeps its name once it is chosen (10), which, according to Van

10. Van Rosenberg, Reistochten n.d. Geelvinksbaai, p. 91.

Rosenberg, is also the case on the Kei Islands (11).

11. Van Rosenberg, Reis naar de Z.O. eilanden, p. 77.

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At the time when the people in this area still made their clothes out of foeja /beaten tree bark/, they fetched from this hill the stones from which were made the little hammers (ike) with which the tree bark was flattened. The headman under whose leadership the move had taken place bore the name of Samba-langi, "covering the sky." The village was strong because it was surrounded by three earthen walls. Samba-langi continued to be invoked for a long time by people from Wotoe who brought buffaloes to Lake Poso: "Samba-langi, give us health, and do not let the buffaloes die on the way."

Now the story goes that the son of Samba-langi, once when he was bathing in the Kalaena, saw maize leaves and other refuse floating in it. This convinced him that there must be people living upstream. He followed the river upstream and came to the country now known as Saloe-maoge. There he saw a bamboo container hanging on a sugar palm, in which palm wine was collected. The people of Lampenai drank some of the liquid and then placed salt and sugar at the foot of the tree as the price for the enjoyment. After that they returned home.

When Samba-langi learned of the vicissitudes of his son, he ordered him to go back to the land upstream and to try to contact the inhabitants of Saloe-maoge. After they had again placed salt and sugar at the foot of a tree, they hid in the bushes in order to see who came to get these delicacies. Before long there appeared a man who was totally naked and who fled immediately when the coastal inhabitants showed themselves. Nevertheless eventually they managed to establish contact with the man and his fellow tribesmen. Coastal and mountain inhabitants made friends with each other. When the question came up as to who was the younger (inferior) and who the older (superior), the mountain people said to the people from the coast: "Of course you are our superiors, and we shall show you honor, because you wear trousers and a jacket, while we wear only a loincloth."

M 173 643 M [292] /122 cont./
said: "I shall become Mohammedan as soon as my pigs are gone." He (Matinroë ri Malangke) died before he achieved this through his livestock. A ceremonial jacket of his, of black cotton with long sleeves, is still kept by his grave at Pao, not far from Malangke. His son, Matinroë ri Goa, "he who rests in Goa," converted to Islam and moved to Palopo. This move is said to have been inspired by the wish to live under more pleasant circumstances and to be able to cultivate sawahs and to erect a masjid. Malangke, however, was also suitable ground for this. The move is probably connected with the wish to break completely with the heathenish past. Our informant named for us the following Datoes of Loewoe': After Matinroë ri Goa, Tompotika came to power. After him: Matinroë ri langkanae (palace), Matinroë ri Kaloekoe-bodo, M. ri Sambamparoe, M. ri tangana Loewoe' (in the middle of Loewoe'), M. ri Kamomberoe, M. ri Limpo-madjang, and Datoe Kambo Daeng ri Sompa, a woman who died in her thirties.

M [551]

T 173 T [177]
Among the East Toradja the name Sawerigading is little known. The memory of the contact with the Hinduized immigrants lives on in the traditions concerning Lasaeo, a mythical hero who for a short time founded a little realm at Pamona on Lake Poso, but finally went to Waiboenta in Loewoe'.

10. The rights of Wotoe over the Toradja. The tribute to Loewoe'.

T 648 643 T 648 631
From the above it appears that Wotoe had the oldest rights over the East Toradja, and that these rights were passed on to the Datoe. Yet the Toradja have always considered the Chief of Wotoe their immediate head. Homage for the Datoe was brought to this Chief, and he took care of its delivery. Whenever the Datoe sent an envoy to the East Toradja to convey one order or another, this envoy always traveled by way of Wotoe, from where the Chief sent someone along as his deputy, because otherwise the Toradja would not recognize the envoy as such. At the end of the last

2: Wilken--652 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Batak ODE
Malays AN5
Atjehnese OD4
Makassar OG6 ●

Ceram OH9
Halmahera OH12
Borneo OC1
Sundanese OE7
Javanese OE5

[600 cont.]

C H 262 773 Proceeding to the Moluccas, we find that for similar reasons some Alfoer tribes of Ceram may not eat eels and wild pigs (3). Among the Alfoer of Halmahera this applies to other

3. Van Hoëvell, Ambon, p. 152.

animals (4).

4. Campen, Tijdschr. v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XXVII, pp. 446 ff.

I 262 This pĕmali, however, does not always and everywhere arise from the belief that one has descended from these animals. Br 262 Among some Dajak tribes, for example, the women and the aged do eat deer meat, while the young men and warriors do not, because they think that it would make them as timid as these animals (5).

5. Spencer St. John, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 177.

I 552 Another pĕmali that is generally widespread is that one may not say the names of certain wild animals. For the Sundanese, S 552 for example, it is pĕmali to name the tiger, [601] and he therefore always uses some euphemism when speaking about that animal, for example, "the lithe one," "that one with the moustaches," "the venerable one," "the one that owns the forest," Bt Br etc. It is also impermissible for him to utter the name of the Ml wild pig and for it he says "the beautiful one." The case is A the same for field mice and other animals. A similar custom J MK exists among the Javanese, who call the tiger tuwan = mister, or ● 552 kjai (the well known honorific title for the aged and venerable) (1),

1. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T. L. en Vk., Vol. XXVII, p. 102. Veth, Java,

2: Wilken--653 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Makassar 066 Borneo OC1
Dutch ET4 Batak OD5
Malays AN5
Atjehnese OD4
Javanese OD5

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[601 cont.]

Vol. III, pp. 934 and 939.
Tijdschr. v. Nederl. Indië, 1877,
Vol. II, p. 2, note.

and among the Atjehnese (2), the Malays, the Batak (3), the

2. Van Lange, Atjehsch Wdb.,
داتوق = datuk.

3. Van der Tuuk, Bat. Wdb., see sial, umpunta, and godang in the appendix; si godang = the one with the deep voice = the elephant.

Dajak (4), the Buginese and Makassarese (5), etc. This prohibi-

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4. Perelaer, Uit de oude doos [Out of the Old Box], p. 229. Spencer St. John, op. cit., p. 62.

5. Matthes, Boegineesch Wdb., p. 904.

tion is along the same line as the custom of the common class in this country during an outbreak of a feared sickness such as smallpox, when it is not called by name but is spoken as "the sickness." The Malays and Dajak do the same thing under similar circumstances; they, too, speak of "the sickness" or of "the beautiful sickness" (6).

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6. Spencer St. John, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 177 ff.

There are many other pĕmali, most of which, however, are limited to a few peoples. It is not practical to discuss all of them here and we shall therefore proceed to the second group

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114 /249 cont./ There is no punishment for failure to register.
163 The reason that people do not like to register a child that has
217 just been born is the belief that this would bring about misfortune
because it is conceived as an expression of arrogance or pride.
[777 For the same reason a newborn child is wrapped in old rags.
751] There is no certainty that the births recorded in a year represent
the correct number.

A woman by preference has her first child in the house of her
[844] parents, especially if she herself was also born there. Many
children are therefore registered in a kampong where their parents
no longer live and from which it again "moves" a few months
after birth.

A child does not receive a name directly at birth for the
[553] same reason that a child's birth is not directly reported. All boys
are referred to as Baso or Batjo, all girls as Basse or Batje. In
this semianonymity the child is considered safe. Only years
later does it receive a name of its own, which, however, is not
recorded in the register. A certificate of birth is not submitted.

Death Registers

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217 In the death registers that are likewise maintained by the
165 imam for the entire adat community (around 14, 000 inhabitants),
the following data are found reported in parallel columns: the
[793] name of the deceased, his sex, his age; the kampong in which
he died, whether he died during the night or during the day, the
date of his death, the final illness, and sometimes a few remarks
concerning heirs and estate.

The reasons indicated for the death are very much those of
[961] a layman; the imam bases them upon complaints uttered during
the final illness; stomach-ache, coughing, sometimes old age,
are found recorded in this category. /250/

Thus, these registers must also be handled with care.
Neither age nor reason for death can be regarded as reliable.

123 /9 cont. / to look and listen. Everything that the investigator is able to carry out on top of just listening and looking without causing any damage during this time is pure gain.

Introduction

The investigator is a foreign element in the community to which he comes to work. The relationship to the individuals in his environment must constantly be adjusted. There are some manners which they accept from him. There are also manners which they find so troublesome, especially after a while, that his contact and thus his work suffers from it. Frequently the first month is decisive in this. Hence a person who feels free to show his disapproval of the stranger's behavior in a way that is comprehensible to the stranger is the best mentor.

As a Dutch official I was regarded as a high guest in Macassar [554 country. It is discourteous to display one's disapproval of his 576] conduct to a higher person; this violates the profoundest feelings. My gratitude toward my mentor is therefore so great precisely because his personality was dynamic enough to allow him to be a bad Makassare in the sense that, contrary to his feelings, he nevertheless pointed out my mistakes.

Initially I laughed too loud and talked too loud, for loud [517 talking and laughing really occur only when several men are 555] together. Then one of them likes to tell tall or absurd stories because the person who can do this well raises his standing. I 123 learned that as a male guest I belonged in the parlor and that I 574 could not walk through the back; that I could ask men or boys, and possibly also older women, something, but that young girls [562 and newly married women landed in difficulties if I so much as 576] greeted them, because this is enough to point to a "contact" with the stranger, which is forbidden. I noticed that somebody constantly kept me company and found this troublesome. Only later did it become apparent that this belongs to the ordinary courtesies observed toward a guest. /10/ A Makassarese does not like to be alone and therefore believes that his guest would also find this unpleasant.

621 /15 cont./ Kampong Bontoramba has approximately
[161] 800 residents. There one finds one of the two public schools
[368] which the entire adat community of more than 14,000 individuals boasts. Along the large road a bicycle repair shop has arisen, and there are more coffee warong /shops/ than in many other places. A large group of Buginese, attracted by a
166 great deal of fallow land and good transportation facilities, has built its houses there in the course of the last 20 years. The Makassarese who live there at present arrived no more than 60 years ago. Coming and going never takes place en masse in Makassarese country. In successive stages a pioneer receives more members of his kin group in his house; by successive stages other people move away.

A certain period of settlement by a large group is /16/
[554 565] noted mostly when a man of high nobility moves and many follow him. Formerly, in periods of insecurity for the individual, this was probably a more usual manner of migration, but today it no longer is. Thus, around 1900, a large number of kinsmen coming from kampong Pakatto, situated eight kilo-
[621] meters further up the road, settled in Bontoramba. As kinsmen /familiele den/ constituting a part of the same related group /ver wantengroep/ they organized themselves anew in Bontoramba and adjusted to the new circumstances, at the same time striving for the realization of the usual Makassarese ideals. To this end, they followed the old Makassarese adat.

The Bilateral Related Group

612 The Makassarese related group /ver wantengroep/ should
621 be described as a bilateral endogamous group of relatives (1)

> 1. Kin relationship is indicated by the term sibidja or sipamanakkang.

whose members worship their ancestors (pattautoaang) at the places and times designated, and at the same time as a group

/47 cont./

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3.	Naandjo taua ammantangi ri birinna agang lompoa.	This man lived along the large road.
4.	Naandjo aganga, punna nia' tau ammalo na'bongong iareka nammake pajung, andjo taua balalo mate karampasang.	Now, whenever there were people who came along the way with their sarong over their head or with a pajong /parasol/, these people soon died (1).

554 576 689

1. A lower person who appears before a higher one with a sarong over his head or with a pajong, or who simply walks past his house, in so doing shows little respect for him. He can always expect punishment.

5.	Nasiapa are sallona andjo taua appakamma naniareng tommo tau tabesse-besse panggaukanna;	And thereupon this man who had that on his conscience was called an evil man in place of a courageous one.
6.	Sanggenna andjo taua appasang angkana:	Finally, the following statement was issued to this man:
7.	Punna salllang tenama' anrinni (sajanga') punna eroko assarea', nia' antu batu ritangngana pa'rasanganga, andjoremmako sarea';	If in future I will no longer be here (if I will have risen up to heaven) and if you want to give me something, there is a stone there, situated in the middle of the land, there you must then give that to me.

241 /49 cont./ incense vessel, and then lays them down on the
796 stone next to each other. The Pinati moves the incense vessel again, now three times one way and once the other, in a circle above the two parappo, and then puts it down by his side. In so doing, this part of the ritual is completed. For a moment the Pinati remains quietly seated. From the time he dropped some incense into the vessel to this moment, seven minutes have elapsed.

Now he sits down in the saukang, facing north. A small number of bowls with offerings are placed around the lopped-off center post. A few older women occupy the rest of the space in the saukang.

The Pinati provides the incense vessel with fresh fuel, holding the oil bottle over it briefly and dripping it in a small circle on the top part of the post. Within this circle he places three handfuls of puffed rice, each time holding the hand first in the smoke for a brief instant. Subsequently, he moves the incense vessel in a circle three times one way and once the other way over the lopped-off post and throws a few handfuls of puffed rice -- always after having first held them in the smoke above the incense vessel -- over the bowls with food. After that he opens a third parappo, holds this, too, in the smoke for an instant, and then lays it down beside the post. Then he moves the incense vessel again, three times one way and once the other way over this parappo, laying some fingers of his right hand against the top of the lopped-off center post, and mumbling briefly. Again he scatters /50/ a few handfuls of puffed rice over the food bowls and throws a few kernels over his shoulder. With this the actual ritual is concluded. This part of the ritual, which took place in the saukang, was also completed within seven minutes.

241 The bowls with offerings were then taken away and
796 placed before the men, who had arranged themselves in rows
264 on mats, according to their standing. The women kept a
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241 /50 cont./ number of bowls for themselves. They ate in small
796 groups seated around the bowls without any special order
264 according to standing being observed in so doing.
●554 Some pinati at the ritual take a few fingers of rice plus the extreme end of a chicken leg (only the bone) from each bowl and place this by the parappo. In this manner something
[769] has been put aside for the ancestors from each house.

Men now let their cocks fight again as they did in the
[541] morning. Meanwhile the Pinati goes around and touches
241 everybody who wants it with a mixture of oil, earth, and finely
796 rubbed rice, as well as something else which is his special secret. The parts of the body suited for this are the forehead, the neck, and the navel. The purpose is to cause these persons
[769] to share in the prosperity (pitjuru') of this ancestor through the earth with which he came in contact (nibarakkakki) (1).

1. It is good practice to take for this purpose earth from as close to the stone as possible and as soon after the conclusion of the ritual as possible (see photograph). 1

After the meal many stay to watch the cocks for a while. Only gradually do they return home. Only a few pisang and betel leaves, some pieces of areca and rice kernels remain by the stone under the tree and in the saukang next to the looped-off center post. The wind easily drives the dried-up leaves asunder; ants and birds make off with the rest. The oil spots alone remain visible as a sign that the ancestors were honored.

Horizontal Mobility

166 Three aspects of horizontal mobility will be described here. First of all, the relationship of place of residence to place of birth; secondly, the migrations which take place during a unit of time in one certain kampong territory; and

1 [see End Plate 7.-Analyst]

778 /63 cont. / The Parappo

796 The parappo belongs to the essential part of what is offered to the ancestors. The word means: "to offer or give something to a superior." The parappo is an insignificant-looking little bundle of pisang leaves of about the size of one or two fists full. Its contents seems to consist of betel leaves folded in various ways. Each way of folding has its proper name (for instance: poto, tontong lebong, putu rabing, kalomping). A little piece of areca nut and a very small amount of lime (paleo) goes with every betel leaf. The number of these leaves varies according to status. In the Prince of Goa's kin group the number 9 forms the basis of the parappo (1),

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1. By the number that forms the basis of the parappo is meant that a parappo consists in one case of 4 poto, 4 kalomping, etc., and in another case of 6 poto, 6 kalomping, etc.

while in the kin group of the head of the adat community it is 7. /64/ In that of kampong people, the numbers 7, 6, 5, and 4 occur.

612 A number of further differences should be pointed out
778 which vary with the related group. At the ritual on the
184 sawah, the number of leaves in some groups is a little smaller
796 than at a wedding or other kin group feast. Four and 6 respectively were the numbers in the Kapala group in Bontoramba. In a few groups of relatives a further distinction was observed between boys and girls. If the number of leaves for a boy is 6, then it is 7 for a girl (1). A distinction

1. These numbers were observed at a number of birthday festivals.

778 /65 cont./ told that members of the Muhammadijah
769 Association agitated against these pantasa', so that many people made no replacement when the old one was broken.

In 1949, 17 of the 133 houses in Bontoramba had a pantasa'. One stood in 10 of the 81 houses of the Kapala group, in 2 of the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and in 5 of the 33 houses of the /66/ Rest group. Several of these were obviously new, that is to say, they had been made one or only a few years ago. In 5 houses, a large standing basket (salosso) with ritual objects was found.

In addition to pantasa' one can also see so-called "andja'" in attics of houses. An andja' is a place on which one puts an offering. It is a hanging bamboo basin tray without turned-up rims. In the same enumeration, it appeared that there were 38 andja' in the 133 houses of Bontoramba, distributed over the three groups as follows: 30 in the 81 houses of the Kapala group, none in the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and 8 in the 33 houses of the Rest group.

778 One who wishes to bring an offering generally prepares
769 more than one parappo; 3 or 4 is customary. A woman
602 declared that at times she prepared as many as 12. The other parappo are then taken to the pantasa' or the andja' of the kinsmen who are believed to deserve them. Thus only a few of the kinsmen who have a pantasa' in their house receive a parappo. According to reports, this is determined by what the ancestors have prescribed. A Makassarese does not like to state the reason why he gives a parappo to some kinsmen and
554 not to others. It is possible to observe, however, that parappo
778 are by preference brought to the houses of those who are
769 appreciated for their personal qualities. And usually these
602 appear to be personalities generally appreciated in the group of relatives. They are the ones who know how to collect the most goods, whose advice is gladly asked, whose pitjuru (1)

1. See p. 242.

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is concentrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other. The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

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The Ornament-Worship Community

Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

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1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

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2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

794 /68/ Those who worship the ornament together form
796 the "worship community." The ornament of Borongloë is
602 worshipped in the first place by the head of the adat community and his relatives. Sometimes relatives living outside the adat community also take part in it. In the second place, followers and slaves of the head and his relatives also take part in the ritual. In the third place, there are the other subjects living in the adat community territory, and in the fourth place, there are those who live outside Borongloë who are not related to the head but who wish to participate for other reasons.

In practice the first two categories, quantitatively speaking, always form the largest contingent at the festivals. The third category at the same time should be the most numerous, [622] but here one is satisfied with representation. The kampong head represents his kampong. Hence, all kampong heads are present at all important Borongloë festivals. Occasionally, they may send a statement that they were prevented from attending or else an observer.

The ornament of Goa is worshipped in an analogous manner first of all by the kinsmen of the Prince, regardless of whether they live in Goa or not; secondly, by the followers and slaves of the Prince and of his kinsmen; thirdly, by all (other) subjects of the Prince residing within Goa. This group is referred to when it is said that "the entire people of Goa" [634] was present at a festival that was regarded as concerning the whole of Goa. At such festivals, the heads of the adat communities attend to represent their regions. Finally, the ornament is worshipped on such occasions by those who, although not related to the Prince and living outside Goa, nevertheless wish to take part in the festival.

[554] The size of the worship group is therefore larger in a stronger group of relatives. The ornaments of the most powerful provinces, such as Bone, Luwu, and Goa, are worshipped all over South Celebes.

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
794 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the daërah.

778 /69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other
612 ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament.
634 For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community
[726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

538 /69 cont./ that he improvises and illuminates the present-day state of affairs by the aid of a few data, just as seems to him best for his group at that moment. At the same time, he seems to be completely convinced of the 'objective' correctness of his representation of the historic facts.

612 /70/ The members of these two worship communities are
794 the members of the local group of relatives, a few kinsmen residing outside the kampong boundaries, an occasional follower, and a very occasional slave, as well as possibly also a stranger who for some reason or other joins in the worship.

778 Ornaments are therefore found in the kingdom, the adat
794 community, and in the kampong. Nowhere is the worship community of an ornament sharply delimited. The larger
● 654 the actual power of a group of relatives, the larger does the worship community of this group's ornament seem to be.

612 The relationship between the ornaments is a reflection
778 of the actual power relation of the groups of relatives. Two occasions at which this could be observed will be reported.

796 1. At the ritual "purification of the land" (akawarru butta),
778 which took place for the last time in Borongloë a number of
612 years before the Second World War, the head with his kinsmen and followers carried the ornament of Borongloë through the various kampongs of the adat community. In each kampong they spent the night, a buffalo was killed, a celebration was held, and offerings were made at the ornament. In the kampongs where the people possessed an ornament, the

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/79 cont./ Members of the lower groups of relatives, who, viewed from the standpoint of the nobility, form a single whole, are themselves not conscious of their unity. Each Makassarese regards his own group of relatives as higher than those around it. He always wants to /80/ raise himself above a group around him that is regarded as equally high. In all groups of relatives there is a constant striving to rise higher, without this being fixed in a social hierarchy. The groups are therefore always in a relationship of opposition toward each other. Each group, on the one hand, tries to prevail over the other and, on the other hand, tries to avoid being dominated by the other.

Neither do these groups form a "social class" /cited in English/ in the sense that Ogburn and Nimkoff attach to that expression. Of the "common people" it is not always possible to say that they "meet on equal terms" /cited in English/ or that they have "essentially the same social status" /cited in English/ (1). One can therefore never say in advance whether

1. W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, A Handbook of Sociology, London, 1947, pp. 210 ff.

two individuals may marry each other, because that would imply a certain equality. At the least it means that the man is not lower than his future wife. The uncertainty concerning the "/social/ class" of each individual is clear.

If, as a stranger, one asks someone from these groups to what class he belongs, he becomes embarrassed. He does not think of the possibility that the interrogator intends to distinguish him from the nobility, and as far as his environment is concerned, he is unable to indicate any class because there exists no social hierarchy with established class characteristics. He can merely indicate his /social/ class approximately by pointing

565 /80 cont./ to his group of relatives. In so doing, however,
554 nothing has as yet been said about the possibility of a future marriage. This depends further on his personal qualities and finally on the evaluation of his position at a certain moment. A person's /social/ class is no more than the possibility of contracting a certain marriage at a certain moment.

114 Friedericy has added an explanation of their origin to his
174 description of the social classes and their mutual relationships.
565 He thought that it was possible to indicate that the class organization arose from an exogamous fraternal grouping. His theory was first presented by de Josselin de Jong. The latter was able to indicate such a structural change among the
000 Natchez; classes there developed out of clans (2).

2. J.P.B. Josselin de Jong, "The Natchez Social System" /cited in English/, Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, September, 1928, pp. 553 ff.

Ideas concerning the origin of social classes have changed little since then./81/ Van Heek (1), as the last one, in

1. F. van Heek, Klassen- en standenstructuur als sociologische begrippen /Class and Status Structure as Sociological Concepts/, Inaugural Address, Leiden, 1948, p. 7.

1948 states concerning this: "To the extent that in primitive societies the groups increase in size, come into greater contact

114 /82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from
174 an exogamous kinship grouping.
565 The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articulation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came into existence, is not clear.

128 The connection established by Friedericy between class and
565 kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used
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2. F. van Heek, op. cit., p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing" /aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be feasible.

182 It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes
554 signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage
582 is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment. Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two elements which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

554 The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's
[581] children because this establishes the standing gained by one personally, within the bounds set by descent.

584 /85 cont./ 1. At one count, he arrived
565 at 18, not counting the
marriages of his own children.

In so doing, the existing tie between high and low is greatly strengthened. The person who has brought about one's marriage /86/ is never forgotten. Such a marriage ceremony is on a much smaller scale than the higher person would have for his own child; nevertheless, it is always more expensive than it would have been had it been given by the kinsmen of the marriage partners themselves. Hence, the lower person
[554] receives as festive wear, for instance, a headdress of a certain color or a kris of a certain type, to which he actually has no right, but whose use is granted for the occasion by the higher person. As a result his standing rises.

3. From this example it appears further that the general
554 notion that all kinsmen should be each other's equals is incorrect.
602 It is clear that the adat community head, who is a prominent
582 man in his group, insofar as he chooses them from among his kinsmen, favors children of other prominent members of his group as spouses for his children. Accordingly, a tendency toward endogamy exists among the prominent members of the related group. Furthermore, even among kinsmen such great differences in standing may exist that a marriage bond is regarded as undesirable by one of the parties.

The conflict of these tendencies becomes most clearly apparent in a well-integrated related group through the marriage policies of its prominent members. For the ordinary members this conflict is less urgent. They find sufficient possibilities for marriage within the group.

The Bride Price (sunrang)

554 For a Makassarese, the marriage of his child is an extreme-
585 ly important event because it demonstrates the standing that

554 /86 cont./ he has built up in his life. The more days and
585 nights the festival lasts, the more guests (largely kinsmen) present, the more buffaloes slaughtered, and the more spacious the pannjambungi (the extension built onto the front of the house for this occasion), the higher is his standing. But the
[583] bride price, sunrang, is the element of marriage which permits the clearest measurable evaluation.

The sunrang is not simply handed over to the wife's kin
583 group by the man and his kin group. It is present at the contracting of the marriage (nikka'). The marriage official records the amount in the marriage register in reals (1), an

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1. A real was, and still is, valued at 2 guldens. The coin itself, the real, is not seen at these payments. It became too rare for that.

old species of coin which has long disappeared from /87/ circulation. The woman's kin group frequently demands that the sunrang be paid entirely in specie (rix-dollars or guldens), but usually this happens only in part. The balance is paid by giving a sawah or a buffalo. As a symbol of such a transaction, a handful of earth (from the sawah) or a nose ring (of the
[415] buffalo) is added to the specie, which is contained in a flat, round copper box (kampu), used only at a marriage. The kampu also contains various kinds of leaves and a piece of wood, whose names signify "high," "rich," "rising," and "expanding." That is what one wishes for the sunrang and, at the same time, for the woman's group of relatives, the best possible wish.

The sunrang cannot be just any amount; it is always an
[659] even figure. It is fixed by the local authorities, in this case, the Self-government of Goa. In part it is linked to a specific status (ordinary people), in part to a certain function (the adat

583 /87 cont./ community head), and in part to kin relationship (kinsmen of the adat community head). By juggling these unequal amounts, it is possible to obtain a higher sunrang according to one rule than one is entitled to according to another.

554 583 The amount of the sunrang is in principle linked to the level of the woman's group of relatives. Her standing and that of her group is made known by the sunrang paid at her wedding. It is therefore important for her kinsmen that she command as high a sunrang as possible. On the other hand, for the man's kinsmen it is just as important to pay a high sunrang on the basis of the principle that in effect man and wife are equal in standing. It is therefore comprehensible that the sunrang has a tendency to rise.

554 565 583 [643] In his kingdom, the prince is the highest. He, and with him his kinsmen of the same blood, should therefore have the highest sunrang within that kingdom. As a result he is concerned that the sunrang in his region be clearly established according to rank and status, and known to everyone, so that his subjects will not pay or receive a higher sunrang /88/ than he himself. Hence, one repeatedly encounters prescriptions concerning the amount of the sunrang in lontar. Nature, however, seems to be stronger than rules. There always arises, some time after the amount has been officially established, the tendency to surpass the prescribed limits. Rules are only too gladly forgotten. As time goes on, more and more people seem to have paid and received a sunrang that was higher than they were permitted. Consequently, a new sunrang edict must be issued periodically. The last such regulation in the kingdom of Goa dates back to 1940. This sets the sunrang for

kinsmen of the Prince	at 28 reals
for the adat community head	at 26 reals
for the latter's kinsmen	at 24 reals
for ordinary people	at 20 reals
for slaves belonging to the Prince	at 12 reals.

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/88 cont./ It is interesting to see how this regulation was applied in practice. To this end, I examined the marriage registers of the adat community of Borongloë for 1946 and 1947 to trace the reasons that led to the establishment of a sunrang of 26, 24, or 22 (!) reals, where the parties seemed to have a right only to 24 and 20 reals, respectively. The result is as follows:

The sunrang of 26 reals, according to the regulation covering only the adat community head, was first paid on the occasion of the marriage between two descendants of the former head of the adat community of Bonto. Karaëng Bonto was, as recently as the beginning of this century, the head of a small, but more or less independent, adat community which subsequently became amalgamated with Borongloë. His descendants still have something of his standing. At present they live in Borongloë territory and therefore are unable to get a higher sunrang than the adat community head. Here it seems that they were permitted an equal sunrang. A sunrang of 26 reals was further paid at the wedding of a first cousin of the adat community head to the daughter of one of the head's followers of good standing. Twenty-four reals should have been the maximum here.

A sunrang of 24 reals, designated according to the particular regulation for kinsmen of the adat community head, was likewise paid, first, at the wedding of a daughter of one of the /89/ followers of this head, secondly, at the wedding of a sister of one of the kampong heads, thirdly, at the wedding of the daughter of a follower of a descendant of Karaëng Bonto, and fourthly, at a wedding between Buginese residing in Borongloë. The latter, to explain the fact that they wanted to see a sunrang of 24 reals registered, declared that in their own homeland they were entitled to a sunrang (Buginese: sompa) of 44 reals. A sunrang of 22 reals was finally conceded to a couple of strangers who declared that they received a sunrang higher than 20 reals in their own land.

565 /90 cont./ of his subjects approaching too closely his and
583 that of his kinsmen. The differences must continue to exist.
602 Everyone is convinced of this.

A number of observations can be made in relation to these
554 data.
583 1. It appears that in stating the reasons why /91/ a certain sunrang is paid at a certain wedding, the primary consideration concerns the woman. "The sunrang of the woman may never go down," it is often said. This means that the sunrang of a girl may never be lower than that which was paid for her mother. At the wedding of a woman to a lower man -- the exceptional case will be discussed below -- the latter always pays the sunrang of the woman. In addition, he makes a large number of other extra payments. In the case of the marriage of a man to a lower woman, the man's party likewise frequently pays the sunrang that is customary in the woman's group. Sometimes, however, the man wants it to be apparent that he is very favorably inclined towards his in-laws, and then he pays the sunrang customary in his own group, but this is a favor on his part. In the ordinary case, that is to say, at a wedding between two people who are regarded as equals in standing, the woman is, as it were, the gauge of value of her group. Her sunrang must not go down because her standing, which finds its most important expression in the sunrang, must not go down thereby, since this would lower, in turn the standing of her group of relatives.

554 2. Being a follower (1) appears to be a reason for raising
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583

1. See pp. 133 ff.

the sunrang above the level of the group to which this follower belongs, another example showing that being a follower raises a person's standing.

554 3. The office of kampong head appears to be a reason
583 for receiving a higher sunrang for one's sister and daughter.
[622]

554 /91 cont./ The same can be said of the imam's office. The
583 Imam of Borongloë, who furnished information concerning the amount of the sunrang, explained several times that in a certain case a higher sunrang had been paid than was prescribed because the woman in question was related to him. This illustrates the
[602] advantage of kinship, for the woman was honored by the Imam with a higher sunrang than would otherwise have been possible. He would not have been able to refuse the request to record a higher sunrang without being accused of snobbery, for this would have shown that he no longer wanted to recognize his kinsmen as equals and thus no longer as kinsmen. /92/

563 4. The sunrang appears to be locally bound. Buginese
583 who have a regulation in their own country by which a much
631 higher sunrang is paid have to submit to the local regulations. It is a public secret that actually they frequently pay their own sunrang of 44 reals but that in the registers an amount of 24 (22 or 20) reals is recorded. The marriage official knows about this and silently acquiesces. Officially there is no violation of the principle that the head of a certain territory is entitled to the highest sunrang.

554 5. It is necessary to be acquainted with the period when
583 the regulation was issued (1940) in order to understand how it
659 is possible that in spite of the existing regulation a higher sunrang was paid for a sister of the adat community head than by the head himself. For the sister, who married in 1939 (before the new regulation came out), a sunrang of 28 reals was received, but when this head himself married fully a year later (after the new regulation), he was not allowed to pay more than 26 reals. There was no getting around the recent prescription issued by the Prince. Considering this situation, the somewhat annoyed remark of this head that in future he would take good care that no one received more than 26 reals was quite understandable.

554 6. The sunrang is not always equal even for people who
583 are kinsmen. A little leeway is possible, and it is just this
602

554 /92 cont. / leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status, or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
554 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of
578 this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage
602 candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang,
557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
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583 /93 cont./ 1. Not, if one asks this
557 information of the Prince.
602 He gives the list as it is
fixed by him. But
lower people are less positive.

can only be understood on the basis of the conflict of tendencies indicated above. The amount of the sunrang is never completely fixed. A small increase is always possible, so people do not like to be rigid about certain marriage possibilities within the group of relatives. There are, to be sure, always kinsmen with whom a closer tie is not desired at that moment. [554] Where people proudly point to their extensive kin group, this does not signify mutual equality of the members, but it is a sign of social standing, and people do like to talk about that.

In the previous chapter it became apparent that marriages 582 between kinsmen of the eighth degree occur regularly, and 602 those between relatives of the tenth degree, very rarely. There is, therefore, a point at which the knowledge of the kin relationship has disappeared, namely, when for three successive generations no marriages have been contracted between the descendants of two brothers and/or sisters. If this fact is considered in relation to the preference for endogamy among the prominently placed kinsmen, then one can see how it is possible that some gradually drop from the circle of those known as kinsmen, through the lack of desired personal qualities or through a poorly executed marriage policy. /94/ If someone likes a kinsman of the sixth degree, and both of them allow their children to marry, this ties remote lines together, and the striving for a cohesive group of kinsmen has then been realized. But if such a marriage (between eighth-degree male and female cousins) does not come about, this means that a small number of individuals come to be separated from this large group and are either absorbed into another group or else continue to lead their own life as a small group. In the

582 /94 cont./ last-mentioned case, we may speak of a drop in
602 standing, even though the sunrang is maintained at its former level. If there are individuals who have become separated from a well-integrated related group, this means that they were quite unsuccessful in their striving to rise; if they had been successful, the other members of the group would have endeavored to bring about a marriage with one of them, since success attracts kinsmen as well as non-kinsmen.

Vertical Mobility of Individuals

554 The level of an individual is determined by his descent
562 as well as by his personal qualities. It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall. Striving to rise is not a primary requirement for women.

554 A man is able to increase his standing through personal
581 qualities. The acquired standing may be consolidated in a marriage. The outcome of all striving is, with a single exception, marriage with a woman of approximately equally high position.

554 The marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly
565 forbidden. The only case in which it is directly apparent that
582 the woman is higher than the man is a marriage of a woman of the nobility to a man who is not of the nobility. The qualities in which a man must excel in order to be able to contract such a marriage are clearly stipulated.

Such qualities are given as learnedness, courage, and wealth. It is told of Sjech Jusupu, a highly venerated saint in South Celebes whose grave is always visited by crowds of people and whose life history people like to recite, that he, as an already recognized sage /95/, asked for the hand of the daughter of the Prince of Goa. The Prince would gladly have consented to this, but the members of the Royal Council (Hadat) of Goa,

554 /95 cont./ were against it. They only yielded when the
565 Prince drew their attention to the fact that in the old lontar
582 the three above-mentioned qualities are already named as qualifications for a man to be permitted to marry a higher woman.

In the few historical writings that I was able to consult, I did not find examples of war lords who were able to contract marriage with a higher woman on the basis of successes gained in battle.

The present-day generation is acquainted with the case of a wealthy merchant from Macassar, a hadji, who married one of the female followers of the Queen of Goa. This man was a favorite of the Prince, who followed his advice in many cases. He therefore owed his rise in standing entirely to personal qualities. In addition, the case is well known of a young man born in an ordinary kin group but employed as a tax official and very influential at the same time, who married a daughter of one of the adat community heads. The sunrang in these cases remained the same as the one that had
[583 been paid for the mother and sisters, but an exceptionally
585] large amount was asked for, and paid, to cover the expenses of the feast. This is called the buying of blood (ammalli tjera').

In these very rare cases, the difference in descent be-
554 tween man and wife, according to general opinion, was great.
581 But even in the more or less regularly occurring cases where
582 these differences are small, learnedness, wealth, and courage are of importance. An imam or a revered guru ngadji (1),

1. One who instructs children in the reading of the Koran.

may contract a marriage, or he can cause his son to contract one, of a type which a brother who remained an ordinary kampong

554 /95 cont. / resident would have no chance of contracting.
581 In one of the fights that arose in Goa in 1946, a man saved a
582 number of his wife's kinsmen by his courageous behavior.
His wife should not have been allowed to marry him, because
[626] she was higher than he, and for that reason her kin group had
declared her dead (2). As a result of his bravery, the wife's

2. See Chapter III, third part.

kin group was persuaded /96/ to agree to a reconciliation. In cases where the differences in social level are small, there may be hesitation as to whether the man and woman should marry. If both parties are agreed, and the marriage is brought about, it is not possible for an outsider to disapprove. It is believed that the reasons leading to the marriage could not be evaluated (1).

1. A discussion of the cases in which there is a difference of opinion, will be found in Chapter III, third part.

554 Children from such a marriage, even where the difference
565 in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded
562 officially as equals in their mother's group of relatives,
582 because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not
fall /in social standing/. Daughters marry by preference in their mother's group; with respect to the sons there is some hesitancy. Factual data are lacking. I was unable to discover any terms used to designate these children (analagous to ana' tjera').

In cases of marriages between a man and a lower woman, only those where the difference in level is great deserve mention, for marriages in which the man is a little higher than his wife are normal marriages. They should not be distinguished

554 /96 cont./ from marriages in which the partners are regarded
562 as equal. The marriage of a cousin (samposikali) of the adat
582 community head to the daughter of a kapalakompong /kampong head/ is called a marriage between equals, but on the part of the head, the idea of a union of his cousin with a son of the Kapala is rejected because this young man is regarded as lower than the girl.

554 One of the princes had a son called daëng Ali by a woman
565 from the kin group of one of the adat community heads. His
585 brother had a daughter called daëng Batje by an ordinary
574 kampong woman. Daëng Ali was regarded as considerably higher than his first cousin. They married and lived with the groom's father, the Prince. Now it is expected of the kinsmen of daëng Batje's mother, ordinary kampong people as we said, that they will be modest /97/ and that they will not constantly come to visit their sister (cousin or aunt, as the case might be). Of daëng Batje, in turn, it is expected that she will receive these kinsmen in a friendly way; that she will not show herself proud toward them, but will entertain them nicely. She should not entertain them too lavishly, for that would be a sign of superiority, but especially not too poorly, for that would indicate that the visitors were not appreciated. For daëng Batje the visit of her kinsmen is an agreeable matter, because people can see how the relatives appreciate her, a fact which in turn strengthens her position with respect to them. Through her, therefore, her kinsmen have a certain right to come to the palace. A couple of nieces -- the best ones are picked out for this purpose -- may temporarily come to live in the palace. There they learn the superior manners of the nobility. In so doing, they rise in standing and later have a chance of a better marriage, something which again works to the benefit of their entire group.

554 Children from a marriage of a man to a lower woman
565 are regarded as lower than their father's kinsmen and higher

554 565 /97 cont./ than those of their mother. The daughters are preferably married to someone in their father's group of relatives.

The position of the sons resulting from these marriages is difficult. By reason of their descent they are unable to marry daughters from their father's group. For a marriage they are dependent upon their mother's group. In practice, it appears [156] that they often conduct themselves as the wildest and boldest among the young men. It may well be that this conduct is unconscious in order to show themselves, at all costs, worthy of a girl of somewhat higher blood.

Karaëng call those who were born from such marriages ana'tjera' (literally, "blood children"), but the kampong people call them karaëng. The former is a denigrating term, the latter one of respect. Lower persons know people with karaëng blood who live in their kampong; the latter are regarded as slightly higher than those about them by virtue of their blood. Upon questioning, it appears, for instance, that their great-grandfather was a karaëng who married one of the women from the group of relatives residing there, that his son married a kinsman of his mother, and so on. The fact [583] that their grandfather (great-grandfather) was a karaëng is taken into account in determining the sunrang; the knowledge is kept alive.

/98/ Confusion is created if one calls the ana'tjera' an intermediate class. They do not form a related group occurring between the nobility and the people. It is merely a matter of individual cases having a tie in common with their father's group, the karaëng. They try to be taken into their father's group of relatives. Among themselves, however, they do not form an integrated group because, through the mother, they always belong to different groups of relatives. But whichever of the two groups they settle down with, their father's or their mother's, they are not regarded as equals by those around them.

554 /98 cont./ As regards these ana' tjera', it is immediately
562 apparent that the interests of sons and daughters are distinct.
565 The former are dependent for marriage upon their mother's
582 group, the latter upon their father's group.

Vertical Mobility of Cultural Elements

565 Sorokin has pointed to the fact that not only individuals
626 or groups, but even cultural elements may rise or go down (1).

1. P. Sorokin, Social Mobility, New York and London, 1927, p. 133.

Each status /stand/ /group/ has its own external characteristics by which its members are differentiated from the others. Forms of social intercourse and clothing, mode of eating and celebrating festivals are the most spectacular of these. The higher groups constantly strive to preserve their own forms for their members. Lower groups constantly strive to take over elements belonging to the members of the higher status, since by this alone their standing rises.

Attempts to adopt their ways is opposed by the higher groups. On the one hand, their adoption is regarded as ridiculous, on the other, it arouses the anger of those higher; sometimes punishment is meted out. Adoption of elements from the highest status is not carried out directly by the lowest of the people, but takes place gradually. First those just below the highest adopt their forms, and so on down. It appears that not only the higher, but sometimes even those lower resist adoption of their forms by another socially lower, that is to say, they fight against a rise in social standing by a competitor.

554 565 576 /100 cont./ A favorite's daughter who temporarily resides in the house of her father's master may learn to make little cakes of a certain name and form, known only among the higher people. In that house she also learns the forms of social intercourse observed among household members and at daily meals. Upon returning home, her altered manners are immediately conspicuous. She addresses her mother only in a soft tone of voice, she does not eat as ravenously as the others, and she conducts herself completely like a well-brought up girl from the better social circles. At least in the beginning, she is also treated differently from the other children. "She bears the sign of daëng X" (2), it is said

2. Bata piarana daëng X, literally, "the etiquette of nurture by daëng X."

[582 557] approvingly of her. As a result, she has a chance of a better marriage, that is to say, of a marriage to a higher man than any of her sisters would be entitled to, since they did not enjoy the privilege of staying temporarily in the house of daëng X.

/101/ When the seven-year-old son of my host offered me cigarettes and when he came to tell me that dinner was ready, he briefly dropped to his knees in so doing. This is a custom completely unknown in his father's group of relatives and borrowed from the karëng's kin group in whose house the father had lived in his early years. The custom was then taught to the son. The father laughed happily; "He knows his manners," and by this he meant that his son had appropriated good manners, namely of those who are higher. It is a sign of politeness to treat a higher guest with his own forms of social intercourse. The lower person who shows that he is familiar with these forms gains in standing in so doing. If this were to become a daily practice, his conduct would be

554 /101 cont./ thought of as ridiculous by the related group.
565 They would see in it merely an affected way of distinguishing
[576] himself from those around him.

The wearing of certain ornaments by a bride, and of a kris or a headdress (sigara') of a certain color by the bride-
[585 groom, is frequently a sign of friendliness on the part of a
572] higher person. He may, as a favor, permit a lower person to adorn himself on certain occasions with things which belong to the higher group. This raises the standing of the lower person.

A woman who caused her deceased mother to be treated as though she were a relative of the Prince was regarded as arrogant. "She is daring, " was the reaction of those around
[626] her. It means that what she does is dangerous, because in so doing she enters the state of "bassung"; that is to say, she can be punished for this deed with a swollen belly. Nobody, however, expresses his disapproval openly, since, after all, it is quite possible that what she does is exactly the right thing, and in that case the one who made the remarks would be punished, as happened in the case of standing on the investiture rock.

If a person conducts himself as a higher person, and if he does so with great self-assurance and with success, then these modes of conduct help to determine his social standing.

The System of Followers

571 The system of followers is one of the most obvious aspects of the tendency toward vertical mobility. It may be described as the /102/ totality of relationships between a higher person (karaëng, lord) and those lower, whom he calls ana' ana'na (1) or taunna (his people). The basis of this system is the

571 /102 cont./ 1. Ana' ana'na literally signifys "his children," here, therefore, "as if his children."

awareness that a relationship of authority of high over low, accepted by the latter, exists and likewise the realization that high and low need each other in their striving for higher standing. This relationship is based upon cooperation. The relationship between (almost) equal groups, on the other hand, is best described as opposition. The next paragraph will deal with this point.

156 In addition to descent, the personal qualities of the individual are of importance in his striving to rise. The importance of these qualities is reflected in the saying that a good karaëng has good followers and a bad karaëng bad ones. Qualities required for a higher person to be a good one are: courage in fighting and skill in debate. He must have the courage to undertake risks; he must be active and at the same time able to stimulate activity in others. In addition, a certain generosity toward those lower is indispensable. Such a dynamic character attracts those who are lower; They like to work for such a person. Qualities appreciated in a lower person worthy of mention are: faithfulness to the master; courage, in the sense of readiness to assist his master and to avenge insults inflicted upon the master; and furthermore, a certain initiative within the bounds of freedom permitted him.

554 571

114 Four essays written by the government official, Kooreman, which dealt with his experiences during a stay of almost ten years in South Celebes appeared in the Indische Gids of 1883. He also described the system of followers (1). Kooreman was

1. P. J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 375 ff.

114 /102 cont./ able to describe his impressions in a clear and lively manner. The conditions he sketches can still be recognized as typical of South Celebes, but at the same time it is apparent that much has changed. His description will first be reproduced here. Then my own data will follow, /103/ and in the process we will be able to point out a number of times what has remained and what has changed.

554 565 571 "...the higher the nobility to which one belonged, the more did one possess the privilege of impunity. The little man almost completely lacked protection against the presumptions and vexations of the Anakaraeng. As a result he was forced to look for protection from those who caused the evil condition, namely, the nobility. The latter undertook the protection, but conditionally, that is, the Anakaraeng demanded a certain measure of subjection of his protégé. From this a relationship developed to which we refer as "being a follower," but which is described more characteristically and accurately by the Makassarese word for follower, Ana ana. (Ana signifies "child," Ana ana, "little child.") Between the Anakaraeng and his protégé there existed, therefore, the relationship of a great and powerful man and a little child.

571 675 "The follower was obliged to recognize the Anakaraeng as his master (karaeng). He was forced to accompany him while hunting and on his travels, to help him in various agricultural activities, to bring his small presents, and to perform services at his festivals. He was obligated to assist him if he was threatened or attacked, or if he had to avenge an insult. In a word, he had to follow his master (minawang) and carry out whatever he was enjoined to do. The Anakaraeng, on the other hand, assumed the responsibility of guarding his ana ana against any arbitrary treatment, and if they suffered alleged or actual injustice, he took their side. The relationship was so close that to insult a follower was equal to insulting his

/103 cont./ master, and the latter already felt offended if
571 one of his followers so much as received a poor reception. If
675 a follower's horse or buffalo were stolen, the master would say: 'My buffalo or my horse is stolen, ' and he would leave no stone unturned to get back the stolen property and to avenge himself upon the culprit -- more accurately, the one who insulted him --, for he would not dream of handing over the thief to the authorized judge.

"The tie between Anakaraeng and ana ana was voluntary and consequently could be broken. The Karaeng rarely dismissed his followers because of bad behavior. As a rule he did so if the follower did not satisfy his far-reaching /104/ obligations or had been disobedient. The follower, on the other hand, would choose another Karaeng if he thought that he was being insufficiently protected, if his master demanded too many services of him, or if, in his opinion, another follower was more favored. Such a break in relations was rarely resorted to, however, because the follower would incur the hatred and vengeance of his former master.

"The Karaeng were also obligated to provide for the material interests of their followers. They helped them with paddy fields, with paddy, plowing, cattle, and sometimes with money, for instance in cases of marriages and deaths. Not all Karaeng, however, fulfilled this obligation; many were more intent upon their own interests than upon that of their ana ana.

"The higher the social standing of an Anakaraeng, the
554 more followers he had. Conversely, the more followers he
565 had, the greater was his standing and influence, and the
571 anakaraeng /sic/ who had the most followers was at the same time the most prominent and the most influential.

"Followers consisted of distant blood relatives, people
571 who from generation to generation had been the followers of
[602] one single kin group, and people, frequently foreigners, who

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
[558] his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's protection and help and at the same time the loss of social standing which the association with the superior casts on him. Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position of the lower people has become stronger.

● 554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
571 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower. Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary. If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relationship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends

1. In the Bontoramba census, they were included among the Rest group.

upon their personal relationship to their master whether they will continue to come and help at special events such as festivals.

571 As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
591 married couple who had committed silariang. Before reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

571 /107 cont./ them. If, for instance, a young unmarried
602 man goes to work for a prominent uncle (3), this is always a

[554
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3. Here used in the sense of purina, thus someone belonging to a higher generation.

temporary arrangement. For a person who helps his uncle thereby increases the difference in standing existing between that uncle and his own family. Consequently, a young man will prefer, in the long run, to work for his parents, younger brothers, and unmarried sisters rather than to help his uncle gain more social standing.

People who work for a blood relative can be called
554 followers, but this occurs only if they /108/ serve as followers
571 of one head together with non-kinsmen. In that case they
602 occupy the highest position among them. Because of their less pronounced personal qualities they are bound to obey, that is, to follow their kinsman, but with respect to the other followers they are higher, and therefore the leaders, by reason of their descent.

The dwelling of the adat community head is the center
634 of Borongloe. The adat community office is, as it were, merely one of its extensions. Matters of taxation, transferences of land and cattle, quarrels which end in fights, elopements, marriages, foreigners, and all that concerns the ornament worship are handled by the head. In the case of some problems the persons involved were referred to the office and to office hours, but the head receives most of them at his home where their problem is discussed and settled right away, if possible.
571 An active head in this way attracts much information. A
634 number of followers will regularly be found around him.

These work for him in the sawahs and in the gardens, and in addition they run errands for him. Some of them

571 /109 cont./ whose personal qualities were of little account
634 among the Makassarese, relied almost entirely upon ties created by preceding generations. That he was able to maintain himself as head during these times is merely due to the support of his father, the former head, and to that of the Self-government of Goa.

The kinsmen of the adat community head live distributed
554 over three kampong territories. In his group of relatives it
571 is always pretended that the number of followers living with
602 and among the kinsmen in these kampongs is very large. This
634 is done to make the social standing of the group appear as great as possible. After all, the possession of many followers indicates that a group rises considerably above those around them. In effect, in the adat community head's group of relatives only eight houses with followers were found. The occupants in each case had a special tie with one of the head's kinsmen. They performed the customary tasks for the head and cooperated at the festivals of other members belonging to this group of relatives.

According to reports, the number of followers of the
554 karaëng group is very large, especially the number of those
565 whose previous generation also worked for this group of
571 relatives. The karaëng are each supposed to have had one or more followers who frequently lived in the neighborhood of the master (1). This conception of the situation corresponds

[241]

1. It is related that here working the sawah is entirely in the hands of followers because people do not like to see a karaëng working in the sawah.

554 /109 cont./ completely to the established ideal, the more
565 followers, the greater the standing. But in view of the experience
571 with the adat community head's group of relatives who, even though on /110/ a lower level, gave the same representation of the matter, it is necessary to be careful here, too, so long as we must proceed entirely from unauthenticated reports.

178 The importance of the system of followers in the earlier
571 form described by Kooreman decreased. New forms arose; these are to be found in the big-city relationships of Macassar. In the country areas, the relationship of large landowner to day laborer is an example.

The system of followers in and around the city of Macassar
178 is observable wherever wealthy merchants earn their money
441 by means of the sale and purchase of rice and fish, sand and
571 stones. For their trade they employ a large number of people. This employment relationship can best be described as that of followers to their master in which the personal qualities of the merchant, the punggawa, are of overriding importance. Here, too, a follower avenges an insult done to his punggawa. Here, too, services performed -- frequently in addition to a fixed salary or piece wage -- are rewarded irregularly and in a general way. Here the punggawa also has a personal tie with a number of his people. When he dies his trade immediately goes down. His organization is built upon personal ties with his subordinates.

Large Landownership

491 Some characteristics of the system of followers can also
571 be found connected with large landownership (1), in the
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1. No figures are available to indicate precisely when we can begin to speak of large

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/110 cont./ landownership. The examples given here are taken from conditions where no doubt can exist about the existence of large landownership. A single individual in each case owned more than 20 hectares.

relationship of the large landowner to his representative (koasa), and of each of these to their respective laborers. In South Celebes there are, on the whole, sufficient grounds on the basis of which a large number of small farmers could be forced to work the land of others. The form of large landowner-
[554] ship encountered here must be understood from the point of view of relationships obtaining between high and low. The two factors, descent and personal qualities, with which we already have become acquainted above, are important in this respect.

A large landowner generally has a few hundred /111/ sawahs which lie distributed in various kampongs far removed from each other. The landowner himself, who usually lives far away from these, therefore employs someone to be his koasa in a kampong or, if this happens to be convenient, in a district. The koasa sees to it that the sawahs located there are worked. He, in turn, hires a number of people from that region as laborers. The latter receive as many sawah sections as they desire or are able to handle. The koasa's task is to see to it that the sawahs are worked, that this is done as well as possible, that the distribution of the harvested sheaves takes place according to the agreements made, and finally, that a reasonable number of sheaves reaches the landowner. The latter, therefore, must be able to trust his representatives. Consequently, he chooses by preference someone who already has a personal relationship to him and someone who

466 /112 cont./ koasa, sometimes called,
471 for purposes of differentiation,
571 "small representative"
(koasa tja'di).

One who owes his standing solely to his personal qualities
441 obtains no more in returns from his land than a person whose
471 standing is based entirely upon his descent, as might be expected
454 on rational economic grounds. During the postwar periods when many Makassarese merchants were earning large sums, one might have expected that many of them would have invested even a small part of their money in pices of land in the interior. One would have thought that they might have bought sawahs, or that at least they would have had large pieces of land entered in their name in the land-tax registers with the purpose of having them developed later. Nothing of this kind, however, appears from the Goa land-tax registers. The opinion of one of these merchants that he did buy jewelry with this money but no land because land is difficult to sell quickly if one needs money merely points to the direction in which the explanation must be looked for.

For a merchant who is not related to the nobility of Goa,
571 it is difficult to attach a good koasa to himself and through him
565 a large number of laborers. If he were to purchase several
554 pieces of land, his share in the harvest would not be worth the trouble. An ordinary kampong individual prefers to work the land of a prominent man from the karaëng group. In that he has confidence; it strengthens his position. A tie with a nobleman always appears valuable. On the other hand, so long as economic necessity is not coercive and the personality of the large landowner does not convince him of his special personal qualities, there is no reason for the kampong man to work for this wealthy stranger. In principle, this stranger is regarded as an equal with whom one can therefore

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the karaëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these
[582] qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng. Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

156 The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
178 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis
[648] figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to
571 himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
634 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to maintain himself in his function.

/113 cont./
Slaves (ata)

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Matthes translates the term ata by "slave," "servant," "subject." This translation is still correct, even today. When the Prince of Goa speaks of his ata, it must be determined from the context whether he means by that his slaves, his followers, or his subjects, or possibly even his noble confederates. If someone refers to himself as ata in relation to the Prince, this is a self-abasement which -- especially if an important person is involved -- /114/ frequently amounts to an excessive elevation of the Prince and thus, at the same time, of the speaker himself.

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It is as difficult to translate the concept ata with a single term as it is to describe someone's social status in fixed, known terms. A translation is only possible if the relationship of the speaker to the one whose ata he considers himself to be is clear. Ata indicates a relationship. A resident of kampong Pakatto who calls himself an ata (subject) of the Prince of Goa turns out to own an ata (slave) himself.

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Insofar as the term ata is translated by "slave," it appears that slaves belong to the highest social class. Friedericy reports that they were generally despised, but that court slaves occupied a privileged position compared to ordinary people (1). It seems that slaves cannot be placed in a fixed social hierarchy. They do not form an integrated group, either. Each slave has individual ties with his master. Their position can merely be indicated by the relationship to their master.

1. H. J. Friedericy, Dissertation, p. 551.

The position of slaves in Makassarese-Buginese country does not give rise to strong sentiments. "Even

114 /116 cont./ society declares that the class of slaves is "really
567 secondary" and that it had "no appreciable task in the life of the society." Consequently, he eliminates slaves from his further discussion. From his data, however, it must be con-
565 cluded that slaves stood in a special relationship to the karaëng
567 and that in Goa they had no other ties among each other than the awareness that they all belonged to members of one and the same related group. The above-mentioned sunrang regulation in which the Prince establishes a special sunrang only for his
554 slaves favors this point. To mention another example in
567 support of this interpretation, the adat community head of
634 Borongloë does not speak to a karaëng about his ata, but about /117/ his people (taunna), because speaking of his ata would be an expression of haughtiness. In so doing he would place himself on a level with a karaëng and thereby make himself ridiculous. Toward his subjects he does speak of his ata, but even then he does so much less openly than the Prince (1).

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1. In 1949 slaves in Borongloë had the active right to vote. In point of fact they participated in the election. Before the war I made no inquiries into this matter. On page 552 of his dissertation (1933), Friedericy reports that slaves were barred from the right to vote with respect to the heads placed over them. Here he is referring to the slaves belonging to the karaëng.

178 It seems that the possession of slaves is something that be-
565 longs to the karaëng group like a certain ritual or a certain
567 color, and that it is something which has been successively

662 /123 cont./ he can better serve goals for himself, his kin
557 group, and possibly for his country, by not keeping to a cer-
571 tain agreement, he withdraws. One cannot count upon loyalty between equals with respect to the agreements made among them. Loyalty unto death is to be found only between high and low (1).

> 1. Here, too, there are limits. Personal loyalty of a lower toward a higher person is held in esteem. But loyalty on the part of a related group of lower people toward a higher /group/ lasts as long as the former know themselves to be dependent upon the latter, and so long as they do not have a more powerful higher /group/ to which they can turn for help and protection.

Now, if we look a little more closely at a number of opposition phenomena on various levels, it appears that a general direction can be pointed out in spite of confusing differences.

622 The kapalakampong strives to keep his kapalaship for
554 himself and his kinsmen, for the person who has authority over a non-kinsman is higher than that non-kinsman.
602 Furthermore, his kinsmen, at least those within his kampong territory, share in the higher standing which he possesses in this way. With respect to the members of his own group of relatives and with respect to that of other groups residing in his territory, the position of the kapala is different. In his own group he belongs to the prominent men. In that capacity

554 /123 cont./ he hears everything that goes on. In his turn he
602 derives from his kapalaship the standing necessary to exert
622 influence within his group.

With the members of the other groups, his influence in
622 many cases extends only so far as is necessary to carry out the
[602] tasks enjoined on him by officials of the Inland Administration via the Self-government and adat community heads. This, therefore, frequently concerns administrative matters, but in view of the fact that administration and the exercise of actual power are not separated here, his influence is very great. For the residents of the kampong territory, the kapala is the man to whom they must pay their taxes. He is the one who regulates community labor, with whom the request for the clearing of a new plot of land must be registered in the first instance, from whom an aspirant kampong /124/ resident must request permission to settle, to whom guests staying overnight must be reported, and so on.

He must be known therefore in all such daily matters. He is the link between the residents of his kampong and the adat community head. Accordingly, it is important for all kampong residents to be on friendly terms with him. His influence soon ceases with non-kinsmen. He does not enter into affairs which are important to them as kinsmen. If he makes an attempt to extend his influence further, opposition arises. The opposition between the various group of relatives in one and the same kampong territory finds expression, among other things, in the exercise of the function of gurukampong.

793 The gurukampong is the lowest religious official in the hierarchy in which the kali stands at the top for the entire realm and in which the imam is subordinated to the kali for affairs inside the adat community. In his turn, the gurukampong is again subordinated to the imam for matters concerning the residents of his kampong. His task is to make the imam acquainted with births and deaths, marriages, and cases of people who want to get a divorce. He lends a hand at a birth,

177 /125 cont./ Makassarese forces, but had to be approved by
634 the officials of the Inland Administration. This administration
648 in practice only rarely permitted boundary alterations. It preferred to hold fast to the boundaries fixed in the years after 1905.

622 The kapala can also seek to establish contact with the kin
662 group of the /126/ adat community head. A marriage between members of the two groups of relatives seems to be possible (1).

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1. In this connection one can remark that it is always a man from the adat community head's group who marries a girl of the kapala group. Some difference in standing is always considered to exist between adat community head and kampong head, and therefore between their groups of relatives. Through the marriage, the implication is avoided that a man is marrying a woman from a group of relatives with higher standing than his own. A cousin (samposikali) of the adat community head was thus joined in marriage with a daughter of the kapala of Bontoramba.

622 In the succession to the kapalaship, a clear preference for the son, at least for a close

/132 cont./
Acculturation Phenomena

177 Cultural elements derived from western Europe and based upon the principle of equality cause difficulties when they are introduced into South Celebes. Only a few of these elements will be mentioned briefly to illustrate their conflict with the class structure. The most important of these are the public auction, soccer games /voetbalspel/, and the parliamentary form of government. Here we shall only indicate one aspect of this matter.

For colleagues to consult each other on a basis of equality, 177 /133/ independent of status, cannot be reconciled with the 554 idea that it is impolite to tell a higher person that one does 576 not agree with him. A school inspector is higher than a teacher and so he knows better, such is the train of thought. At a conference convened around 1940 on behalf of the Department of Education, a Makassarese school inspector introduced a topic. The answer to the question whether there was agreement with what had been said consisted merely of a general "jo karaëng" (yes, sir). None of the teachers present dared to voice a different opinion for fear of being regarded as impolite.

The presence of two persons, one higher and one lower, who had been invited for the same meal by a Dutchman, produced various difficulties. The lower person waited until he was addressed before saying anything, and then he merely expressed agreement with what had been said. At most he would repeat the same thing in other words with a tone of assent. He would not take a single dish on his own initiative, but would wait until his host or the higher person pushed one in his direction, and even then he would eat only a few mouthfuls. As a result he had eaten practically nothing, when he rose from the table.

177 /133 cont./ Even modern Makassarese find these forms
554 of conduct stiff. They make fun of them but are incapable
576 of changing them, and rather than be impolite they leave the table hungry.

177 A public auction in the Makassarese environment is
554 merely a caricature of what the Western jurists who initiated
576 it had in mind. If a higher person bids, lower person does
437 not dare to outbid him. Accordingly, he asks a man of higher status, an equal of the first bidder, who is favorably inclined toward him, to make a bid for him.

177 The head of the community concerned does not like to
554 participate in the bidding personally. He runs the chance of
576 being unexpectedly outbid by an ignorant stranger in
622 Makassarese country. This signifies a challenge to him, and
437 he must continue to bid much more than the object is worth to him in order not to suffer a defeat in the eyes of his subjects. And if the competitive bidding is done by a Dutch lady, as might occur in a small administrative settlement, then he is left merely with a laugh about such a "challenge."

177 A soccer game is based upon the equality of the players.
554 But if a karaëng takes part in the game, there can no longer
576 be any question of equality /134/ (1). When the karaëng
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1. The fact that, according to a newspaper report from the Netherlands, Prince Bernhard had gained third prize in a steeplechase was regarded as a gross discourtesy on the part of the two winners.

shouted "Run out" (bakkai) to his goalkeeper, the forward of the opposing team who was running toward him interpreted this as a command directed at him; he stopped, and the

177 /134 cont./ goalkeeper of the karaëng's team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaëng had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaëng
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he, and not the karaëng who was the loser in this collision. It is understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
576 showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams, high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive" in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaëng can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

857/140 cont./ be able to run away again more easily. Little
867 boys are allowed to be somewhat rowdy and boisterous during a festival, but girls are forbidden such behavior: "Are you
[262] a boy?" an older girl then snaps at her. Little girls may not eat a certain kind of fish so that later, when they are grown up, they will not become man-crazy. At various festivities
[777] they receive "pitjuru," luck-bringing /141/ charms so that when they are grown up they will marry and have many children. The sexes are sometimes separated as early as the
[871] age of seven to eight years when children go to the religious instructor (guru ngadji), where they learn to recite the Koran. Then the girls receive instruction from the guru's wife in the back of the house.

One of the first frustrations of children after weaning
593 is caused by adult men, especially the father. When a man
867 enters the house, women and children withdraw to the back part of the house. When there are guests, care is taken that the children make no noise. When an important man is in the house, this rule applies even more strictly. Little children who then make noise are threatened with: "He is angry at you." An old woman repeated to a three-year-old who quietly sat next to her, "He sees you, he is looking at you." The importance of the situation was imparted in this fashion; and a certain fear as well as a certain veneration for the superior found expression in this way.

867 The difference in /social/ level between children is
554 revealed partly by what is less tolerated in one than in another. When a karaëng comes for a visit to the house of the adat community head, his little son may run around and perhaps even sit down behind his father, but the children of kinsmen and servants remain in the back rooms, and the women take care that they are quiet.

864 A little girl learns from early childhood that it is not good to show herself naked: "Where is your sarong?" she is asked. This applies to boys only one to two years later.

443 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They
462 go around alone or with a number of men of their own age. Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 The activities of men and women therefore complement
562 each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more helpless, if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding gardens.

562 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that
554 of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the
576 meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status
571 with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the
521 others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator may place himself in the center of the story since, after all, those present share in the standing he won in this manner. The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them. Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people, and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men, four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression.
562 Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and
571 go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned. Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are free in their actions and speech.

527 /148 cont./ dressed in red jackets, nicely made-up, and
571 decked with jewelry, pounding with precise movements, eyes cast down. After some time they are replaced. Under the surveillance of a couple of older women, four others descend from the house and take over the pounders while the first team again goes up, always with an escort and with eyes cast down. From behind the barred windows of the front rooms -- on this occasion the entire house is the domain of the women -- they peep outside where in the half-light of the yard the men walk around, sit, talk, and smoke (1).

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1. Little drinking is done. If there is rice wine (ballo'ase) present, the number of bottles is limited. Only the higher guests receive a bottle and share some of this with the others. Serious drunkenness does not occur. Makassarese who drink ballo' proceed to tell taller and taller tales and become increasingly provocative in their remarks. At such times they avoid the company of a higher person.

527 It is reported that formerly a group of young men from
579 another kampong, attracted by the provocative sounds, would
177 once in awhile make an attack and try to run away with one
571 of the young girls. This would then give rise to a general brawl. The young men of the house group would then defend their young sisters and cousins against an attack from outside. Nowadays such a thing no longer occurs. The festival has become a comparatively dull display since fighting and

157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku	My implanted, straight flowers,
539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku	My blooming tjampaga flowers.
Natjiniku ianu	When N. N. sees me
Nadjandjangku mole mole.	He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that
157 a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in
men are at the same time those which they need for success in
182 striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.

554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

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1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het, " /"an 'it' person. " -- Ed./.

838 /152 cont./ become apparent that it is not altogether correct to translate the term kawe kawe by homosexual. Lack of a better one led me to use this translation for the time being.

The distinction connotes that homosexuality is accepted as abnormal, but nonetheless as an existing phenomenon just like an albino or a deaf-mute. In 1949 there were no men living in the kampong Bontoramba who were regarded as kawe kawe. In all of Borongloë (around 14, 000 inhabitants), there may have been five. Compared with other adat communities, this number will probably /153/ seem small. The reason for [684 634] this is that the adat community head to whom, as a believing Moslem, these kawe kawe were already a thorn in the side anyway had threatened to cut off the hair of each one (some of them wore their hair down to their shoulders) because one of them had made a young girl pregnant. As a result many of the kawe kawe left Borongloë. Only a few stayed. I was repeatedly able to observe one of them. Here follows a brief description of his outward appearance and behavior. His name was Taking.

Taking was thirty-five years old and lived with a married brother. They were a poor household, but only when it was completely necessary did Taking work in the sawah. Usually and by preference he would spend his time in the back part of the house with the women. In his manner of sitting and speaking and in clothing he was scarcely distinguishedable from them. At the kin-group festivals in the house of the adat community head, he worked hard in the kitchen, helping with preparations. On such occasions he frequently did the unpleasant work of keeping the strongly smoking fire going, work which generally is performed by lower women. At the ritual at the climax of the festival, however, he was, along with a number of older women, relatives of the head, the one who participated in its arrangement. Both the kitchen work [554] and the conduct of the ritual were in the hands of women at

838 /153 cont./ this festival. Lower women performed the first
[554] task, higher ones the latter. Taking participated in both.
Outside the house he behaved like a man. He would go
[482] on his way without escort, but whenever he was carrying something at the same time, he would do so by preference on his head (like a woman) and not on a yoke over his shoulders (like a man). When called upon as a witness in a legal case, however, he appeared completely in man's clothing with a black cap (topi), and upon that occasion had some good-natured fun poked at him. In everyday life, his presence in the women's group was accepted as a matter of course. According to my information, this dated from his childhood years. I was able to observe a little boy called Jusu at the age of about seven years. This is the age at which a difference starts to arise between boys' and girls' games.

Jusu by preference played with the girls of his own age.
[857] The latter permitted this without poking fun at him. A high noblewoman took him into her house and into her following. /154/ He would go with a couple of her nieces his age to pay visits and attend festivals. The acceptance of a kawe kawe into the women's group from his childhood years on explains the naturalness with which he is treated.

Details concerning Taking's sexual life could not be obtained. It was believed that he desired no contact with women. Concerning his relationship with other men only jokes were made. His reaction at the mention of anal coitus was one of decided aversion, and at the mention of mutual masturbation his reaction was neutral.

In addition to the commonly occurring kawe kawe, I once observed a woman in the adat community of Takalar who did not feel at home with those of her own sex. She wore her hair like a woman, but her sarong like a man. She preferred to work in the sawah with the patjol /hoe/ (typically male work). She carried burdens on a yoke over her shoulders the way a man does, and she would go alone to pasars and

838 /155 cont./ and behave in everyday life completely like
793 normal men. At the performance of the ritual, however, their dress and behavior is half-male and half-female, like that of other bissu. The latter, the unmarried ones, live together in the ornament house.

In 1948 the then assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes supplied me information which might clarify why kawe kawe prefer to occupy themselves with the ornament ritual. According to the description of the ritual, performed at the inauguration of the new head of the bissu (Puang Matoa), one of them leads the new head to the ornament of Segeri, a plow, and at this point he makes an announcement the significance of which the assistant reproduced as follows: "It is neither known of the person who is here brought to the sacred object and who touches it, nor of the object, who is the man and who the woman. If the sacred object is a man, then this person is a woman, and vice versa" (1).

1. The Buginese original of this announcement could not be obtained.

From this it would appear that it is believed that the ornament and the head of the bissu must be of different sex, that the sex of the ornament is unknown, and that, therefore, only a person who can be either man or woman can be the head of the bissu. The general occurrence of this, albeit merely vaguely conscious, belief could explain the attraction
[554] of the kawe kawe to the ornaments. There they found a social recognition which they lacked elsewhere.

838 Dr. Slot, who has examined a number of these bissu for their physical characteristics, reports that their sexual organs were completely normal; there was no question of hermaphroditism. A number of secondary sex characteristics can be called feminine. Among these he reports a hyperextendability of the elbow, little muscular development, and broad hips (2).

589 /160 cont./ same men, therefore, continued to believe in the reaction expected of women when the marriage is announced to them, as the real manifestation of their feelings. In a kelong recited by women, one hears a different tone, however:

589 539 /161/ Lolobangkomi denangku; — My friend has become an old maid;

djappomi padja bungkenna — her first sarong is already worn-out (1)

1. This refers to a custom by which the first sarong a young girl weaves, after she has just learned to do so, is kept for her bridegroom.

mattajang guru; — in waiting for a man;

mana palukka tania'. — not even a thief was there (2).

2. That is to say, she did not even carry out a marriage by flight.

589 With respect to older unmarried men, it is believed that they could have married but that they did not want to do so. People are satisfied with that; they are not urged to marry. The few older unmarried men who could be observed for some time every day, seemed like quiet, contented individuals who performed all kinds of little tasks in the house, rendered small services to their housemates, and sometimes even looked after the little children. Their standing in the group of relatives [554] is not great. Men who enjoy status in their related group are always married.

589 /161 cont./ In the 1930 census report, the suggestion is
114 made with respect to the "East of the Archipelago, " "that the continued unmarried state of a woman in the native society is regarded as more or less undesirable or dishonorable" (3). I

3. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 66.

have been unable to find a single indication in South Celebes pointing to the correctness of this last qualification. For the
581 woman concerned it is regarded as "undesirable" that she does
589 not marry. It is believed that only through marriage does one become a "complete person." Attempting to bring about someone's marriage signifies that one means well for this person. But one prefers to see a young woman unmarried rather than to see her marry a man who is not regarded as suitable.
[554] Suitability is judged almost entirely on the basis of his social standing.

By the same token people prefer to see their son unmarried than to see him contract a marriage contrary to parental wishes. Not to marry may be undesirable for an individual, but it is always regarded more highly than to marry an undesirable partner.

114 "Among the Makassarese, " the report goes on (4), "who
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4. Ibid., p. 67.

565 have strict difference between the social classes, the number of unmarried women /162/ among the higher classes is great because there the bride price and the "balandja" (the expenses of the wedding feast) are so high." Now this "bride price" among the kinsmen of the Prince of Goa amounts to 28 reals or 56. -- guldens, and that of the small man to 20 reals or 40. -- guldens. The difference of 16. -- guldens does not

595 606 607 /171 cont./ The latter feel responsible for the successful course of affairs in his first marriage, and accordingly they have an attitude of disapproval toward a second marriage, since a lasting monogamous marriage is, after all, regarded as one of [581] the ideals of a successful marriage. When a second marriage has come about through silariang, they show their disapproval and frequently support the first wife. They yield only if the man appears to have enough authority to prepare and to carry [554] out his second marriage independently with his "own people." That is to say, he has a house built for his second wife, or else he buys one; and secondly, he is able to organize a wedding festival on his own, even if it is a small feast. If a man enjoys that much standing and if he possesses that much organizational talent, then his relatives are not merely content [55] with this second marriage. On the contrary, then they even prize him because the festive celebration of a second marriage is a sign of his personal standing by which his kinsmen also rise in standing. /172/

In such a case, therefore, the first spouse can expect little support from his relatives, and only consolation from her own closest kinsmen. The latter merely try to minimize the importance of this event, which is sad for her personally, and to make her accept it as well as possible. There is no question of any moral disapproval of the man's action. Such is the situation in the adat community of Borongloë.

In the karaëng related group, more second marriages are 565 contracted, especially with women of lower blood. These 595 men have less resistance to overcome. In the kampongs of the ordinary man everyone wages his struggle to gain more standing, and thus for a good marriage for his children. In general, common people do not like to have a girl marry a man who is already married. But if the difference in blood is generally recognized, as it is between a karaëng and a girl [557] from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in

standing.

565 /172 cont./ standing. This is what underlies their thoughts
595 when members of the karaëng's kin group declare that lower people consider it an honor to give away their daughter in marriage to a nobleman.

A border line where people like to see their daughter or sister marry a superior who is already married, and where the superior is actually regarded as almost an equal and therefore the marriage is not desired cannot be exactly determined. The boundaries between the classes /standen, here statuses?/ are too vague for this.

554 Exceptional qualities are therefore demanded of a man
595 who has two wives. Through the conclusion of a second marriage he shows that he raises himself above his other relatives. This fact is not appreciated and is therefore counteracted unless he otherwise contributes particularly to
[626] the social standing of the group. If this should be the case, and and if he is able to show this through organizing a second marriage independently, then it is even accepted with a certain pride. There are always a number of men with less exceptional characteristics who wish to take a second wife. The silariang institution gives them the opportunity of doing so without their having to ask the help of their relatives. In these cases, however, his relatives accept this marriage with greater hesitation.

/173/ Second Part

Sexual Union in Marriage

582 In the first part of this chapter, the criteria of selection were pointed out which the older generation applies on the basis of younger people's personal qualities in the choice of

/176 cont./

Elements of the Wedding Ritual

The Announcement

584 The announcement to a young girl that she is to marry is made with great care. An older woman is enlisted for this pur-
[554] pose, /177/ one who herself has many children and who has done well in this world. For instance, the wife of a kapala or
[777] someone who has higher blood coupled with personal standing. The parents hope that some of their luck (pitjuru) will be imparted to their child. The girl is taken to the woman and is addressed quietly and in a friendly manner with a few, well-chosen words. "We intend to make you a complete person" (nipadjari tau); "we want to make you into one single whole" (nipakalepu).

When her marriage is announced to her, a girl always cries. A somewhat simple type who remained seated quietly was even
[539] incited to do so: "Cry, child, otherwise people will laugh at you" (ngarruko 'ndi, nakakaliko sallang taua). Not to cry is regarded as a sign that she longs for a man.

A girl who has heard that she must marry generally draws the sarong over her head and sobbingly lies down in a dark corner of the house. She refuses all food and remains there until she is taken up by her female relatives in order to undergo a certain ritual. At that time she keeps herself as passive as possible and thereby shows that the idea of having to marry makes her very unhappy.

It is also expected of a young man that he will be sad when he hears that he must marry. Eh, tene'na, "What, is he glad," (that he is going to marry), was the disapproving reaction of an old woman when the boy remained completely quiet. The kinsmen repeatedly make remarks to him designed to put him in a sad mood. "Think of your mother." "Now you probably will no longer think of us. Now you will only call your wife's kinsmen your kin group."

585 /180 cont./ The higher guests come at this point and stand before the bed, one after the other. They take some karuntigi between their fingers, mix this with oil and powder, and amidst the mumbling of a spell, they smear this mixture on one of the fingers, on the arm, sometimes on the forehead or the neck of the bride. The place where the mixture is applied and the [777] manner have their significance. However, this ritual is not [554] performed by all the guests, but only by the higher and by a 887 number of older ones who themselves have many children and many sawahs, in other words people who seem to possess much "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means) and who now, on this occasion, want to transfer something of this to the bride. When a great [554] number of guests come "akkaruntigi," this raises the social standing of the host.

In the afternoon of the day following the "akkaruntigi," [178] the bridegroom leaves -- according to a very old, but at present no longer observed, custom from the lap of his mother --, amidst a great deal of lamenting on the part of his relatives, for the bride's house in order to arrive there around sundown. Only men are present on this occasion. On the way and especially upon arrival at the bride's house, a loud dikir is heard. It is said that formerly at that moment a greeting of welcome was addressed to the bridegroom by one /181/ of the wife's relatives who for this purpose stationed herself at the top of the ladder in front of the door opening. The only time [178] that I experienced this a certain embarrassment could be sensed. This was considered very old-fashioned. The number of those in Borongloë who are familiar with this address is small. The Pinati of Bontoramba gave me the text here reproduced, independent of any festival. The four-line verses reported at the end, in which bridegroom and bride are introduced speaking, were actually incorporated into the address, according to him.

126 The text was checked for uniformity in spelling with the 585 assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes. The

/183 cont./

585 539

23. Nisailenu kau, tamalladjunu nitjini' ma'mole-mole.	One looks at you, one never gets enough of looking at you.
24. Kukio' Daëndjakondjo, kukanro ana' karaëng.	I call you a man of the nobility and honor you as a prince.
25. Nutuli manai'mo maë riballa'na matoannu, rituka'na ipara'nu,	Come enter the house of your parents-in-law, along the steps of your brothers-in-law and your sisters-in-law,
26. matoang tuna, ipara' kamasemase;	your lowly parents-in-law and your pitiable brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law;
27. mangngondjottommakonne tuka' tallu anronna, patampulo baringanna;	go along the ladder with the three uprights and the forty rungs (2);

[554]

2. These and the following references point to the fact that here one is in the house of a very prominent man.

28. mandjapputtongko pole tjottjorang nita'-buta'bu;	hold on tight to the banister of the ladder, which is divided into joints like sugar cane;
29. nutuli manai';	climb steadily upward;
30. mannjorong pakke'bu nigiring-giring;	push against the door which is provided with little copper bells;
31. mangngondjot tongko dasere' nidjaling kawa', nia'lanro bassi kalling;	step onto the floor boards which are tied to the transverse boards by means of wire;

585 /192 cont./ a seated position. The one who reaches him first
524 receives a "pitjuru," a luck-bringing object, sometimes in the form of a coin or ornament. However, care is always taken that the woman wins. On the other hand, she is not allowed to win directly. If she or her husband is very close to the one who knocked, another one will knock who is seated at the other side of the circle, and then they must again push themselves thither. But once the highest guest has knocked upon the ground, no one knocks anymore. He does this only when the man does not have a chance of getting to him first, so that the bride therefore receives the pitjuru from him. "Amèsu" is, therefore, as it were, a game in which the young couple compete with each other, but whose outcome is already fixed from the outset. It is com-
[554] pared to a cock fight. It only takes place when there are high guests present at the festival. It is pleasant for the person who gives the festival if "amèsu" takes place, for that means that he had /193/ high guests, and that means that he is in their favor. For the young man, this pushing competition is un-
[522] pleasant because he always loses to his bride, and people openly make fun of this.

The First Joint Meal

585 The day after the nikka', man and wife for the first time "eat" together. Ritual and play are here closely interwoven. There is no question of ordinary eating. One of the older women takes a handful of rice with coconut oil and sugar, briefly holds this above the incense vessel, mumbles a spell over it, and then gives this to the young woman to eat. Coconut oil, that is to
[824] say, fat, is a symbol of wealth; sugar is a symbol of love and sweetness. She is told to bring this handful of food momentarily to her mouth, and then to offer it to the young husband seated next to her. The people around watch to see how he reacts. If he opens his mouth quickly, this means that he likes her. "Your cock is conquered," the men at that point laughingly

585 /194 cont./ festival is the being "good" of man and wife (pabadjikang). There are no further guests present on the occasion. Only the mutual housemates of man and wife are invited. Together the young man and wife are seated on the bridal bed (2). The wife has betel and areca nuts in her hand.

[482 554]

2. The woman was carried to the bed by her oldest brother. A second brother carried her back again at the conclusion of the ceremony. These brothers evidently regarded this as an honor.

He must ask her for them; she must surrender them to him. In public, therefore, she complies with a request made by him. If she begins by refusing, she must be "bribed" by him. He promises her a present. Sometimes he is urged to take the betel and areca nuts away from her forcibly. The element of competition becomes clearly apparent here. Just as in the case of the eating ceremonial, comments are made by those present. Here the man must win in the end. He must obtain the betel and areca nuts since this indicates that man and wife are "good" (badji') with each other, and that is ultimately the purpose of the entire wedding festival.

The pabadjikang was not celebrated in former times, [178] according to one of the informants, unless sexual intercourse had already taken place /195/. At present it is celebrated, at least in Goa, even if no sexual contact has taken place, as for instance in the case of a child marriage.

585 833 Several men who had been married for years stated proudly that they had immediately been "good" with their wife. By this they meant that shortly after, possibly the very evening of the nikka', coitus had taken place. Here physical prowess

177 /198 cont./ bride who clearly enjoyed the bouquet of white
585 carnations that she had received from him. Arm in arm they stepped into the car which took them to the next event in the festivities at his family's house.

There their gaiety collided with the Makassarese world which demands of the woman that she cry and show herself averse to her husband-to-be. The bride changed her clothing; she received the Makassarese bridal costume with the head-dress belonging to it, and was made up in a manner appropriate to it. When a moment later her bridegroom appeared and risked a joke, he was angrily put in his place. She turned away from him, and, as a good Makassarese bride, she henceforth sat motionless with closed eyes amidst the women, and at appropriate moments she displayed her aversion to her bridegroom in a self-composed manner, completely in accordance with the manner in which the Makassarese feelings must be expressed in this situation.

Child Marriage

584 The marriage policy of the older people permits even sexually immature children to marry. In so doing, they believe that they are keeping a marriage, judged desirable by them from not taking place. The reason that a marriage desired by them does not take place is to be found, in the first place, in the opposition of the individuals concerned -- the opposition of as yet sexually immature children practically does not have to be taken into account --, and in the second instance, in a request made by a higher person.

● 554 A request by the religious official or by someone with
565 karaëng blood in his veins to an ordinary kampong man can
584 be made on behalf of a kinsman belonging to this higher person -- and in that case there will generally be no reason for refusal --. But it may also be made on behalf of a lower person, one of his followers, or for a close associate. Refusal

554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaëng related group, that only a small number are contracted in that of the adat community heads, and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives.
582 The marriage registers are particularly useless for this purpose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling out the marriage registers know that the administration does not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this girl, a very special figure ahead of his time, had recorded the birth dates of his children in a notebook, and therefore a check was possible in this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

582 /208 cont./ In case of a marriage which is regarded as
585 unfavorable, extra ritual is performed in order to assure a favorable outcome nonetheless. /209/

Selection of Marriage Partners according to Status (Hypergamy)

554 Marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden.
582 It is simply regarded as impossible. "It cannot be" (tena nakulle) is the reaction to such a suggestion.

835 Any contact of a man with a higher woman is also strictly
554 prohibited. This is indicated by the same term (salimara'), used to denote a sexual relationship between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ which is known as incest.

It is believed that if salimara' takes place the country will be overcome with misfortune. It is said that the paddy will no longer grow and that no more children will be born in
[731] such a case. In the case of crop failure or an epidemic, one accordingly looks for people suspected of having committed salimara'.

684 The guilty couple must be punished by death. In the old lontar one reads that the blood of these people may not touch the earth; they must be drowned. The hadat (native court of
[692] law) punished this offense during the last decades with the banishment of the couple for a few years to different places outside the realm. After the period set by the court of law had elapsed, these people did not return to their kampongs; the danger of being stabbed to death in spite of the judge's sentence still seemed to be too great (1).

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1. This is a direct consequence of the fact that under the influence of the administration these offenses were always very lightly

684 /209 cont./ 692

punished by the native courts of law. Incest and, a fortiori, the contact situation of a man with a higher woman is not entered as an offense in the Penal Code. As a result, persons guilty of incest cannot, on the whole, be punished through government jurisdiction. In these districts the administration gives them protection in the form of a very brief punishment pronounced by the magistrate's court (elsewhere the district court, old style), coupled with the advice not to return to the kampong. This applies equally to violation of rules concerning contact between a man and a higher woman.

554 582 Prohibition of hypergamy is a well-known phenomenon in many cultures. In South Celebes the sharp reaction to transgression is the only striking thing. An explanation of this circumstance therefore will only be attempted.

554 A Makassarese occupies toward his equals and near equals a position of constant opposition. A fixed vertical articulation has not come about. His female relatives, and primarily his sister, constitute for him the point of departure in his striving to /210/ rise. They are a fixed point for him in this respect.

554 /210 cont./ A woman "may not go down." Impairment of
[558] her social standing constitutes for her male relatives, and especially for her brother, an affront to their striving to rise. They are injured in one of the very few fixed points which they possess.

565 A Makassarese stands in a relationship of cooperation to a superior or an inferior. High and low have common interests. Together they are best able to realize their own aspirations to rise. The lack of an opposition element lends their mutual relationship an emotional security which is absent elsewhere.

An expression of competition between an inferior and a superior entails an impairment of existing relationships between high and low. The reaction to such an impairment is generally
554 a sharp repudiation. The superior tries to maintain existing
565 relationships because these give him emotional security which he lacks elsewhere, because his attempts to rise can only be successful through his tie with inferiors, and finally because his rights and duties towards inferiors provide him with advantages that he does not like to be without.

684 Violation of contact prohibitions between a man and a
554 higher woman also signifies for a Makassarese an impairment
565 of an important, fixed point of comparison in his striving for high /status/, and an impairment of the existing relation between high and low. Thus it means the impairment of two elements that are of essential importance to him in his culture. He faces a situation with which he feels himself unable to cope, and in his opinion there remains nothing else to do than to kill the person who has done this to him (adjallo').

That a violation of the contact prohibition between a man and a higher woman is indicated by the same term as that between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ probably means only that it is regarded as equally serious.

554 Such violation is therefore more serious than if contact
684 prohibitions are violated between equals or near equals. In the

554 /210 cont./ latter case, a marriage may still take place.
684 Then there arises a relationship between "the people who feel siri'" and "the fleers," a relationship which opens up the /211/ possibility of circumventing the killing that is also prescribed in this case. Ultimately, though only after years, a reconciliation can come about. This entire complex will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

Third Part

The Siri' Phenomenon

554 Vertical mobility occurs by means of opposition relation-
571 ships. Men between fifteen and forty years, and especially the younger ones among them, must face each other in a lasting relationship of challenge and outdoing. Each challenge and outdoing demands a reaction. The person who does not react, that is to say, the one who does not participate in what is regarded as important in this culture, has little social standing. The feeling of someone who is outdone is indicated by siri' (1). Someone is siri' when his social standing is

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1. Matthes (Woordenboek, p. 583) translates the word siri' by "ashamed, diffident, shy, shame, sense of honor, disgrace." But to a Makassarese, siri' has an entirely different meaning than these words have for a Dutchman. The meaning fits equally little that of the

554 /211 cont./ Indonesian word malu. An attempt at definition will be made below. For the sake of clarity, however, I have left the term untranslated in a number of cases.
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impaired and when another person knows this.

A man is inclined to regard immediately as outdoing any accidental event at an encounter, or a lucky word on his part, by which he raises himself above the other person, at least in his own eyes. The other, when he hears this, is also siri'.

The reaction may consist of a counterchallenge, a returned insult, by which the original challenger in his turn becomes siri'. It is never possible to determine precisely who "began." The mutual opposition is sometimes explained by an event from the past that is regarded as of great importance, for instance, a murder. But with that the question concerning the origin of the mutual opposition is merely put off.

There exists the possibility that the outdone person will [578] respond by stabbing. The consequence of outdoing can therefore never be foreseen. It remains charged with real danger. Many stabbing brawls in South Celebes are proof of that.

/212/ One of the most spectacular challenges is the theft 554 of cattle, horses, or buffalo. Its purpose is, in the first instance, 571 to show one's courage (kaporeanna); only in a few cases are 685 economic motives at the bottom of this. Sometimes a warning is uttered beforehand: "I am coming" (that is to say, "to [578] steal your buffalo"). Stealing cattle is done to find a reason for a brawl. A successful buffalo theft is considered a triumph and at the same time a challenge. A cattle theft at the expense of the prince is therefore a great insult.

554 /212 cont./ The idea that the person whose social
571 standing is attacked must react, because whoever does not
177 react is low in standing, has led at present to the relative popularity of various modern sports. The English idea in sports that one should be a "good loser" in everything is foreign to the Makassarese. To lose demands a reaction. One does not like to take part in a sport where everyone can directly see by the outcome who has won. In soccer matches standing is already harmed by the first opposing goal. The desire to score with a countering point thereby becomes so excessively great that both individual achievements as well as team play suffer from it. A trailing score is therefore difficult to equalize. Soccer circles in Macassar use this fact to point out that Makassarese have poor morale in competitive situations.

554 In the previous chapter we explained that a woman
558 may not lose any standing. Her position is a fixed point for
689 the men who are constantly outdoing each other. An impair-
627 ment of her standing immediately calls for the most violent reaction, namely, the death of the challenger. Whoever does not react is "matesiri'," that is to say, "socially dead." This is expressed by saying that such a person is no longer "of use," or that he is generally despised. Killing is used because what has happened is felt to be so bad that no other reaction is considered possible.

However, there are many reasons why a man in such a case prefers not to kill. Fear of the long prison sentence that awaits him or personal feelings of sympathy for the person who committed the transgression are among them. The tendencies to kill and not to kill are both present. And now their relationship is so much off balance that a man is not expected to go and find the person who made him siri' /213/ with the purpose of killing him, but to make a clearly observable attempt to do so in case of an encounter.

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an
558 attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number
689 of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise, in social standing is touched at the core through impairment of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

558 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women, and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the silariang complex. A number of its aspects will now be discussed.

684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings about siri', is always held against both man and woman. Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger. For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house, and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which
[583] therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated in the literature by "siliariang" marriage.

684 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for
627 contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only
588 be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who caused siri' in this way must be killed, because only in this way can the challenge be answered and the siri' feeling of the challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

554 /213 cont./ On this occasion there is always a superior,
588 functionary or someone of higher blood present, because only
627 then does an inferior control his siri' /214/ feelings. It would
684 be a great discourtesy to act according to one's own opinions against the wishes of a superior and on top of that in the superior's presence. In a conflict of impulses to kill or not to kill, the presence of the superior makes not killing acceptable.

A superior, however, cannot without further ado impose his will upon inferiors. More clearly than elsewhere there appear here the limits of power that a superior has over an inferior. Coercion on the part of the superior to bring about a reconciliation has as a consequence not only the fact that no reconciliation is brought about, but it even intensifies existing difficulties. Below, we shall see examples of this.

588 After reconciliation there is no more question of siri';
607 relationships are again normal. But during the entire period,
684 from the moment of the flight to the reconciliation, the relationships between the fleers, tumannjala ("people who have made a mistake"), and the wife's male kinsmen, the tumasiri' ("people who are siri'"), is bound to various rules. In practice there are many generally accepted ways of meeting the difficulties that have arisen through these siri' feelings, which will be described below. One repeatedly comes upon situations, or hears opinions defended by those involved, which are comprehensible only on the basis of ideas concerning challenging and killing. This does not mean that each silariang marriage is intended in the first place as a challenge, but it is regarded as such. Subsequent conduct is in accordance with it.

627 A man who has been made siri' by a violation of sexual
684 prohibitions is therefore expected to kill the one who has transgressed. But it is not a matter of indifference how this killing takes place. By preference, it must be done in a manner worthy of a man, that is to say, by a stab with a knife (badi') in the open.

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602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
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3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/," Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri', /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
114 great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status, nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

588 /231 cont./ Rappung shook hands with those present (a'djama taëng) in the order of rank and status, first the Imam [554 who urged him to go to his wife, who remained seated motion- 576] less. He just touched her hand. He then went to the two witnesses, first the oldest, then the Imam's younger brother, and finally to his two kinsmen who had come along.

The Imam opened the round copper box (kampu) in which the sunrang was contained. In it were: two kalomping (betel leaves folded in a special way), two pieces of areca nut, a few grains of rice, and 4.25 guldens. Of this, 0.25 gulden was designated for the Kali of Goa, and 0.25 gulden for each of the witnesses. The rest was for the Imam. And finally there was a small lump of earth symbolizing the sawah transferred as sunrang. The money was taken out of the box and distributed. Thereupon, the couple left, and with them their companions.

[493] Two three-wheeled bicycles with baskets (tallu roda) stood in readiness. Rappung and his wife sat down on the one in front. "They find it pleasant to sit close together" (nangai siampika), those on the second tallu roda shouted, but Djawi turned her back to him /232/ and by this demonstrative aversion showed that she knew how a just-married woman should behave.

Reconciliation

602 The reconciliation can be defined as the solemn arrival 627 of the two tumannjala together with the man's kinsmen and acquaintances at the house of the father or one of the brothers of the wife. There many of her kinsmen are gathered for the occasion. Wife and husband ask for forgiveness from all those present and offer the sunrang, the fine, and cookies.

622 The kampong head, or a higher functionary, is always 627 present on such an occasion. He is the one under whose authority the reconciliation comes about. In his presence the

155 /240 cont./ 1. For the ideas followed
867 here, see A. Kardiner,
The Individual and His
Society, fourth edition,
New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years
571 of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.
578 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle,
[685] and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

554/241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely de-
612 limited group and that the standing of relatives among each
684 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
689 found -- with one single exception: the karaëng and the
[562] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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During the festive meal in the pannjambungi, the men sit in rows according to their prestige. Pages 195-196 and 243. In the foreground one can see, among other things, the coconuts, whose contents will be poured over the bridal couple at their first common bath. Page 265.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 6]

noticeable in the Kepala kampong's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim. M 156 609

I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs, a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampong had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampong's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better. M 565 342 554

At the Karaëng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa". I 192

I asked Rahim about the Karaëng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i.e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaëng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes. M 156 554

I went back to the Karaëng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaëng as well as to the Kepala kampong. Rahim said that the Karaëng was ana tino [i.e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i.e., the nine electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought. M 124 565

The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him. M 124

Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were M 541 533 177

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy
having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the
gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of
boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only
to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood
clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circum-
cision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with
a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but
but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the out- 567
side they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 535
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are
none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including
two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to
have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the
line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have
the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble
The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere
chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-
way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles
and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

House status marks: little is known about the rules con- 342
cerned with the number of piles, but much is known about 114
the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written 554
in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me 565
say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now
too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew 773
most of the names and events in the legends of origin, includ- 591
ing the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose.

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline 177
in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the paka- 535
rena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices 527
came in. For example, one of the men said that they were 574
having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between 186
Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite 173
ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is 778
only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language 197
spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much 241
of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and 262
it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

M 565 Then there are four classes known together as merdeka, that is freemen.

7. tjera - anam
8. tjera - tudju
9. now no more
10. also now no more

M [567] Then from eleven on there are many kinds of slaves known as ata or hamba. And, slaves might have slaves! Thus there is rank even among the slaves.

M 565 554 The terms of address are: for radja, petah; and this term is used down to the fourth class of nobles, that of the tjera-tiga. For the fifth class, that is tjera-ampat, the term daeng is used and for the sixth class of nobles, that of the tjera-lima, the term pua. However, he said there was much variation, and that petah is used even among commoners. He said that the situation is even worse in the Makassarese area, where daeng, he said, means nothing any more as many people without particular rank in the noble classes use it. In the kampong

M 621 624 625 there are three subdivisions known as kampong ketjil: Bukaka, Tolangi, and Walena. There are four assistants known as seriang: three in Bukaka and one in Walena. There are five representatives known as wakil. They are like police.

C 631 I asked about the whole structure of the East Indonesian government and his uncertain statements went something like this: First is the negara [state, i.e., of East Indonesia]. The president is Sukawati, the premier, Anak Agung. There is then the Senate.

C [635] Second, there is the Daerah Sulawesi Selatan [District of South Celebes], at the head of which is the Ketua hadat tinggi (Arumpone). Then comes the Hadat tinggi comprised of fifteen radjas. From these a working committee of five members is formed. And finally there is the Dewan Sulawesi Selatan [South Celebes Council] consisting of four representatives from Bone.

C [634] Then there is the landschap [province], which makes the third division. The organization is as above and the Aru Pitu, the seven princes, are like a cabinet. They do not have a parliament yet but they have had elections and will soon sit. This body is called the Dewan Pertimbangan, consisting of twenty-one representatives.

The fourth cut is that of the wanua, with the thirty-one kepala wanua.

Finally, as the fifth division we have the kampong, headed by the kepala kampong and the assistant or seriang.

The new radja, chosen from [a certain] family, is selected

and where they have come from. For example, they tell 565
people that they were nobles where they came from. Here 567
is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power 178
of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there 696
were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. 681
If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They 567
became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they
have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is 626
a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember
it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any
event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would [684]
be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or 588
a woman who married or had something to do with a man of
lower status.

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social 557
sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale 565
by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. 556
The social classes are set.

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it 554
would be better to say that there is some. There are many 531
cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able
to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they
may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which
were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more
wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is
practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all
the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman
and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are
numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes,
terms of address, and manners.

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable 178
flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for 554
an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted 342
only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and 565
nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly 531
use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present.
As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the
"real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide
and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one
except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved
wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used
illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so
used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in
house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was
once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampong wears one. However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it. In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles. Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem to be alternates of all sorts. They call me padika tuan, as I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone. (This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Makassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was formerly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when approaching their superiors or when passing them. They squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with them. They wait until they are asked a question. And every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the Kepala kampong meets me or says goodbye he holds our right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very best place. The Kapala kampong and other common guests sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked the Kepala kampong who was waiting in the car to come onto the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed [791]
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
]day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 554
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 782
They said that women have two stones, and men only one! 796
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included 541
ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat 728
the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. 642
Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), 634
Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba,
and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over.
This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who [562]
sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English.
Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the [793]
opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre- [838]
Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were
plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong.
He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the 567
Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in 554
the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed
about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves
of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they
were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to
a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of
his status.

2: Wilken--266 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10
Makassar OG6
Toradja OG11
Gorontolo OG4

[223 cont.]

000 a. Haircutting (1)

1. For more detailed information see G.A.Wilken, "Ueber das Haaropfer und einige andere Trauergebräuche bei den Völkern Indonesiëns," Revue Col. Internationale, Vol. IV, pp. 391 f.

Mn I 852 302 A no less important ceremony, one that once even had religious significance, is the first haircut of the young child, which takes place with more or less ceremony among practically all peoples, the pagans as well as the Mohammedans. We point first to the Minangkabau Malays, who call this operation mĕmangkegombaq, the cutting of the gombaq, the locks of hair. These Malays have the custom of shearing the heads of their children completely bare, except for two tufts that remain, sometimes combed and sometimes plaited and decorated with quarters [coins] [224] or amulets. These locks are cut off during the mĕmangkegombaq, which is accompanied by festivities lasting several days, and afterwards the locks are wrapped in yellow cotton and taken to the father's house. A similar ceremony takes place in Lebong and in the Palembang Highlands.

MK 852 302 554 Among the Buginese and Makassarese, too, the hair of a child is cut ceremoniously when it reaches the age of one, two, or more years, and if the child is a prince, this is done with thrice seven shears. If the child is lower in rank, but of royal blood, then only twice seven shears are required, and for children of lesser rank the number of shears is proportionately reduced; for the lowest class one pair of shears is enough for the operation.

Tr G 852 302 This custom is likewise found among the pagan tribes of the central part of Celebes, as well as among the inhabitants of Bolaäng Mongondou. The latter preserve the hair in a coconut shell, as is also done by the Gorontalese. They hang the shell in front of the house above the steps, where it remains until it falls down of its own accord.

B [416 cont.]

565 Among the Batak, too—as a reminder, they are divided
554 into two standings, the namora-mora and the halak na djadji—
551 the custom of assuming a galar exists. They have probably adopted it from the Malays, although in a different form. The differentiation into galar pusaka and galar muda does not exist here, and there is only one kind, which is like the galar muda and is used with the nama kètè. It also consists of two parts, the title and the description. The usual title is dja, an abbreviation of radja, for example, Dja porkis, Dja langit, etc. The galar here, however, is not limited to the nobility, but is borne by many of the common people, especially by the well-to-do. [417] The namora-mora, and particularly those who are closely related to the sovereign, change the galar in later life, when assuming office, when marrying, etc., for another whose title is baginda, sutan, mangaradja, pertuwan, etc., as follows: Pertuwan sangkupan, Sutan ganga alam, etc. Often two titles are combined, such as Sutan mangaradja, Djona alam, etc. The title of the galar usually stays in the family [geslacht] in the sense that it passes from father to grandson. If the father has the title pertuwan, then his son is not pertuwan, but sutan, the grandson pertuwan, the great-grandson sutan, etc. Persons without a title have si in front of their name.

e. Celebes

MK
565 Among the Buginese and Makassarese, too, the nobility
643 is quite sharply distinguished from the common class. Members
[562] of the royal family have the title karaëng among the Makassarese, and arung or patta or opis among the Buginese. Both titles are borne by men and women. The ruling sovereigns, male and female, have such titles, but with the addition of mágaú Bug. and mangkaú Mak., thus, karaëng mágaú and arung mangkaú. Princes
MK and princesses of high birth who may be considered for the succes-
[554] sion are called patola instead of karaëng or arung. There is a

[417 cont.]

565 number of titles for the other princes and royal persons, but we
643 shall not discuss them here. The most common title for a noble
554 person who does not belong to the royal family is daëng among both peoples. This title originally indicated someone of high birth, but later it was assumed out of self-conceit and lost much of its importance. Buginese and Makassarese who have a right to this title, however, are very proud of it, and when they have risen to some office, they would rather be addressed as daëng than by their official title. Daëng is also a title for women. A native always addresses his wife and older sisters by it, unless they are of royal blood, thus are karaëng. Another noble title, although less exalted than daëng, is the Makassarese [418] kare. We have already seen how people from the common class are addressed.

643 Just as we have noted for the Javanese and Sumatran
293 sovereigns, every ruling sovereign here has his decorations, called kalompuang, or the so-called ornaments. They consist of various objects, such as long krises, guns, shields, badju rante = coat of mail, betel boxes with cuspidors, parasols, etc. Among all the objects, however, one is the most important. It is called gangkang and is generally a strange sort of thing that according to tradition was found in a mysterious way where the seat of the state was established. Thus, there is a gangkang that is a wild tuber of peculiar shape; another one is a small golden
793 image, and in still another one can recognize an old, worn-out
778 paintbrush. All these ornaments, and the gangkang in particular, are venerated; feasts are even given in their honor. Also, priests are appointed to take care of them.

643 The sovereign derives his authority from those ornaments.
778 For example, to remove the sovereign during a revolt, an at-
669 tempt is made to gain possession of the ornaments. If this succeeds, he has been virtually deprived of his authority.

7:Alisjahbana E-3 (1952-1953)1954 OB1 Indonesia OB1
(ca. 1900) Sundanese OE7
Makasser OG6

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consisted of many objects, such as kris (creases), banners, spears, shields. A group of golden ornaments, called the upatjara, were carried in a procession at the celebration of Garebeg. (See above.) These regalia were collectively called pusaka. Almost each item had a specific function, such as to avert epidemics, droughts, etc.[3]

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The regalia of the Buginese and the Makassarese, called the gaukang were believed to have similar characteristics. Here it was a general belief that the regalia was the basis of the ruler's power. Without these regalia, a Makassarese or Buginese ruler would not be able to come to power.[4]

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The regents, the highest nobility in the Prijangan, also possessed regalia. Ordinarily it consisted of kris, betelnut-sets, statues, shields, umbrellas, etc. and it was hereditary within the family. These hereditary ornaments were called pusaka too; a special room was customarily kept apart for them. Although these pusaka were treated with reverent care, the Makassarese and Buginese concept of the regalia's power did not exist.

Dutch sources pointed out that during the early contacts with the native chiefs, the pusakas were displaced on almost all occasions. In some areas they were also carried in a procession with the aim of blessing the tjatjah. In some areas the water with which the pusaka was cleaned was believed to possess curing power.

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3. J. P. Duyvendak, Inleiding tot de Ethnologie van de Indonesische Archipel. (Groningen/Batavia: J. B. Wolters, 1946).

4. H. J. Friedericy, "De Standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie, vol. 90 (1933), pp. 448-602.

123 /9 cont. / to look and listen. Everything that the investigator is able to carry out on top of just listening and looking without causing any damage during this time is pure gain.

Introduction

The investigator is a foreign element in the community to which he comes to work. The relationship to the individuals in his environment must constantly be adjusted. There are some manners which they accept from him. There are also manners which they find so troublesome, especially after a while, that his contact and thus his work suffers from it. Frequently the first month is decisive in this. Hence a person who feels free to show his disapproval of the stranger's behavior in a way that is comprehensible to the stranger is the best mentor.

As a Dutch official I was regarded as a high guest in Macassar
[554 country. It is discourteous to display one's disapproval of his
576] conduct to a higher person; this violates the profoundest feelings. My gratitude toward my mentor is therefore so great precisely because his personality was dynamic enough to allow him to be a bad Makassare in the sense that, contrary to his feelings, he nevertheless pointed out my mistakes.

Initially I laughed too loud and talked too loud, for loud
[517 talking and laughing really occur only when several men are
555] together. Then one of them likes to tell tall or absurd stories because the person who can do this well raises his standing. I
123 learned that as a male guest I belonged in the parlor and that I
574 could not walk through the back; that I could ask men or boys, and possibly also older women, something, but that young girls
[562 and newly married women landed in difficulties if I so much as
576] greeted them, because this is enough to point to a "contact" with the stranger, which is forbidden. I noticed that somebody constantly kept me company and found this troublesome. Only later did it become apparent that this belongs to the ordinary courtesies observed toward a guest. /10/ A Makassarese does not like to be alone and therefore believes that his guest would also find this unpleasant.

587 /36 cont./ relationship is to be conceived as salimara'.
835 Defining it as salimara' means that such relationship is considered in connection with the bad consequences for the country. It signifies that such a relationship is found "very bad."

Household Tasks

462 Rice pounding, weaving, and cooking are female occupations par excellence. However they are not entirely
[592] household affairs.

For the 129 houses, 75 blocks for pounding rice were
252 592 counted (2). On the average, therefore, more than one rice-

[556]

2. The Kapala group is relatively the richest: for 81 houses it numbered 53 blocks. The Mangenre group numbered 7 for 18 houses, and the Rest group 15 for 30 houses.

pounding block exists for every two houses. The blocks lie near the houses. A house apart has its own block, but where the houses are close together, as is usual where the inhabitants are close relatives of each other, there one block may be used jointly by as many as three houses. Common use of one and the same block is a matter of course where the /37/ users are kinsmen. It attains the nature of a favor if this is not the case.

It is safe to assume that around 20 years ago, at a time
286 592 when sarongs were still woven at home in greater numbers than is the case today, the number of looms was also greater. Then each house probably possessed one loom apiece. At that time it would, therefore, have been possible to contend that sarong weaving was a family affair. In 1948, 101 looms were counted for 129 houses (1), a number of women no longer have

462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The 462 household always constitutes the center of these activities. 592 Male members of the household work together at these jobs. [476] Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a single house are insufficient for a certain job.

By no means does every house have its own plow. 241 592 Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

[556]

1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangenre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

[602] is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

[609 427] although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

476 Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each 602 other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

592 /39 cont./ cases without children, or only a few as yet. Furthermore, such houses are occupied by a widow whose husband died before the reconciliation necessary after a marriage by flight and by a number of other such cases.
512 There exists a clear preference for kinsmen living together
602 in one house, and an aversion to non-kinsmen living together.
609 In the latter case there soon develops a relationship of followers (2), and that is disliked by those who realize that they will

2. See pp. 52 ff.

be in a lower place. Lonely parents who in a large related group would have been taken into the house of a nephew or niece now continue to live by themselves. They, together with the couples who fled and married, reduce the mean population per house.

The number of endogamous marriages appears to be higher
582 in the Kapala group than in the Rest group. In the Kapala
602 group, 79 endogamous marriages were registered (around 89 per cent) as against 10 marriages with strangers (around 11 per cent). In the Rest group these figures were: 15 endogamous marriages (around 45 per cent) as against 13 marriages with strangers (around 46 per cent).

612 It was noted that the Kapala group was better provided with rice blocks, weaving looms, and plows. The first and
556 last-mentioned objects are directly connected with the sawah area. The average sawah property of the Kapala group members is greater than that of the Rest group members (3).

3. See p. 52.

These figures, however, for the moment prove no more than that the members of the Kapala group have more goods than those of the Rest group.

Compared with the Rest group, therefore, we see the Kapala group as the more cohesive and wealthier one, in which

612 /39 cont./ living is more comfortable. The tendency toward
556 joining the Kapala group can be demonstrated. Integration is stronger there.

To be affiliated with a large related group seems to offer
612 only advantages. There is, however, another phenomenon which suggests the opposite. /40/ Members of the Kapala
[166] group appear to move away repeatedly. This fact cannot be discussed, however, until the relationship of the related group to the land has first been described.

The Relationship to the Land

612 The relationship of the related group to the land was
423 characterized as that of a group whose members live together in the same territory and work the land. This characterization will now be elaborated upon. The majority of kampong residents do seem to have land in the kampong where they reside, but a number of them in addition have land in other kampongs.

Some figures will be presented at this point to illustrate the relationship of people to land. The average landownership of Bontoramba residents within their territory amounts to 23 ares of sawah land and 56 ares of dry land per house. In addition to land in Bontoramba, some Bontoramba residents also own land in other kampongs. If one adds these figures to the first, then it appears that the average landownership per house in Bontoramba amounts to 54 ares of sawah land and 69 ares
[162] of dry land. The average number of persons per house is 6.04 (1).

1. Figures concerning land date from 1949. The average number of residents per house that year amounted to 6.04 as against 6.1 in 1948.

423 /40 cont./ Some variations should be introduced into
612 these figures. Broken down by the Kapala, Mangenre, and
556 Rest groups they are:

Kapala group:	77 ares sawah land
	88 ares dry land
Mangenre group:	6 ares sawah land
	66 ares dry land
Rest group:	23 ares sawah land
	22 ares dry land

These figures thus indicate the average per house for these three groups, which consist of 81, 19, and 33 houses respectively (2).

[171]

2. In the Indish Verslag /(Dutch East) Indies Report/ of 1941, Part 2, p. 264, the average area of arable land of the native population for Java and Madura (in 1940) is given as: 0.072 hectare of sawah land and 0.096 hectare of dry land per capita. This is a little less than was found in Bontoramba (0.088 hectare of sawah land and 0.113 hectare of dry land per capita).

/41/ The noticeably low figure for the sawah land in the Mangenre group is not directly explainable. We shall return to this point below.

[592] Not all houses have landowners. In the Kapala group, landowners live in 73 of the 81 houses; in the Mangenre group, in 7 of the 19 houses; and in the Rest group they live in 14 of the 33 houses.

The members of the Kapala group are thus clearly rich in land compared with those of the two other groups. Among

423
556 /41 cont./ them landownership is also more regularly
612 distributed over the various houses.

It appeared that the few houses of the Kapala group without landowners were homes of younger people who worked the lands of their parents or an older brother and who received a part of the harvested crop in exchange for this. The Mangenre group and the Rest group include warong owners /shop-keepers/, the bicycle repairman, merchants, and "porters." The last named are men who transport goods for
[482 another person to a distant pasar and who receive their wages
465] partly in money and partly in goods. Several of them do not own any land.

Those who own land outside Bontoramba live scattered over 57 of the total of 133 houses (1); 53 of these 57 are

1. In 54 houses there are people who own only sawah land elsewhere, in 14 those who own only dry land elsewhere. In 11 houses, therefore, there are people who own both sawahs as well as dry land.

occupied by members of the Kapala group, 4 by those of the Rest. According to these figures people of the Mangenre group do not seem to have land anywhere outside Bontoramba. It may well be that these figures are incorrect, probably too low, especially as regards the Mangenre group. The land-tax administration registered the names of landowners in each kampong, and it would thus be necessary to go through all the land-tax registers of South Celebes (there are a few thousand of them) in order to state with certainty that no other land than that reported are held by Bontoramba residents. And it is just among the individuals of the Mangenre group that one might expect to find that they have more land in their homeland of Pangkadjene (2).

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/41 cont./ 2. This suggestion is based both upon the figures following below for kampong Pakatto, the homeland of the Kapala group, as well as upon the impression obtained in the colonists' kampongs.

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/42/ I limited my investigation to the registers of the remaining kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë. In only 7 of these 13 were names of Bontoramba residents encountered by me. The distribution was as follows:

	Sawah Land	Dry Land	Number of Sawah-land Owners	Number of Dry-land Owners
Pagentungang.	1,432 ares	--	48	--
Songkolo . . .	280 ares	354 ares	4	5
Buttadidi . . .	684 ares	37 ares	23	3
Borong	308 ares	904 ares	6	8
Tjambaja. . .	1,428 ares	798 ares	21	5
Pakatto. . . .	514 ares		4	
Parang Banua.	54 ares		2	(1)

1. In Indonesian landholding statistics land held in mortgage or as security was always included.

A glance at the map shows that the first three kampongs border on Bontoramba, and that the fourth is situated very close to it. Kampong Pakatto was already mentioned as the one from which many of the present-day Bontoramba residents are derived;

423 /43 cont./ noteworthy that of these 20 landowners, 12 lived in
471 kampong Romangpolong situated very close to Bontoramba, where the Kapala of Bontoramba has a large number of kinsmen.

471 The following figures indicate how the sawah land is distributed over the various houses.

556 The inhabitants of 25 out of the total of 133 houses own
612 more than 1 hectare of sawah land. Twenty-one of these are houses belonging to the Kapala group, and 4 belong to the Rest. The inhabitants of 8 of these 25 houses own more than 2 hectares, and of these, 7 belong to the Kapala group, 1 to the Rest. Only one man has more than 3 hectares; in fact, he owns 7.5 hectares of sawah land. He owes this to his own abilities.

The relationship of individuals to their land, as is apparent from these figures, may therefore be stated quite simply. The administrative kampong boundaries (2) do not appear to be

[622]

2. The kapala collects the taxes on all land located in his kampong territory. He takes care that all men who live there and are able to perform work carry out their services. He reports offences committed in his district, etc.

relevant to the location of land which belongs to kampong residents. Landownership is not restricted by kampong territory.

311 The distance from the living quarters to the fields is,
423 generally speaking, small. The land of the majority of people is located in their own kampong and in one of the kampongs adjoining it. Those who owned land in Tjambaja also had land in Bontoramba itself. This shows that people do not purchase or work /44/ land at a greater distance away until they already own some in their immediate vicinity. The exchange of land
437 between people having land in each other's kampong of residence,
425 with the intention that both will have a piece of land close by, instead of one far removed from their house, occurs regularly.

428 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through
471 inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong
602

1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there-
[241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

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2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes, goats, horses) among the three groups is as follows:

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one
471 individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more
558 than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be re-
556 garded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

471 /44 cont./ In kampong Borongpalala, for instance, the total
556 sawah area amounts to approximately 450 hectares. The area of dry land is very insignificant here. Of these 450 hectares, around 160 hectares are in the hands of residents of Borongpalala, and around 290 are in the hands of people who live outside Borongpalala. Approximately 3 hectares of the latter amount belong to a number of small farmers of the Bontoramba type. The rest, almost 290 hectares therefore, belongs to a few kinsmen of the Prince /45/ of Goa, who in part live in kampong Karuisi 15 kilometers away from Borongpalala, and in part in Bone, 250 to 300 kilometers away. This kampong is clearly acquainted with large landownership. Deputies (koasa) of the large landowners direct operations there and collect the proceeds. These conditions will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Harvest Ritual

241 The tie between kampong residents and their land finds
346 expression at the harvest festival, which is held at a certain
778 place in the kampong territory, "the Lord of the Land" (Patanna pa'rasanganga) so-called. At this spot stands an old mango tree, and at its foot lie a few large, flat stones. Next to it a "little house" (saukang) has been built. It rests on four posts; the floor, 1.5 square meters, is about 1.0 meter above the ground; the walls are composed of completely transparent braiding; atop leaves serve as roof covering. In the center a fifth post extends about 20 centimeters through the floor, and this is called the "lopped-off house post" (benteng polong). Tree, stones, and the little house together form an important element of the sawah ritual. Usually, both before the planting as well as after the harvest, but also on other occasions of the rice growing, offerings are presented there, coupled with simple and essentially household festivities. Only the harvest festival will be described here.

162 /167 cont./ Borongloë. In the 1930 Census Report (2)
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2. Part 5, pp. 70-71.

figures for polygamous men in the province of /168/ Goa are not mentioned separately. With respect to the Macassar subdivision outside the community, it is stated that the percentage of "adult polygamously married men" is low, in this case below 2. Now, if we estimate the number of men in Borongloë at 6, 400, and the number of married men at a quarter of this, 1, 600, then the percentage for Borongloë would be more than 2. This could still be reduced further. For among the 34 polygamously married men there are 7 foreigners, to wit, 3 Indochinese, each married to two Makassarese women, 3 Buginese, and 1 Sajjid /sayid?/. The latter, who came from a kampong situated along the southern coast outside Goa, returned there as early as 1941. Of the remaining 27, it can be said that they were natives of Borongloë.

595 For four of these 27 polygamous marriages, the second marriage was carried out in the festive way. In the other 23 cases it took place after silariang. Of these four one involved the exceptional case that an approximately sixty-year-old, comparatively poor man married, with the assent of his first wife, a young girl, who subsequently came to live in the same house with them. The other three were "normal" [556] cases in which a well-to-do man with a certain personal authority contracted a second marriage against the wishes of his first wife and had a separate house built for this second wife.

In three of the 34 cases, a man was married to three women. Two of these men, the Sajjid and a Makassarese, had been able to carry out their second, as well as their third, marriages, only by means of silariang. The third, the adat community head, had himself arranged his second and third marriage.

S 691 683 578 828 Then I remembered a night in Makale hearing Karaëng Djongala (whom I met again, remarkably, on a trip in Makale, and found to be not a bad fellow at all, and now speaking Dutch) and de Boer comparing notes regarding legal cases. De Boer said eighty cases a month was not at all uncommon, while the Karaëng said that in his place in Makale there were perhaps twenty, mainly knifings.

A police fellow and the Controleur said that there was much irrational knifing here too. The pattern seems to run something like this. First people become panas hati [literally, hot livered, i.e., hot tempered--Analyst], then they kill someone, and finally become all right. They consider themselves not to be criminals, but victims of unbearable emotion, and thus not really criminals.

M 212 871 556 Regarding literacy, Andi said that the percentage of literates here now is about 27 per cent, and this is used by him as a reason for not taking over democracy for a long time. This in turn might enable them to maintain control just as the Dutch did. However, they are setting up schools rapidly, and so are slitting their own throats. Maybe they are sincere, but I look for trouble. As for schools I asked a number of questions today (my last day in Bone this trip). There are village schools for the first three years. Then students may go on to a continuing school in town, in Bukaka which is not far away. Or they may enter the sekolah agama [(Islamic) religious school], in which religion and Arabic are taught. The sekolah agama is located in the village. I got the feeling that these religious schools are losing out in competition with town schools. Only the rich can afford to go beyond the second year high school level, as it is necessary to go to Makassar. I asked about the poor and they said there were no scholarships, so they were usually only able to attend the desa schools. Beyond that they might possibly go to the sekolah agama. In Watampone the breakdown is something like this. There are six years of primary schooling offered followed by four years of middle instruction. After these ten years, if a further education is desired, students must go to Makassar. There is a normal school in Watampone for desa school teachers, but for higher normal training one must go to Makassar. Thus there seems to be the same problem as in the United States. There is a need for schools in every town and at all levels because the poor cannot pay room and board in big towns away from home. This leads on to the question of the poor again (I always stress the factor of social mobility in America). The village folks said there were many poor people. They usually live with richer (though none are really rich) people in the houses of the latter and work for

M 556 465 651 735 567

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua.

M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads.

M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside stand-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over"

M 471 443 563

M 461 463

C 647 563 152 829

621 the border of wanua Palaka, kampong Tjabalu on the west,
it is four kilometers also. This western part is thus a
632 square. On the east side of the road, along the Watampone
101 border, it is only six hundred meters along the street to
131 the Ta border. But then the east border sweeps eastward in
102 a long curve so that on the northern side along the border of
Tjelapa, the northern border runs two kilometers from the
main road. (See rough map, page 46, field notes)[P.266 here]

871 There are two schools in Bukaka, one a religious school
435 and the other a village school. They are near the Watampone
border on the main road, or just off it. There are also ten
556 private Koran schools. There are about six hundred hadjis
here. I met one, a smug young man. And I teased him about
being one of the few rich men in town, but he said that it was
perhaps, if the family resources were pooled, six thousand
guilders. He remarked that ten thousand guilders was really
a great fortune here. Incidentally, the Sulewatang said that
the high figures given for the old days were somewhat off.
Prices were overvalued.

131 In the wanua, running eastward to the sea from Bukaka, are
361 the kampongs Penyula and Ta side by side; then Paopao,
Tibodjong (very small) and Tamaüsing, side by side; then
Toro, Tjelu, Lapobatua, Biru, and Palingorung, all side by
side (the latter two jut out to the south); then Badjoë and Maloi,
side by side (the former on the sea, the latter juts out to the
south); and finally, along the curve of the sea, Rompe. I for-
got to say that these really do not jut out, as Watampone is
also part of the wanua and it is to the south of Bukaka, Ta,
Tamaüsing. Thus the appearance seems to be roughly that
621 of a triangle. Aside from Watampone, each of the fifteen
kampongs has a kepala kampong. And within each of the kam-
pongs there are varying numbers of hamlets. Thus Bukaka
has three, Penyula has one, Ta three, Paopao two, Tibodjong
one, Tamaüsing one, Lapobatua one. I could not get any
information on the other kampongs, but will find out later. The
biggest kampongs, in order, are: Tjelu, Bukaka, Badjoë.
Others are small. Bukaka is the oldest.

368 The big misigit [mesjid, mosque] is used by Bukaka, Ta,
and Watampone. Other kampongs having misigit are: Penyula,
Badjoë, Paopao, Lapobatua, and Palingorung, thus there are
six in all.

632 In Bone, Andi says, there are twenty-one wanua. Seven
565 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, how-
ever, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua
there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

and where they have come from. For example, they tell 565
people that they were nobles where they came from. Here 567
is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power 178
of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there 696
were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. 681
If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They 567
became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they 626
have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is
a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember
it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any
event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would [684]
be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or [588]
a woman who married or had something to do with a man of
lower status.

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social 557
sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale 565
by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. 556●
The social classes are set.

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it 554
would be better to say that there is some. There are many 531
cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able
to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they
may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which
were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more
wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is
practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all
the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman
and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are
numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes,
terms of address, and manners.

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable 178
flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for 554
an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted 342
only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and 565
nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly 531
use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present.
As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the
"real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide
and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one
except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved
wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used
illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so
used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in
house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was
once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

582 612 /22 cont./ to which the parent-child relationship counts as one degree; brothers are therefore related in the second degree, and cousins /neven, French cousin/ in the fourth degree, and so on.

582 583 If one pursues the reasons why these 10 married outside their related group, it appears that in 5 cases the marriage occurred after the couple had carried out silariang (2). In

2. A marriage by flight. For details of this, see Chapter III, third part.

this case the individuals concerned do not pay any attention to the existence of kin group ties. In the 5 other cases, the 557 582 reason always given was that the strangers belonged to groups of relatives with which /23/ the older generation who brought about the marriages gladly entered into marriage ties in view of their social standing.

In 2 of these 5 cases, a female member of the related group married a stranger. In the other 3 cases, a man married a girl from outside. In the chapter on status we shall return to the marriage policy carried out by the older people. At present it is only necessary to point out that no special preference to marry either a boy or a girl outside the related group can be indicated, but rather that closer attention is paid with a girl than with a boy that she does not marry someone who is regarded to be even a trifle below her in standing.

582 The statement that the related group is endogamous signifies, therefore, that marriages are by preference contracted between kinsmen, but it says nothing further concerning the kinship connections which are regarded as important in this

186 /61 cont./ but the majority are only interested in owning
563 land back in the homeland.

Language and common residence strengthen, at least for the time being, the integration of the colonists.

The Worship Community

612 The Makassarese related group was defined as a group of
769 relatives whose members worship their ancestors at places and times designated for this purpose.

Participation in ancestor worship is linked to kinship. For instance, one whose grandparents were not related to each other, and whose two pairs of grandparents were not related to each other either, belongs to four different groups of relatives and may participate in the ancestor worship of all four different groups. In practice, an individual participates primarily in the worship of the group with which he lives. But he may also share in that of his kinsmen, even if he does
[557] not have daily contact with them. His choice in this is determined to a great degree by the social standing of these kinsmen. There is a demonstrable preference among people to turn to the prominent members of the related group in ritual matters.

769 Here we will first describe the most significant aspects of the ritual. Subsequently, we will make comparisons with the ornament ritual.

Essentials of the Ritual

In spite of local differences and despite personal viewpoints of the person carrying out the ritual, the pinati (1), there is

1. See pp. 82, 83.

a high degree of uniformity in the ritual prescriptions. A number of elements are to be found everywhere, such as rice, oil, incense, and water. Some actions /62/ are carried

557 /83 cont./ A certain equality of marriage partners is
581 assumed. One who has gone up in standing through personal qualities and who on the basis of this is able to marry off one of his children to a member of a group that is actually regarded as a little higher has attained the highest goal. It becomes apparent to everyone that through this marriage he has risen in standing. The standing that he has thus built up is, as it were, fixed by this circumstance. In a later social evaluation of his children, his achievement is used as a basis of judgment. His kinsmen honor in him the man who has raised the standing of their group, for as kinsmen they are, and remain in principle, his equals and thus rise with him. Compared with other
[585] festivals of the Makassarese, wedding feasts are the most valuable in view of the economic capacity of the group. More than any others, they are the gauge of social standing.

584 The choice of a marriage partner is an affair which cannot
557 be left to the young people themselves. It is a matter for the elders and, preferably, the prominent elders of the group of relatives. They look for what they consider the best solution; they weigh and balance the possibilities, and through their collaboration the marriages finally come about. In all this, a certain marriage policy is apparent.

In the marriage policy of the elders, two opposing
557 tendencies are to be found. On the one hand, there exists
581 the striving for a closely cohesive related group whose members
612 marry each other as much as is possible. On the other hand, there is the striving to establish relations with members of other groups of relatives, preferably those who rank just a little higher. A successful policy is achieved by the person who is able to realize his aim in both directions and who, at the same time, /84/ is able to bring about harmony between the two. Those who constitute the average in the group of relatives as regards their social standing, soon satisfy themselves with the first-mentioned aim. The prominent members of the group tend, rather, to direct their interests outside their own group.

557 /84 cont./ The marriage policy of the elders is, therefore,
581 to be regarded as a part of their striving toward raising the
612 standing of the group. As an example we shall here give the policy conducted by the adat community head of Borongloe in bringing about the seven marriages of his children solemnized between 1938 and 1948. The marriage policy is never formulated in this form. Those who conduct it are not conscious of it. They merely do what seems best to them in given circumstances.

The adat community head himself was married to a daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community, situated outside the kingdom of Goa. His eldest son was the first to be married, to a girl from this group of relatives, a sixth-degree cousin. The already existing tie with his wife's kin group was thereby strengthened.

His second son was married to the daughter of a well-known tradesman, a hadji, from Macassar, a business contact and at the same time an old friend with whom he had made an agreement at an early age to have their children marry later. When this marriage appeared to be rather unsuccessful after a number of years, it was dissolved. A new marriage was subsequently contracted with the daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community. In this case a member of the Self-government of Goa gave his cooperation.

The third son, who was employed as a provincial official in Buginese country, married there after his own choice. Such an alternative will be described later.

The fourth, as a favor to his father, had been taken, as a young man into his house by a member of the Self-government of the kingdom of Goa, who had subsequently arranged a marriage with the daughter of one of his other favorites, a wealthy Buginese merchant. The father had, in effect, given this son to the member of the Goa Self-government. He had no further influence on the latter's choice of a marriage partner.

557 /84 cont./ The fifth child, a girl, married her eighth-
581 /85/ degree cousin, a grandson of the old Imam of Borongloë.
612 In so doing, the kin-group tie with the first religious official of the adat community was established on a firmer basis.

The members of the adat community head's widespread group of relatives reside in almost three kampong territories. The sixth child, again a son, married the daughter of the head of one of these kampongs. In this case the adat community head and the kampong head were first cousins.

Finally, the seventh child, a girl, married one of her sixth-degree cousins residing in one of these other kampongs.

584 On the basis of this example, a number of comments can
612 be made.

1. The adat community head, the father, was in this case the central figure who brought about the various marriages of his children. But this is not necessarily always so. If one witnesses several weddings successively in various houses of the same kampong and in one and the same related group, one will be struck by the fact that in each case the same elders are instrumental in arranging all details of the ceremonies. The parent concerned is consulted, but the actual leadership is in the hands of others. The same seems to be the case, if one investigates who brought the marriage partners together. The matter, to be sure, is discussed with the children's own parents, but it is of such importance to the related group that it cannot simply be left to them. If they make suggestions, these are taken into account. If they come to talk, they are given advice. But if they do nothing, other prominent members of the group take the initiative.

584 2. Just as the marriage of the fourth son was organized,
565 regulated, and paid for by a member of the high nobility, the adat community head in his turn likewise brought about a large number of marriages of his subordinates in the course of the years, sometimes after they had made their preference apparent to him, sometimes on his own initiative (1).

565 /90 cont./ of his subjects approaching too closely his and
583 that of his kinsmen. The differences must continue to exist.
602 Everyone is convinced of this.

A number of observations can be made in relation to these
554 data.

583 1. It appears that in stating the reasons why /91/ a certain sunrang is paid at a certain wedding, the primary consideration concerns the woman. "The sunrang of the woman may never go down," it is often said. This means that the sunrang of a girl may never be lower than that which was paid for her mother. At the wedding of a woman to a lower man -- the exceptional case will be discussed below -- the latter always pays the sunrang of the woman. In addition, he makes a large number of other extra payments. In the case of the marriage of a man to a lower woman, the man's party likewise frequently pays the sunrang that is customary in the woman's group. Sometimes, however, the man wants it to be apparent that he is very favorably inclined towards his in-laws, and then he pays the sunrang customary in his own group, but this is a favor on his part. In the ordinary case, that is to say, at a wedding between two people who are regarded as equals in standing, the woman is, as it were, the gauge of value of her group. Her sunrang must not go down because her standing, which finds its most important expression in the sunrang, must not go down thereby, since this would lower, in turn the standing of her group of relatives.

554 2. Being a follower (1) appears to be a reason for raising
557
602
583

1. See pp. 133 ff.

the sunrang above the level of the group to which this follower belongs, another example showing that being a follower raises a person's standing.

554 3. The office of kampong head appears to be a reason
583 for receiving a higher sunrang for one's sister and daughter.
[622]

554 /92 cont./ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
654 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
554 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of
578 this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage
602 candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang,
557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
602

582
583 /93 cont./ 1. Not, if one asks this
557 information of the Prince.
602 He gives the list as it is
fixed by him. But
lower people are less positive.

can only be understood on the basis of the conflict of tendencies indicated above. The amount of the sunrang is never completely fixed. A small increase is always possible, so people do not like to be rigid about certain marriage possibilities within the group of relatives. There are, to be sure, always kinsmen with whom a closer tie is not desired at that moment. [554] Where people proudly point to their extensive kin group, this does not signify mutual equality of the members, but it is a sign of social standing, and people do like to talk about that.

In the previous chapter it became apparent that marriages 582 between kinsmen of the eighth degree occur regularly, and 602 those between relatives of the tenth degree, very rarely. There is, therefore, a point at which the knowledge of the kin relationship has disappeared, namely, when for three successive generations no marriages have been contracted between the descendants of two brothers and/or sisters. If this fact is considered in relation to the preference for endogamy among the prominently placed kinsmen, then one can see how it is possible that some gradually drop from the circle of those known as kinsmen, through the lack of desired personal qualities or through a poorly executed marriage policy. /94/ If someone likes a kinsman of the sixth degree, and both of them allow their children to marry, this ties remote lines together, and the striving for a cohesive group of kinsmen has then been realized. But if such a marriage (between eighth-degree male and female cousins) does not come about, this means that a small number of individuals come to be separated from this large group and are either absorbed into another group or else continue to lead their own life as a small group. In the

554 /100 cont./ A favorite's daughter who temporarily resides
565 in the house of her father's master may learn to make little
576 cakes of a certain name and form, known only among the higher people. In that house she also learns the forms of social intercourse observed among household members and at daily meals. Upon returning home, her altered manners are immediately conspicuous. She addresses her mother only in a soft tone of voice, she does not eat as ravenously as the others, and she conducts herself completely like a well-brought up girl from the better social circles. At least in the beginning, she is also treated differently from the other children. "She bears the sign of daëng X" (2), it is said

2. Bata piarana daëng X, literally, "the etiquette of nurture by daëng X."

[582 approvingly of her. As a result, she has a chance of a better
557] marriage, that is to say, of a marriage to a higher man than any of her sisters would be entitled to, since they did not enjoy the privilege of staying temporarily in the house of daëng X.

/101/ When the seven-year-old son of my host offered me cigarettes and when he came to tell me that dinner was ready, he briefly dropped to his knees in so doing. This is a custom completely unknown in his father's group of relatives and borrowed from the karëng's kin group in whose house the father had lived in his early years. The custom was then taught to the son. The father laughed happily; "He knows his manners," and by this he meant that his son had appropriated good manners, namely of those who are higher. It is a sign of politeness to treat a higher guest with his own forms of social intercourse. The lower person who shows that he is familiar with these forms gains in standing in so doing. If this were to become a daily practice, his conduct would be

178 /105 cont./ followers manifested itself have changed. The
571 general characteristics to be met with today are the following:

The higher person is connected with a number of lower ones, his people. The latter work his sawahs in the broadest sense of the word, that is to say, from the first tilling to the delivery of sheaves at his house. They take care of his maize gardens and guard his langsap trees when they bear fruit. They run errands for him in the pasars; they carry wood and water for daily use, do repairs on the house, manufacture the common utensils from bamboo or wood, and finally assist at a festival held by their master by performing the innumerable little tasks. On the other hand, those inferiors who are unmarried and live with their master have their food and clothing provided for them, and there is the chance that their master will let them marry and provide their wedding feast. Once they are married, the couple is provided with a dwelling and has a number of sheaves delivered to its house after the harvest. This lower person then lives apart with his family but remains in daily contact with his master by way of the tasks which he has to perform. Since he remains closely connected with his master, he is permitted to participate in the festivals that break up the monotonous kampong existence, and he shares in the social standing which is displayed on these occasions.

There is never a question of a firm agreement at the be-
[675] ginning of the relationship. The tie may be broken at any moment. Such a rupture, however, always takes place only gradually. An abrupt break is avoided, /106/ because this indicates quarreling and because it is thought to be better if one leaves before the conflict breaks out.

178 The tie between a higher person and his people is
557 advantageous to both parties in their striving to rise. To lose
558 a follower implies a diminution of social standing for the
571 higher person. Here his generosity to his people is of importance. The superior who has a reputation for making his

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
[558] his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's protection and help and at the same time the loss of social standing which the association with the superior casts on him. Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position of the lower people has become stronger.

554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
571 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower. Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary. If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relationship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends

1. In the Bontoramba census, they were included among the Rest group.

upon their personal relationship to their master whether they will continue to come and help at special events such as festivals.

571 As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
591 married couple who had committed silariang. Before reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

175 /122 cont./ When the old Prince of Sidenreng died on
643 November 7, 1831, and La Pangorisang made his appearance
669 as the new prince, a fraternal war soon broke out" (1). And

1. Eerdmans, pp. 515-516.

later:

"Through our intervention, La Pangorisang had been reinstated in 1835 in the districts taken away from him during the war. He had been reconciled with Datoe Lampoele, who was permitted to settle in Sidenreng. Quietly, however, he hoped for help from Bone in order to attain his goal sooner or later: Sidenreng's throne. Consequently, Sidenreng remained divided into two parties hostile to each other" (2).

2. Eerdmans, p. 520.

662 Signs of opposition are to be found on each level in a
557 multiplicity of forms. The system of followers strengthens
571 the position of the combatants. The striving is directed at beating a superior with the help of as many inferiors by way of followers and as many equals by way of confederates as possible. One tries constantly to become the highest among one's equals. A certain unity of territory is always maintained in the struggle; opponents and allies are found by preference among one's neighbors. In this way, the entire Makassarese-Buginese country, each kingdom, each adat community, each kampong, and even each group of relatives, as well as each family with more than one man, is potentially a theatre of battle.

/123/ In each of these groupings, several individuals strive for more power within the territorially limited opportunities existing for them. In so doing, they are always faced with the competitive efforts of their equals among each other. For if someone, in a certain situation, believes that

662 /123 cont./ he can better serve goals for himself, his kin
557 group, and possibly for his country, by not keeping to a cer-
571 tain agreement, he withdraws. One cannot count upon loyalty between equals with respect to the agreements made among them. Loyalty unto death is to be found only between high and low (1).

> 1. Here, too, there are limits. Personal loyalty of a lower toward a higher person is held in esteem. But loyalty on the part of a related group of lower people toward a higher /group/ lasts as long as the former know themselves to be dependent upon the latter, and so long as they do not have a more powerful higher /group/ to which they can turn for help and protection.

Now, if we look a little more closely at a number of opposition phenomena on various levels, it appears that a general direction can be pointed out in spite of confusing differences.

622 The kapalakampong strives to keep his kapalaship for
554 himself and his kinsmen, for the person who has authority over a non-kinsman is higher than that non-kinsman.
602 Furthermore, his kinsmen, at least those within his kampong territory, share in the higher standing which he possesses in this way. With respect to the members of his own group of relatives and with respect to that of other groups residing in his territory, the position of the kapala is different. In his own group he belongs to the prominent men. In that capacity

634 /127 cont./ Karaeng Lembangparang,
643 Aroe Bakara had neverthe-
652 less obtained some following among them. This following grew gradually and made it possible for him to cause the greatest part of the Goa mountain districts to defect from their Prince."
Eerdmans, p. 398.

These heads, living along the frontiers of the realm, frequently did not so much follow the most powerful of their neighbors, but rather the one who permitted them the greatest freedom of action in their territories. After 1905 the boundaries were also fixed in this area.

In the interior the prince tries to create as powerful a unity as possible in his kingdom by working for unity in his own related group in the first place and, furthermore, by extending as much as possible his influence in the adat communities under his jurisdiction.

The Prince of Goa conducted this policy successfully during the years preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War. In a short period of time he succeeded in having one of his kinsmen appointed as adat community head in two of these adat communities.

602 These two former heads' respective groups of relatives
634 went down in standing through this action. After all, they
558 derived this standing in the very first place from the headship, and now they seemed to have been pushed back into the rank
602 of the ordinary groups of relatives. At this moment they
634 merely endeavored /128/ to surround the new adat community
662 head of karaeng blood as much as possible with their own
557 people, so that they could still remain leaders among the

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/128 cont./ other groups of relatives in their adat communities, even though in this position they merely carried out the commands of the karaëng.

The karaëng, on his part, constantly tried to break through this tie which was, as it were, placed on him, by seeking contact with the prominent members of the other groups. The latter saw in this a chance to occupy a prominent position in the adat community through the karaëng, a position which they had not enjoyed previously. On the other hand, they did not dare to place themselves too much in the foreground in relation to the kin groups of the former heads, taking into account what might happen if the Prince's influence, at present penetrating more deeply, should again diminish.

The adat community heads who had remained in power felt themselves threatened by the Prince's political successes. "We are becoming unimportant, " said one of them.

648 In a discussion of the relationship of the prince of Goa to his fellow princes, three different points must be kept in mind. First, territorially speaking we go beyond Goa in such a discussion. The entire Makassarese-Buginese region then becomes the field of investigation. Secondly, due to the fact that a number of events that took place at the courts of the princes were more or less regularly recorded during the last few centuries, we are able to use a number of historical data in this discussion which are unknown to the adat community heads and kampong heads. Thirdly, we must first indicate the position of the Netherlands East India Company and later the Government of the Dutch East Indies with respect to this opposition, which was ultimately intended to capture the hegemony of South Celebes.

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If we look at what Eerdmans reports about this, we get the impression that the conduct of the Netherlands East India Company repeatedly brought about a reversal in the power relations existing at that moment, but that this did not produce any alteration in the manner in which the princes

595 606 607 /171 cont./ The latter feel responsible for the successful course of affairs in his first marriage, and accordingly they have an attitude of disapproval toward a second marriage, since a [581] lasting monogamous marriage is, after all, regarded as one of the ideals of a successful marriage. When a second marriage has come about through silariang, they show their disapproval and frequently support the first wife. They yield only if the man appears to have enough authority to prepare and to carry [554] out his second marriage independently with his "own people." That is to say, he has a house built for his second wife, or else he buys one; and secondly, he is able to organize a wedding festival on his own, even if it is a small feast. If a man enjoys that much standing and if he possesses that much organizational talent, then his relatives are not merely content [557] with this second marriage. On the contrary, then they even prize him because the festive celebration of a second marriage is a sign of his personal standing by which his kinsmen also rise in standing. /172/

In such a case, therefore, the first spouse can expect little support from his relatives, and only consolation from her own closest kinsmen. The latter merely try to minimize the importance of this event, which is sad for her personally, and to make her accept it as well as possible. There is no question of any moral disapproval of the man's action. Such is the situation in the adat community of Borongloë.

565 595 In the karaëng related group, more second marriages are contracted, especially with women of lower blood. These men have less resistance to overcome. In the kampongs of the ordinary man everyone wages his struggle to gain more standing, and thus for a good marriage for his children. In general, common people do not like to have a girl marry a man who is already married. But if the difference in blood is generally recognized, as it is between a karaëng and a girl [537] from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in standing.

853 /208 cont./ amma'daëng (mother daëng). Being a wet nurse is called hereditary, in the sense that one likes to see that where a woman has a nurse, the daughter of this nurse is again the wet nurse for the daughter [565] of this woman. A young mother of high nobility is said to be modern if she nurses the child herself. [582] A marriage of a noble person with someone who is related by suckling kinship to him is out of the question.

582 Finally, it is considered natural to marry a kinsman. In the case of marriage to someone who is not related there is mutual insecurity. Such a marriage always has a practical purpose. People want to extend the circle of their connections, [557] and sometimes it is believed to serve one's aspirations to rise best of all in this fashion. But in the case of such a marriage, the chance of failure is considered greater than in that to a kinsman. "Do not creep out" (teako alamba' assulukii) is said to one who has plans of marrying off his child outside the kin group.

Since a marriage to a non-kinsman, to a person of a different generation, and to a contemporary of the fourth and the tenth degree, is always regarded as unfavorable, there remains merely the possibility of marriage between contemporaries of the sixth and eighth degree. That is the marriage which, according to the figures given above (see pages 29 and 30), is, at the same time, the most frequent.

and where they have come from. For example, they tell 565
people that they were nobles where they came from. Here 567
is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power 178
of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there 696
were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. 681
If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They 567
became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they 626
have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is
a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember
it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any
event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would [684]
be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or [588]
a woman who married or had something to do with a man of
lower status.

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social 557
sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale 565
by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. 556
The social classes are set.

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it 554
would be better to say that there is some. There are many 531
cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able
to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they
may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which
were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more
wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is
practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all
the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman
and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are
numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes,
terms of address, and manners.

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable 178
flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for 554
an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted 342
only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and 565
nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly 531
use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present.
As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the
"real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide
and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one
except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved
wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used
illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so
used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in
house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was
once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

476 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened
602 by this. A household that is apart from the others can request
476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency,
558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever
609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior.
592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower
361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 Differences are thus observable between a household which
612 lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in
621 the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of
592 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30
592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

428 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through
471 inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong
602

1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there-
[241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

231 2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes,
556 goats, horses) among the three groups is as follows:
612

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one
471 individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more
558 than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be re-
556 garded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

178 /105 cont./ followers manifested itself have changed. The
571 general characteristics to be met with today are the following:

The higher person is connected with a number of lower ones, his people. The latter work his sawahs in the broadest sense of the word, that is to say, from the first tilling to the delivery of sheaves at his house. They take care of his maize gardens and guard his langsap trees when they bear fruit. They run errands for him in the pasars; they carry wood and water for daily use, do repairs on the house, manufacture the common utensils from bamboo or wood, and finally assist at a festival held by their master by performing the innumerable little tasks. On the other hand, those inferiors who are unmarried and live with their master have their food and clothing provided for them, and there is the chance that their master will let them marry and provide their wedding feast. Once they are married, the couple is provided with a dwelling and has a number of sheaves delivered to its house after the harvest. This lower person then lives apart with his family but remains in daily contact with his master by way of the tasks which he has to perform. Since he remains closely connected with his master, he is permitted to participate in the festivals that break up the monotonous kampong existence, and he shares in the social standing which is displayed on these occasions.

There is never a question of a firm agreement at the be-
[675] ginning of the relationship. The tie may be broken at any moment. Such a rupture, however, always takes place only gradually. An abrupt break is avoided, /106/ because this indicates quarreling and because it is thought to be better if one leaves before the conflict breaks out.

178 The tie between a higher person and his people is
557 advantageous to both parties in their striving to rise. To lose
558 a follower implies a diminution of social standing for the
571 higher person. Here his generosity to his people is of importance. The superior who has a reputation for making his

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
558 his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's protection and help and at the same time the loss of social standing which the association with the superior casts on him. Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position of the lower people has become stronger.

554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
571 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower. Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary. If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relationship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends

1. In the Bontoramba census, they were included among the Rest group.

upon their personal relationship to their master whether they will continue to come and help at special events such as festivals.

571 As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
591 married couple who had committed silariang. Before reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

634 /127 cont./ Karaeng Lembangparang.
643 Aroe Bakara had never-
652 theless obtained some following among them. This following grew gradually and made it possible for him to cause the greatest part of the Goa mountain districts to defect from their Prince."
Eerdmans, p. 398.

These heads, living along the frontiers of the realm, frequently did not so much follow the most powerful of their neighbors, but rather the one who permitted them the greatest freedom of action in their territories. After 1905 the boundaries were also fixed in this area.

In the interior the prince tries to create as powerful a unity as possible in his kingdom by working for unity in his own related group in the first place and, furthermore, by extending as much as possible his influence in the adat communities under his jurisdiction.

The Prince of Goa conducted this policy successfully during the years preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War. In a short period of time he succeeded in having one of his kinsmen appointed as adat community head in two of these adat communities.

602 These two former heads' respective groups of relatives
634 went down in standing through this action. After all, they
558 derived this standing in the very first place from the headship, and now they seemed to have been pushed back into the rank
602 of the ordinary groups of relatives. At this moment they
634 merely endeavored /128/ to surround the new adat community
662 head of karaëng blood as much as possible with their own
557 people, so that they could still remain leaders among the

581 /139 cont./ feast, in which this purpose finds expression, and the difficulties which crop up on this occasion are the topic of the second part.

558 /140/ As a companion phenomenon, the vertical
562 tendency includes the sense of siri', that is, the sense of going down in social standing in relation to someone else. The fact that a woman must not go down in standing means that the slightest impairment of her social standing arouses the most violent reactions. There are various ways of escaping such a reaction. Marriage by flight is an example. It will be discussed extensively, among other things, in the third part of this chapter because it forms a spectacular phenomenon in Makassarese society, one that constantly leads to difficulties in the practice of administration and jurisdiction.

First Part

852 Immediately at birth a difference is made in the ritual between a boy and a girl. The parappo, the essence of the offering to be presented, differs with respect to the number of betel leaves of which it consists, depending on whether it is intended for a boy (6) or for a girl (7). Children play
857 together up to the age of eight to ten years. Informants
855 said that girls were always treated more gently than boys, for instance, that they were not beaten.

Not until the age of six years, so far as I was able to
857 observe, were little boys taught that they are not allowed
867 other things than girls /sic/. Boys of that age accompany their father to the pasar; girls stay at home. Boys are sent away when young girls (tau lolo) are getting dressed and making themselves up. When little girls are naughty, they are threatened with: "I'll make you sit with the boys." Boys are not threatened with having to sit with the girls. They would find it momentarily unpleasant, so I was told, but they are freer in their movements and would therefore

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

Young women and men often evade each other
571 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
626 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
834 of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
177 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
834 new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

583 /150 cont./ "Please find what is good for me." And by
584 "good" (badjika) is meant a normal marriage; "bad" (kodia) means marriage by flight. The older woman thereupon tries out the mother. Whether this couple will subsequently marry or not then further depends upon whether or not an agreement concerning marriage has been made with respect to one of the two.

584 When a marriage which she herself has desired comes
834 about, the girl shows aversion to the man, as is expected of her. Externally, nothing distinguishes this marriage from one that has been contracted against her wishes.

When older people act against the wishes of the younger,
583 and the young man urges a flight, the girl can consent to
584 this. But if she refuses, he can get his way simply by
558 making her siri'. In most cases the threat of siri' alone
626 seems sufficient.

584 One who is unable to use an older woman as intermediary must find another way of establishing the desired contact with a girl. He may, for instance, seek out the company of her brother. He plays raga with him and goes with him to the movies (this example is derived from one of the kampongs
[574] surrounding Macassar). In return /151/ his friend may ask him to stay and eat or sleep. If he keeps this up long enough, he may get an opportunity to attract the girl's attention, that is to say, to perform a service for the mother or run an errand for her, even though this reaches him through a third person.

His intentions do not remain entirely concealed. If her mother likes him, if no arrangements have been made regarding this daughter, and if the information gained concerning his kin group is not unfavorable, she may very briefly let her daughter be alone with him unnoticed. But she remains watchful. "Don't make me siri'," she says to her daughter.
584 When they are alone together, there is no immediate con-
834 versation, even less is there an immediate physical contact.

158 /166 cont./ should like to mention the vertical tendency
181 which demands of the Makassarese a constant striving to surpass other men and to be a great conqueror of women. The anxiety about losing the ability for this, or else of falling short in this aspiration, could very well form the basis for the koro phenomenon.

Prostitution

548 Prostitutes are unknown in Makassarese kampongs. There
626 are no women under thirty-five to forty years of age who live alone without kinsmen, and if a woman lives with others in
558 a house, it is impossible for her, for reasons discussed at length above, to receive men more or less regularly, or to have contact with them outside the house. So long as she lives in a house with others, even a single contact situation would cause the young male house mates or neighbors to become siri'. The older women who do not wish to risk any difficulties on behalf of this stranger in such a case will try to send her away in time -- for instance, to a head who lets her marry -- before a brawl could come about through her /167/. Once she is out of the house, there is no reason for the young men who, after all, are not related to her, to be siri' because of her behavior.

Her conduct impairs the social standing of her group, and for that reason she is unacceptable in the rural kampongs. There is little evidence of moral disapproval.

548 Prostitution is an urban phenomenon. Prostitutes live in
[369] Macassar as well as in the larger pasar places such as Parepare, Watampone, and others.

The pasar place of Bontomanai, the center of trade for Borongloë, did not seem large enough yet to accommodate permanent prostitution. It was said of one of the daughters of a prominent man in Borongloë, who had gone to live in Bontomanai with a distant relative, that she received men who

595 /168 cont./ In view of the fact that according to Moslem law the conclusion of a second marriage is just as simple as the first, there must be other reasons why so few polygamous men were registered in this region. Such a reason is, in the first place, the opposition of the first wife.

[581] [558] One of the worst things that can happen to a woman is that her husband takes a second wife. One of the wishes for a newly married couple is the hope that they will grow old together. It was said of a childless old couple who had been together all their lives that this was proof that they were happy together, and it was regarded as a cause for rejoicing and an example for the younger generation. In the "little [585] games" /169/ that take place during the wedding festival, the woman must win. This reflects the wish that later she [593] will also have the upper hand in her relationship with her husband. And in answer to the question what this referred to mostly, it was stated that one thought of the provision of the necessities for daily meals and the taking of a second wife.

The reaction of the first wife is very violent. She declared that she would rather be cast out than suffer a co-wife (maru) by her side. She leaves the house without the knowledge of her husband -- which under normal circumstances would weigh heavily against her -- and returns to her parents, preferably with her children. In such a case there is no intention of leaving the man permanently. A statement by one of these women leaves no room for doubt about that. When she heard that her husband had contracted a second marriage, she did not leave for the distant kampong of her parents until she had made the vow: "If I come back here, I shall sacrifice a hen to you (ancestors)." In such a case it is possible for the woman to return only if her husband comes to implore her to do so. Her desire to come back prevailed. Sometimes, especially if the second marriage comes about [586] through silariang, her negative attitude is successful. In one case the man went to visit his second wife less and less. The

554 /210 cont./ A woman "may not go down." Impairment of
[558] her social standing constitutes for her male relatives, and especially for her brother, an affront to their striving to rise. They are injured in one of the very few fixed points which they possess.

565 A Makassarese stands in a relationship of cooperation to a superior or an inferior. High and low have common interests. Together they are best able to realize their own aspirations to rise. The lack of an opposition element lends their mutual relationship an emotional security which is absent elsewhere.

An expression of competition between an inferior and a superior entails an impairment of existing relationships between high and low. The reaction to such an impairment is generally
554 a sharp repudiation. The superior tries to maintain existing
565 relationships because these give him emotional security which he lacks elsewhere, because his attempts to rise can only be successful through his tie with inferiors, and finally because his rights and duties towards inferiors provide him with advantages that he does not like to be without.

684 Violation of contact prohibitions between a man and a
554 higher woman also signifies for a Makassarese an impairment
565 of an important, fixed point of comparison in his striving for high /status/, and an impairment of the existing relation between high and low. Thus it means the impairment of two elements that are of essential importance to him in his culture. He faces a situation with which he feels himself unable to cope, and in his opinion there remains nothing else to do than to kill the person who has done this to him (adjallo').

That a violation of the contact prohibition between a man and a higher woman is indicated by the same term as that between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ probably means only that it is regarded as equally serious.

554 Such violation is therefore more serious than if contact
684 prohibitions are violated between equals or near equals. In the

554 571 177 /212 cont./ The idea that the person whose social standing is attacked must react, because whoever does not react is low in standing, has led at present to the relative popularity of various modern sports. The English idea in sports that one should be a "good loser" in everything is foreign to the Makassarese. To lose demands a reaction. One does not like to take part in a sport where everyone can directly see by the outcome who has won. In soccer matches standing is already harmed by the first opposing goal. The desire to score with a countering point thereby becomes so excessively great that both individual achievements as well as team play suffer from it. A trailing score is therefore difficult to equalize. Soccer circles in Macassar use this fact to point out that Makassarese have poor morale in competitive situations.

554 558 689 627 In the previous chapter we explained that a woman may not lose any standing. Her position is a fixed point for the men who are constantly outdoing each other. An impairment of her standing immediately calls for the most violent reaction, namely, the death of the challenger. Whoever does not react is "matesiri', " that is to say, "socially dead." This is expressed by saying that such a person is no longer "of use, " or that he is generally despised. Killing is used because what has happened is felt to be so bad that no other reaction is considered possible.

However, there are many reasons why a man in such a case prefers not to kill. Fear of the long prison sentence that awaits him or personal feelings of sympathy for the person who committed the transgression are among them. The tendencies to kill and not to kill are both present. And now their relationship is so much off balance that a man is not expected to go and find the person who made him siri' /213/ with the purpose of killing him, but to make a clearly observable attempt to do so in case of an encounter.

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number
558 of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the
689 duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise, in social standing is touched at the core through impairment of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

558 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women, and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the silariang complex. A number of its aspects will now be discussed.

684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings about siri', is always held against both man and woman. Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger. For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house, and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which
[583] therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated in the literature by "siliariang" marriage.

684 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for
627 contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only
588 be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who caused siri' in this way must be killed, because only in this way can the challenge be answered and the siri' feeling of the challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

588 /217 cont./ 1. The suggestion I made
684 in 1938 to the effect that a
[114] deeper knowledge of the
Makassarese marriage arrangement would clarify the reasons
that lead to a silariang
marriage has therefore proved
incorrect. See /Ibid./
Vol. 149, p. 334.

Silariang is inevitably preceded by a violation of rules concerning social intercourse between the sexes, regardless of whether this was intentional or not. Only when one continues to search for the reasons leading to the transgression of these social rules, does one find the desire on the part of the individuals whose marriage is prevented by social or economic factors and who therefore resort to silariang.

521 Even if nobody else knows of this transgression but the
684 man and the woman, the latter can still not be sure that he will not boast of it in order to appear as a "ladies' man" among his companions. Boasting of success with women is typical of young men (tau rungka). They like to suggest extensive successes, even though actually little more has happened than that a number of significant glances were exchanged, and a few remarks of a general nature but, in his opinion, cleverly stated were made in her presence. At the same time, a young man has a valid reason for remaining vague when he makes such boasts, for if he were to be too explicit, so that another could understand to whom he is referring, his bragging immediately imperils the girl. Then
[626] her brother might hear of it. The fact that people "talk about her" is one of the worst things that can happen to a young woman. In that case she must certainly flee because
[558] her brother or cousin can do nothing but stab unless he wants

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

When she is being discussed, one of the older women,
[571] sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop
[602] at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say, they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to
[562] see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
[626 without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the
558] younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

588 /223 cont./ leaves alone or with the man. I call it an
684 accident, for instance, whether she succeeds in arranging a rendezvous for the flight through an intermediary. The fear that upon (unintentional) forbidden contact, the reaction will be a /224/ stab with the knife is always one of the motives for her flight.

588 When a woman flees to a man, the latter can do nothing
626 but go with her. He would be no "man," not even in the
558 opinion of his own kin group, if he did not do so. Rather than letting it be said of him that he "flees from a woman," he goes with her to the village or religious functionary, marries, and in so doing invites all the difficulties which a silariang marriage brings with it. Then he behaves as beseems a man.

588 It is assumed as a matter of course that a woman who
626 takes refuge with a man has reason for this. The man who
684 refuses marriage in such a case can be sure that he will no longer be an acceptable guest to many people. It is regarded as very reprehensible to make a girl siri' and then not to marry her. I was able to record only two instances of this.

684 When a girl of approximately thirteen years of age had taken refuge with a man of about twenty-six, the latter denied that he had given cause for this. He had known her a long time, so he said, and his feelings toward her had
[626] merely been those of a brother. He lamented what she had done because now they were both siri' in his opinion, she, because she fled, and he because many would be unwilling to accept his refusal and would therefore be loath to receive him in their houses. It is noteworthy about this statement that this man placed the siri' feeling of the woman beside his own. Thus, he ascribes to her siri' feelings which normally only men are supposed to possess, feelings which arise when an attempt, made in public, to attain something fails.

In the other example, the man admitted that he did have some fun with the woman who fled to him (bandjulu',

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and 584
if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment 834
you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him.

Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions 125
as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans.

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such 565
class designations as bangsa hamba [slaves] and others as 558
turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were 567
plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's.

Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell 855
plenty in order to send him to school.

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went 567
to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general 558
exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are 166
of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may 152
be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe.) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 000

571 /120 cont./ Opposition is inherent in the relations of men among each other. In the family the relation between father [593] and son -- and to a lesser extent that between brothers -- is strongly formalized. As a result, opposition within the family is greatly reduced in force.

Opposition is observable between relatives and especially between the prominent members of one group of relatives.

554 The relation between a high and a low and, likewise, 561 between an old and a young man, is also formalized. To con- 571 tradict a higher or an older man is prohibited. To speak in his presence soon becomes a sign of discourtesy. The manner in which these social relations are conducted makes a stiff impression.

571 Opposition is further observable between groups of relatives. Where there is an ornament, the worship communities are in opposition to each other. There is opposition between kampongs, between adat communities, and among the wealthy.

Within all these groupings, there are always latent oppositions present. They are merely not always noticeable.

571 Worship communities consequently do not always conduct 643 themselves as a unit (3). The opposition can frequently be [794]

> 3. A realm, that is to say, a local administrative and political unit, and the worship community around the ornament belonging to the prince of that realm, coincide to a great extent.

traced back to the family of the prince, for instance, if the individual who has been appointed prince on the basis of his descent, does not, at the same time, possess the personal /121/ qualities necessary for the effective exercise of his office.

858 /143 cont./ Boys seem to go through a difficult period
867 at the age of approximately eleven to fourteen years. Before that, despite small differences from the girls, they were considered to be children, and as such they quite naturally stayed in the women's rooms. But around the age of ten to eleven, the older women make it plain to them that they
561 no longer belong there. Compared to women, however, men
562 have less unity. For them the difference in age plays a much more important role. It prevents the smooth interaction between older and younger men, because the older expect
561 obedience and a certain respect from the younger. The young
855 boys therefore find no unity in the group of men which makes them feel at home. At the same time they do not possess
858 the sexual maturity to participate in the boasting conversations about conquests and sexual achievements that are customary in the circle of young men. They are physically not yet strong enough to participate in brawls and great work schemes, and therefore they cannot talk about their exploits. They do not count among the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds. At the same time these twelve-year-old boys have not yet had much opportunity to associate with each other. So they first look for their age mates. They roam around, they are little noticed, and they don't feel at home anywhere.

Division of Labor

462 The domain of the women is house and yard. There they cook, wash, weave, and take care of the children. They leave the house only to pay visits or to run over to neighbors, who are also the closest kinsmen. When male visitors arrive they withdraw into the back part of the house. There is the kitchen; there they have their own separate
462 entrance. One could regard the women as a group whose
476 members /144/ help each other with daily household problems,

521 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally.
562 They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the
571 same time about topics which they would also discuss at an
576 ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 The forms of social intercourse between men and women
673 are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized
834 by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

These strict rules do not apply to children and older
[561 858] people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small
[687] dagger/, which frequently results in death.

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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M 561 596 562 178
M 562 883 178
M 588 565 684
M 575 562

123 /8 cont./ one in a modern city where an investigation is carried out. As far as obtaining writing materials, medicine, photographic materials, and the like is concerned, the difficulties are inconsiderable. But the manner of living, as always, presents challenges. A house of one's own has the advantage of privacy. But there is no empty house to be found in the kampong. To have one constructed meets with objections: it costs extra work and extra money, since building, after all, is not only a question of materials, manpower, and technology, but also one of organization. When I was by myself I always stayed with the head of the adat community in his kampong, or else with my most important informant in Bontoramba.

Being a guest has the advantage that it is easier to provide for oneself. I always ate the menu of my host. During the month of fasting I received a meal apart. Payment for lodgings is never possible; presents are understood; medicine, kajuputih oil, periodicals with illustrations, and photos of members of the household were always welcome as such. There was always room for a cot with a mosquito net, as well as for a writing table and chair; an enclosure created a mandi /bathing/ place and a toilet. Taking lodgings has the further advantage that one takes part in the life of the household without having been expressly invited.

I lived in a house of my own with my wife and daughter for a brief period before the war. In a society such as the [562] one I was dealing with, possessing, as it does, a strict separation of the sexes, I repeatedly obtained data from my wife which otherwise would decidedly have escaped me.

/9/ The lack of privacy is one of the reasons why life in the kampong is extremely tiring for the investigator. It is quite possible to abandon habits if one only knows which. But whoever believes that he can then go on living without adat is in error. To find out the sensitive points is one of the most important activities of the first period, and during the first few weeks it is advisable, therefore, not to do much else but

123 /9 cont. / to look and listen. Everything that the investigator is able to carry out on top of just listening and looking without causing any damage during this time is pure gain.

Introduction

The investigator is a foreign element in the community to which he comes to work. The relationship to the individuals in his environment must constantly be adjusted. There are some manners which they accept from him. There are also manners which they find so troublesome, especially after a while, that his contact and thus his work suffers from it. Frequently the first month is decisive in this. Hence a person who feels free to show his disapproval of the stranger's behavior in a way that is comprehensible to the stranger is the best mentor.

As a Dutch official I was regarded as a high guest in Macassar [554 country. It is discourteous to display one's disapproval of his 576] conduct to a higher person; this violates the profoundest feelings. My gratitude toward my mentor is therefore so great precisely because his personality was dynamic enough to allow him to be a bad Makassare in the sense that, contrary to his feelings, he nevertheless pointed out my mistakes.

Initially I laughed too loud and talked too loud, for loud [517 talking and laughing really occur only when several men are 555] together. Then one of them likes to tell tall or absurd stories because the person who can do this well raises his standing. I 123 learned that as a male guest I belonged in the parlor and that I 574 could not walk through the back; that I could ask men or boys, and possibly also older women, something, but that young girls [562 and newly married women landed in difficulties if I so much as 576] greeted them, because this is enough to point to a "contact" with the stranger, which is forbidden. I noticed that somebody constantly kept me company and found this troublesome. Only later did it become apparent that this belongs to the ordinary courtesies observed toward a guest. /10/ A Makassarese does not like to be alone and therefore believes that his guest would also find this unpleasant.

593 /25 cont./ 1. Talking back is referred to as nipolongi erona, "his wishes are crossed," or anempa bawa karaëng, "to slap the mouth of the master."

listening to what his father says and by answering in general, well-chosen phrases when the father is addressed. In practice the answers which a son gives are brief because he is afraid of not being able to satisfy such obligations, and of making a mistake, which might be regarded as impolite or result in ridicule. A son above the age of fourteen accordingly does not like to be in the company of his father; the relationship is too stiff for this. When his father comes in, he disappears as quickly as possible while mumbling some excuse. When a [574] father visits his married son, the latter will call his wife or his little son. The conversation then continues through them. Important matters, such as the marriage of his daughter, may be discussed by a father with his (married) son. This, too, is a conversation held in a formal tone. But this conversation merely establishes what has already been previously discussed by the father in informal conversations with his wife or his daughter-in-law.

The same relationship can be observed between brothers. Here the older one must be obeyed by the younger. Between them the opposition is greater; the older one tries to keep the leadership; the younger, especially if his personal qualities give him the opportunity to do so, tries to avoid his brother's authority. Their relationship is also stiff. The consequence is that unmarried sons in general, and unmarried younger brothers in particular, spend a great deal of time outside the house.

This does not apply to the relationship between mother and daughter, or to that between sisters. Since younger women are [562] dependent on house and grounds and away from these can only go about in company, a similar solution would not be realistic in practice.

592 602 /31 cont./ By way of summary it can be stated that 40 of these 61 /32/ are first- or second-degree relatives of the basal married couple, and that 52 of the 61 are first-, second-, or third-degree relatives.

The conclusion therefore is that in the majority of cases a house is occupied by one family, that in general only unmarried, older and younger, kinsmen are taken into the house, and that more distant kinsmen (fourth degree and further removed) are only taken in if they have no close relatives. Uncles and aunts, accordingly, are only taken into the house by their respective nephews and nieces if they themselves are childless.

It is noteworthy that one of the three just-mentioned "distant cousins" set up a little house for himself shortly after the registration date. "He finds that more pleasant," was given as explanation.

If one excludes the group of 9 grandchildren, it seems reasonable, in the case of the 52 remaining persons to ascertain whether they are kinsmen of the man or of his wife. It appears that in 19 of the 52 cases someone lives in the house on the basis of his kin connection to the man, and in 33 cases on the basis of his kinship to the wife. Unless these figures [591] are too small to draw conclusions, a slight preference for living with relatives on the mother's side would seem to be indicated. A similar result was produced by the investigation into marriage residence. At this point, a report on this subject seems in order.

Marriage Residence

462 562 In accordance with the division of labor between the sexes in Makassarese society, the task of providing for the children, preparing the food, the weaving of sarongs and keeping them clean, and all matters which can be done in and around the house fall to the women. House and grounds constitute the woman's domain. Separation of the sexes is very marked.

591 /33 cont./ A matrilocal marriage is not a mandatory prescription. The houses of the parental couples are close to each other; kinship to father and mother are equally valued. On the basis of these facts, the observed tendency to matrilocal marriage remains unexplained. In my opinion, [182 593] the reason is to be found in the relationships obtaining among the members of the family, and especially in the formal, stiff relationship between father and son, which makes it difficult for the latter to conduct himself in an unforced manner in the company of the former (1).

1. See pp. 31, 32.

The beginning of a marriage is frequently difficult (2).

2. See Chapter III, second part.

The parents who /34/ have brought it about and feel responsible for the smooth course of events do everything in their power to make it seem attractive for the young man to move in with his wife. That is not the case if he lives in his father's house. To this is added the fact that the young wife feels most comfortable in her familiar environment, with her mother and little sisters. If she should live elsewhere, it is much more difficult for her to go back to her mother, however small the distance between the houses may be.

182 562 591 593 The strict separation between the sexes, which results in the young women being strongly tied to house and grounds, thus furthers the occurrence of matrilocal marriages as does the stiff relationship between father and son.

Sexual Relationships between Members of a Household

635 Sexual relationships between members of a household who do not belong to the same /nuclear/ family occur more

582 /94 cont./ last-mentioned case, we may speak of a drop in
602 standing, even though the sunrang is maintained at its former level. If there are individuals who have become separated from a well-integrated related group, this means that they were quite unsuccessful in their striving to rise; if they had been successful, the other members of the group would have endeavored to bring about a marriage with one of them, since success attracts kinsmen as well as non-kinsmen.

Vertical Mobility of Individuals

554 The level of an individual is determined by his descent
562 as well as by his personal qualities. It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall. Striving to rise is not a primary requirement for women.

554 A man is able to increase his standing through personal
581 qualities. The acquired standing may be consolidated in a marriage. The outcome of all striving is, with a single exception, marriage with a woman of approximately equally high position.

554 The marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly
565 forbidden. The only case in which it is directly apparent that the woman is higher than the man is a marriage of a woman of
582 the nobility to a man who is not of the nobility. The qualities in which a man must excel in order to be able to contract such a marriage are clearly stipulated.

Such qualities are given as learnedness, courage, and wealth. It is told of Sjech Jusupu, a highly venerated saint in South Celebes whose grave is always visited by crowds of people and whose life history people like to recite, that he, as an already recognized sage /95/, asked for the hand of the daughter of the Prince of Goa. The Prince would gladly have consented to this, but the members of the Royal Council (Hadat) of Goa,

554 /95 cont./ resident would have no chance of contracting.
581 In one of the fights that arose in Goa in 1946, a man saved a
582 number of his wife's kinsmen by his courageous behavior.
His wife should not have been allowed to marry him, because
[626] she was higher than he, and for that reason her kin group had
declared her dead (2). As a result of his bravery, the wife's

2. See Chapter III, third part.

kin group was persuaded /96/ to agree to a reconciliation. In cases where the differences in social level are small, there may be hesitation as to whether the man and woman should marry. If both parties are agreed, and the marriage is brought about, it is not possible for an outsider to disapprove. It is believed that the reasons leading to the marriage could not be evaluated (1).

1. A discussion of the cases in which there is a difference of opinion, will be found in Chapter III, third part.

554 Children from such a marriage, even where the difference
565 in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded
officially as equals in their mother's group of relatives,
●562 because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not
582 fall /in social standing/. Daughters marry by preference in
their mother's group; with respect to the sons there is some
hesitancy. Factual data are lacking. I was unable to discover any terms used to designate these children (analagous to ana' tjera').

In cases of marriages between a man and a lower woman, only those where the difference in level is great deserve mention, for marriages in which the man is a little higher than his wife are normal marriages. They should not be distinguished

554 /96 cont./ from marriages in which the partners are regarded
562 as equal. The marriage of a cousin (samposikali) of the adat
582 community head to the daughter of a kapalakompong /kampong head/ is called a marriage between equals, but on the part of the head, the idea of a union of his cousin with a son of the Kapala is rejected because this young man is regarded as lower than the girl.

554 One of the princes had a son called daëng Ali by a woman
565 from the kin group of one of the adat community heads. His
585 brother had a daughter called daëng Batje by an ordinary
574 kampong woman. Daëng Ali was regarded as considerably higher than his first cousin. They married and lived with the groom's father, the Prince. Now it is expected of the kinsmen of daëng Batje's mother, ordinary kampong people as we said, that they will be modest /97/ and that they will not constantly come to visit their sister (cousin or aunt, as the case might be). Of daëng Batje, in turn, it is expected that she will receive these kinsmen in a friendly way; that she will not show herself proud toward them, but will entertain them nicely. She should not entertain them too lavishly, for that would be a sign of superiority, but especially not too poorly, for that would indicate that the visitors were not appreciated. For daëng Batje the visit of her kinsmen is an agreeable matter, because people can see how the relatives appreciate her, a fact which in turn strengthens her position with respect to them. Through her, therefore, her kinsmen have a certain right to come to the palace. A couple of nieces -- the best ones are picked out for this purpose -- may temporarily come to live in the palace. There they learn the superior manners of the nobility. In so doing, they rise in standing and later have a chance of a better marriage, something which again works to the benefit of their entire group.

554 Children from a marriage of a man to a lower woman
565 are regarded as lower than their father's kinsmen and higher

554 /98 cont./ As regards these ana' tjera', it is immediately
562 apparent that the interests of sons and daughters are distinct.
565 The former are dependent for marriage upon their mother's
582 group, the latter upon their father's group.

Vertical Mobility of Cultural Elements

565 Sorokin has pointed to the fact that not only individuals
626 or groups, but even cultural elements may rise or go down (1).

1. P. Sorokin, Social Mobility, New York and London, 1927, p. 133.

Each status /stand/ /group/ has its own external characteristics by which its members are differentiated from the others. Forms of social intercourse and clothing, mode of eating and celebrating festivals are the most spectacular of these. The higher groups constantly strive to preserve their own forms for their members. Lower groups constantly strive to take over elements belonging to the members of the higher status, since by this alone their standing rises.

Attempts to adopt their ways is opposed by the higher groups. On the one hand, their adoption is regarded as ridiculous, on the other, it arouses the anger of those higher; sometimes punishment is meted out. Adoption of elements from the highest status is not carried out directly by the lowest of the people, but takes place gradually. First those just below the highest adopt their forms, and so on down. It appears that not only the higher, but sometimes even those lower resist adoption of their forms by another socially lower, that is to say, they fight against a rise in social standing by a competitor.

1:Chabot--188 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

Chapter III

Sex

593 In the chapter concerning kinship, the relationships of the members of the family among each other were treated separately. The relationship of brother to sister occupied a special place in this connection.

Their separation implies that their interests lie in different areas, that is to say, that both their activities as well as the places where they reside are different. These differences also form the pattern for the relationship between men and women in general.

562 The vertical tendency described in the previous chapter demands of the men that they be in a constant relation of opposition to other men. The violent actions and responses [831] that are expected of them go hand in hand with ideas about great sexual potency, which is ascribed to them. The high [157] demands made of men coincide with anxieties about not being able to fulfill these demands. A sense of inadequacy can be observed repeatedly.

157 In the first part of this chapter, modes of conduct, attitudes, and personality norms of the two sexes will be 562 described. After that, a number of inadequacy phenomena will be discussed. Prostitution as an expression of maladjustment on the part of women, and polygamy as an actualization of the vertical tendency by a man with exceptional personal qualities, will be briefly mentioned at the end.

581 In the previous chapter we referred to the central position which marriage occupies in Makassarese society. In the choice of marriage partners, the older people apply standards of selection based upon kinship, status, and personal qualities. They intend to bring about a normal sexual union between man and wife. The description of the marriage

581 /139 cont./ feast, in which this purpose finds expression, and the difficulties which crop up on this occasion are the topic of the second part.

558 /140/ As a companion phenomenon, the vertical
562 tendency includes the sense of siri', that is, the sense of going down in social standing in relation to someone else. The fact that a woman must not go down in standing means that the slightest impairment of her social standing arouses the most violent reactions. There are various ways of escaping such a reaction. Marriage by flight is an example. It will be discussed extensively, among other things, in the third part of this chapter because it forms a spectacular phenomenon in Makassarese society, one that constantly leads to difficulties in the practice of administration and jurisdiction.

First Part

852 Immediately at birth a difference is made in the ritual between a boy and a girl. The parappo, the essence of the offering to be presented, differs with respect to the number of betel leaves of which it consists, depending on whether it is intended for a boy (6) or for a girl (7). Children play
857 together up to the age of eight to ten years. Informants
855 said that girls were always treated more gently than boys, for instance, that they were not beaten.

Not until the age of six years, so far as I was able to
857 observe, were little boys taught that they are not allowed
867 other things than girls /sic/. Boys of that age accompany their father to the pasar; girls stay at home. Boys are sent away when young girls (tau lolo) are getting dressed and making themselves up. When little girls are naughty, they are threatened with: "I'll make you sit with the boys." Boys are not threatened with having to sit with the girls. They would find it momentarily unpleasant, so I was told, but they are freer in their movements and would therefore

858 /143 cont./ Boys seem to go through a difficult period
867 at the age of approximately eleven to fourteen years. Before that, despite small differences from the girls, they were considered to be children, and as such they quite naturally stayed in the women's rooms. But around the age of ten to eleven, the older women make it plain to them that they
561 no longer belong there. Compared to women, however, men have less unity. For them the difference in age plays a much
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561 obedience and a certain respect from the younger. The young
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858 the sexual maturity to participate in the boasting conversations about conquests and sexual achievements that are customary in the circle of young men. They are physically not yet strong enough to participate in brawls and great work schemes, and therefore they cannot talk about their exploits. They do not count among the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds. At the same time these twelve-year-old boys have not yet had much opportunity to associate with each other. So they first look for their age mates. They roam around, they are little noticed, and they don't feel at home anywhere.

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462 entrance. One could regard the women as a group whose
476 members /144/ help each other with daily household problems,

443 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They
462 go around alone or with a number of men of their own age. Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 The activities of men and women therefore complement
562 each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more helpless," if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding gardens.

562 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that
554 of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the
576 meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status
571 with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the
521 others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator may place himself in the center of the story since, after all, those present share in the standing he won in this manner. The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them. Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people, and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men, four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression.
562 Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and
571 go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned. Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are free in their actions and speech.

521 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally.
562 They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the
571 same time about topics which they would also discuss at an
576 ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

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571 The forms of social intercourse between men and women
673 are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized
834 by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

These strict rules do not apply to children and older
[561 people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls
858]

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small
[689] dagger/, which frequently results in death.

584 /151 cont./ But an atmosphere of intimacy is created pre-
834 cisely because it is forbidden and dangerous. The desire to get married seems to be strengthened by it.

584 The examples described are a number of ways in which young people try to bring about a marriage with a marriage partner chosen by themselves by means of forbidden contacts.

Personality Norms

157 Norms for the personality of men are different from
562 those for women.

A man must be combative and courageous, always ready to challenge someone or to answer a challenge. He must be skillful in debate and a good teller of tall tales. In these stories the emphasis must always be placed on the fact that he, his group, or his prince, did something better than another group or a neighboring prince. In these stories he must also have great success with women and be capable of great sexual achievements. One likes to compare a man to a cock, proud and always ready to do battle. A man is sometimes conceived of as rough. He is always wandering.

562 Man is devoted to woman; he praises her in vague,
539 idealizing terms.

157 Nampa' ri udjung Borinu,	When I had come to the farthest point of your land,
riappa pa'rasangannu	to the remotest point of your land,
nanailalang	then my soul was already in you,
sumangakku, makkaraëng	worshipping you.

157 /152/ The woman must be delicate and tender, shy
562 and withdrawn. She is more devoted to herself. She tries, but as passively as possible, to draw his attention to herself.

157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku — My implanted, straight flowers,

539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku — My blooming tjampaga flowers.

Natjiniku ianu — When N. N. sees me

Nadjandjangku mole mole. — He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that
157 a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in
157 men are at the same time those which they need for success in
182 striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.

554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

[177
192]

1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het," /"an 'it' person." -- Ed./.

585 /175 cont./ people attach great significance to the way in which these actions are performed by the young people, because they believe that they can discover from them the person's inclination toward the marriage partner, and upon this in turn they base the further (ritual) measures that must be taken, all of which are geared finally to the "good" union of man and wife.

In addition, little games take place during the festival, in the form of small contests between bride and bridegroom. At the same time, care is always taken that the woman wins. It is said that this is an expression of the wish that later in daily life the wife will be the boss in the house, because a couple is then regarded as happiest (1).

562 593

1. The relationship between man and wife in marriage is aptly characterized by saying that the wife stands on the index finger of the man (bainea ammentengi ri pandjodjona buranea), that is to say, that the wife must do what the man says. In actuality this idea is put into practice only with respect to certain points, for instance, where the siri' feelings play a part. A married man must therefore decide whether a sister or a sister-in-law living in the house with him may go to a festival, whether she may still go to school, and so forth. He may turn away a marriage request. In such matters he has his way. Thereby he feels responsible

562 /175 cont./
593

because, if something should happen, he is the one who would have to take action since he is the protector of the siri'. Therefore, his wife complies with his commands in these matters. But in other respects it is apparent that the woman is the boss in the house, and that the man is content with this situation. When discussions had to be conducted concerning the arrangement of a circumcision festival, the parents of the little boy to be circumcised were still too young to do this completely independently. The man's father indicated the large lines according to which the festival should be held. But he conducted these discussions not with his son but with his daughter-in-law. Only when the arrangement of the festival had been discussed in detail was this communicated to her husband, who now gave his official consent. Whenever man and wife are not agreed as to whether a large festival or a small festival should be held upon the occasion of some event or other, or if the man wants to buy a bicycle for his son while his wife wants to

562 593 /175 cont./ buy clothes, then the latter acts according to her own wishes. At such times the man becomes angry, but he soon comes to accept the situation with the sigh that, after all, these are only unimportant matters. Questions involving siri' are, in his opinion, ultimately the important points, and accordingly he makes sure that these continue to be under his jurisdiction.

585 184 /176/ No two wedding festivals are alike. The respective groups of relatives each have their peculiarities which find expression in details of the ritual. Within one and the same related group, each of the leading personalities leave their stamp both upon the organization of the entire festival, as well as upon the execution of the individual rituals. They show thereby that they can not only follow existing rituals, but also that they can add new rituals to these already existing.

Whoever has gone through several wedding festivals will have been struck by the great differences between them, as well as by the many traits they have in common. In the description that follows here of a number of subelements of the wedding ritual, I have followed, in the main, the notes that I took down at a single festival. In this case I am not striving for completeness. Otherwise the ritual would have had to be described much more fully. Behind each detail there again loom new ones.

585 /194 cont./ become familiar in these common things. The content of twice nine young coconuts are now poured out over them, and the passili ritual is performed on them (1).

> 1. This bathing festival generally takes place three days after the arrival of the bridegroom in the house of the bride. During almost three times 24 hours, the bridegroom is forbidden to step on the earth outside the house. If he violates this prohibition he is scolded: "Why do you do that? Do we have to become unlucky?"

Thereupon they must "see which of them is the first to have the ground under their feet as they get up from the ladder." Whoever wins will be boss in the house in their marriage. The bridegroom usually runs right across the pannjambungi down the front steps. The bride is quickly carried to her little room where a lump of earth has previously been placed in readiness. It is always declared that the bride has won even though it is practically impossible to ascertain the actual outcome. But nobody is interested in the latter anyway.

After this the couple goes to spend a few days in the bridegroom's house. There festivities again take place, and subsequently they again return to the wife's house.

Being "Good"

Another small family festival takes place there,/in the wife's house/ in conclusion, a week or two after the nikka'. This

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to
[562] see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
[626 558] without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

627 /234 cont./ After the flight of a man with a higher woman, it is practically impossible to bring about a reconciliation (1). In all these cases it was therefore believed that

1. An exceptional case was reported on page 125.

there was a reason for the wife's kin group to feel more than usually siri', and as a consequence reconciliation also took longer than usual.

The tumasiri' who make the decision in these reconciliation matters that is followed by all kinsmen are the closest male kinsmen, more specifically the father and the (oldest) brother of the woman. In case of a conflict between the two, the father declared in a certain case that he was leaving the matter to his son to regulate. In so doing, he externally maintained his position as leader in the family whom the sons must obey, but in reality it was his son who carried through his wishes. The influence of the woman's mother and sisters is small in these siri' matters. They are expected not to concern themselves with these things. Siri' matters touch upon life and death; they are men's problems. An older woman may at some point confidentially make the observation to one of the older men that by now surely enough time has passed since the flight, but there is no reason to assume that any notice is taken of such a remark. In these matters women merely furnish their cooperation in subordinate matters such as the filling of the kampu, the baking of the cookies, and the preparation of the feast.

593 627 562 593 627

It is said that after the reconciliation great care is taken that all the wife's kinsmen, thus all the tumasiri', receive a number of the cookies brought by the couple. For whoever has eaten of these cookies can never say later on that he was not in agreement with the reconciliation, and this implies that he will not make an attempt at stabbing during a later encounter

627 602

554 /241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely de-
612 limited group and that the standing of relatives among each
684 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
689 found -- with one single exception: the karaëng and the
[562] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.

156 /242 cont./ Among the men who possess to a low degree
833 the qualities established as a norm for them, there are to be
838 found the "kawe kawe," the unmarried men, the married men who refuse to have sexual intercourse with their wives, and possibly the koro patients. It is impossible for me to indicate the boundary between a lack of the qualities demanded by the culture and a supposed lack.

156 Among the women who possess the qualities ascribed to
[548] them to a small degree, one finds the prostitutes and also matrons and bride's mothers, and those who perform the ancestral ritual, all of whom owe their standing to their work, which serves to raise the standing of the community. Among these there are also the princesses, who in these countries frequently played a dominant role. Among females in this
[562] position there is none of the docility left, which is expected in women.

/248/ Appendix

114 Figures drawn from registers constitute a welcome addition
127 to the data that could not have been obtained otherwise, or only with great difficulty through verbal information. However, in making use of register material, there is a danger that the degree of its reliability will not be sufficiently realized.

Data based on registers always make a precise impression. The collector is inclined to believe in their reliability himself. But the reliability can only be judged through an acquaintance with the culture in which they are used. A number of "mistakes" in the registers can be immediately understood as a result of ideas present in that culture. They raise the demand for care in the comparison of figures with other regions.

[96 cont.]

M 582 583 parental [bilateral] or parentage rights system prevails. Nevertheless, the bridegroom still pays a bride price, which here, of course, has nothing of the character of a purchase price for the girl. It is divided, together with other presents, among the M 586 relatives of the bride, who, for their part, also give presents and return a part of the bride price. Divorce is rife, and divorce can be instituted by both the man and the woman. A peculiar institution is the mapoewé awo, "to divide a bamboo into two equal parts," which refers to the [97] distribution of the children between the parents with the understanding that, in the case of divorce and provided the bride price has been paid, the first child, then the third, and so on, go to the M 562 mother, the others to the father. As is always the case with eleutherogamy, the position of women is not lower than that of the men; rule by women is common in southern Celebes.

B 621 631 d. Bali. Among the Balinese the interests of the individual are primarily concentrated in territorial jurisdictional communities, the Balinese dèsa; in former times they were combined into even larger territorial units, not always to their advantage or satisfaction, for example, the former Balinese principalities which were subdivided into districts.

B 592 594 It is noteworthy that neither the family nor the household [gezin, or nuclear family] is a jurisdictional community, in view of the fact that the Balinese have a strong family sense, B [769 778] which expresses itself, for instance, in a veneration for the place from which the family traces its origin. A special temple is erected and pilgrimages are made there for giving offerings. B 631 Only the dèsa, however, the territorial region, is a jurisdictional community, and, besides that, the soebak, the Balinese polder.

B 621 Although one can thus say that the dèsa communities represent the pivot around which the interests of the individual revolve, this must be qualified to apply to the particular situation on Bali.

B [771 774] The whole life of the Balinese is very strongly influenced by his religion, an animism that has been greatly modified by

Mo Batak 0D5 Malaccas OH1
C Java OE1 Ceram OH9
Bt Malays AN5 Buru OH8
Br Bali OFT Gorontolo OG6
G Makassar OG6 ● Borneo OC1
Bu [200 cont.]
805 (about one hour), etc. To indicate very short lengths of time, one speaks of the duration of a betel quid, about a quarter of an hour. These expressions are still used even on Java and among the Malays. The latter say sakapur sirih lamanja = the duration J
MI of a betel quid, and the former say sapanginang, which means
[805] about the same thing.

[201] Chapter 9. Family Life.

a. Birth; b. Twins; c. Abortion;
d. Naming; e Bathing.

a. Birth

I In the first place, we want to examine the principal cus-
842 toms at birth.
562 In general, the native values the possession of children very highly, even to such extent that among many peoples a childless marriage is grounds for divorce. There is nothing more terrible for a married woman than to remain childless. She can be sure that her husband will despise her and her sisters
MH will ridicule her. "Eh! indona = oh, mother of itself," says the
Bt Buginese (1), and the Batak (2) and the Balinese (3) are no less
Bl
842
●562
775

1. Matthes, Boegineesch Wrdb., see indó.

2. Van der Tuuk, Bataksch Wrdb., see ambala.

3. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T. L. Vk., Vol. XVIII, p. 387.

considerate in this respect. Moreover, the childless woman has

Makassar 066
Bali 0F7
Batak 0D5
Gorontalo 064
Borneo 0C1

Br
Bt [201 cont.]
M to fear a number of horrors in the hereafter; indeed some peoples
842 of the archipelago believe that in hell she must feed a snake at
562 her breast for punishment.
775 In general a son is desired more than a daughter as the first-born, but after that daughters are desired, in particular because of their value in connection with [202] bride price. The
G Alfoer of northern Celebes expresses this very characteristically:
842 "only girls bring in money" (1).

1. Graafland, De Minahassa, Vol. I, p. 301.

Bt
Br
I Infertility is therefore regrettable and is generally ascribed
842 to evil spirits. All kinds of charms and offerings are used to try
776 to render their influence innocuous. Even during pregnancy, how-
775 ever, the woman still has to fear the snares of the evil demons. She therefore zealously gives offerings to them, who bear such names as djata (2) among the Dajak [Dyak], langolan among

2. Hardeland, Dajaksch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, see bararamin.

the Batak, etc. Standing above all of them, however, are the pontianak, the spirits of women who died in childbirth. All the women who have met this fate are pontianak without exception. They are usually imagined as naked and as having the shape of birds, thus, as flying ghosts. Driven by envy, they always and at all times seek to take away from their sisters the joy that they themselves have been deprived of. Various means, primarily offerings, are used to ward off their influence. As well as on the pregnant women, these ghosts also have designs on the men as the beings who can give the joy of motherhood to the women, and particularly on their genitals (3).

3. Wilken, Het Animisme bij de Volken

I 643 [387 cont.]
of women. Nevertheless, female rule is not rare in the archipelago. The most remarkable example of it is furnished by the
A 643 562 779 state of Atjeh. In the seventeenth century, for a period of 58 years, Atjeh was ruled by four consecutive sultanas. There were then two parties in Atjeh, an Arabian party, or rather a princes' party, and a national party, which was represented primarily by the orangkaja, members of the state council. It was primarily these orangkaja, who, opposing the efforts of the priests in the Arabian party, were able to perpetuate female rule during all that time, which gave them the opportunity to exercise more unlimited authority and personal influence. After the death of the next to last of these four sultanas, Inájat Schabi, in 1688, a war broke out between the champions of the national and of the Arabian party. The former wanted to place a princess, Kamalat Schah, on the throne, whereas the latter demanded a sovereign of male sex. The national party, the orangkaja, were victorious, and Princess Kamalat Schah was placed on the throne [388] and upheld. The party of the priests, however, did not remain quiet and 11 years later, in 1699, came forth with a letter from a cadi of Mecca, informing the people of Atjeh that the exercise of legal authority by a woman was in conflict with the laws of Islam. The orangkaja no longer dared to resist. Kamalat Schah was removed and the government was handed over to a prince; since that time no woman has headed the government of Atjeh.
MK 643 562 South Celebes is another country where female rule frequently occurs, indeed is practically the rule. This has always been the case here. Crawfurd even mentioned it as a peculiarity. According to the Government Yearbook, Bone and Tanette are still ruled by female sovereigns, as is Barroe and four of the six states
BR of Adja Tapparang.

I 643 171 562 Women at the head of the government seems to be purely Polynesian. We also find it among the pagan peoples. It has been reported that some Dajak [Dyak] tribes are ruled by women.

B [416 cont.]

565 Among the Batak, too—as a reminder, they are divided
554 into two standings, the namora-mora and the halak na djadji—
551 the custom of assuming a galar exists. They have probably adopted it from the Malays, although in a different form. The differentiation into galar pusaka and galar muda does not exist here, and there is only one kind, which is like the galar muda and is used with the nama kètè. It also consists of two parts, the title and the description. The usual title is dja, an abbreviation of radja, for example, Dja porkis, Dja langit, etc. The galar here, however, is not limited to the nobility, but is borne by many of the common people, especially by the well-to-do. [417] The namora-mora, and particularly those who are closely related to the sovereign, change the galar in later life, when assuming office, when marrying, etc., for another whose title is baginda, sutan, mangaradja, pertuwan, etc., as follows: Pertuwan sangkupan, Sutan ganga alam, etc. Often two titles are combined, such as Sutan mangaradja, Djona alam, etc. The title of the galar usually stays in the family [geslacht] in the sense that it passes from father to grandson. If the father has the title pertuwan, then his son is not pertuwan, but sutan, the grandson pertuwan, the great-grandson sutan, etc. Persons without a title have si in front of their name.

e. Celebes

MK
565 Among the Buginese and Makassarese, too, the nobility
643 is quite sharply distinguished from the common class. Members
[562] of the royal family have the title karaëng among the Makassarese, and arung or patta or opis among the Buginese. Both titles are borne by men and women. The ruling sovereigns, male and female, have such titles, but with the addition of mágaú Bug. and mangkaú Mak., thus, karaëng mágaú and arung mangkaú. Princes
MK and princesses of high birth who may be considered for the succes-
[554] sion are called patola instead of karaëng or arung. There is a

Timor OF20
Moluccas OH1
Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Minangkabau OD10
Malays AN5
Tagalog OA36

Ml [558 cont.]
MK sleepers. These spirits bear various names. Among the Malays
MR of Sumatra they are called palasib or, according to Minangkabau
I pronunciation, pălăsiëq; among the Batak, palasik; and elsewhere
BR in Malayan lands, penanggalan. Among the Dajak in particular
774 the belief in these spirits plays an important role. They are
754 called hantuen, and in nearly every region of the southeastern
753 division there are persons who are suspected of being hantuen.
761 Naturally, there is great abhorrence of marriage with such a person. It is said, however, that such marriages sometimes occur, because one does not always know. If it is regarded as proved that someone is a hantuen, then he is put to death with the greatest tortures. Among the Buginese these spirits are called paeppo,
MK among the Makassarese popokang. Among these peoples, they
[562 are exclusively women. If a woman is thought to be such at the
681] court, she is immediately reduced to slavery and sentenced to pounding kemiri nuts all day long every day, which is a means of preventing her nightly wanderings.

T The belief in these beings also exists in the eastern part of
MD the archipelago, in the Moluccas and on Timor. They are called
Tm suwangi or swangi here. Especially when a ruler dies, a swangi
754 is often blamed for it. The person accused of being the swangi
761 is put to death and his relatives are made slaves. Among
753 the Tagalog on Luzon, who believe in these spirits, they are
774 [559] called magtatankal.

g. Pontianak

MD Another spirit that is generally feared is the pontianak, the
I name of the spirits of women who died before delivery. Every
755 woman who dies in childbed becomes a pontianak. They gen-
[845] erally show themselves in the form of a bird and are therefore flying ghosts. These pontianak who could not enjoy motherhood
MD before their confinement, begrudge that of their sisters and al-
I ways try to harm pregnant women. It is not pregnant women
[843]

124 Levij of the Voorlichtings Ministerie (Kementerian
Penerangan Indonesia Timoer) [Ministry of Information for
the State of East Indonesia] offered to do this providing I
would pay the expenses, using his office staff. I went with
361 Rahim and van Heekeren to Balombaru this morning.
491 Balombaru is in the adatgemeenschap [native community]
Karawisi, in which there are perhaps six other kampongs
(check). To get to Balombaru we went out [south] on the Goa
road for about six kilometers, then turned right on a side
road, and finally again on a dirt road. As the limits of the
municipality are reached the road at once appears to be full
of holes; and in the dry monsoon period there is terrible
dust. We were stopped by a police cordon and later found
out that the reason was that they expected to have a meeting
of the police school (I think) in the afternoon and wanted to
keep cars out so that there would be less dust! We went by a
side route, and first stopped at a stucco house with an office
which belonged to the district head, the Karaeng. He is an
important man in Goa. He was not in. His assistant im-
pressed me by his poise and by his quiet manner. We went
363 on, and got to the village [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] itself,
going around a plaza, a dusty kind of turnabout with the enter-
ing road coming in at right angles to the "main street" of the
kampong. Rahim said that there were side streets too. It ap-
peared that most of the houses were located along the roads.
I will see. We stopped (before this, and outside the kampong
proper) at the house of the Imam, near the mosque (I must
check the name of the main kampong where the Karaeng and
342 the Imam and the mosque are located). The Imam lives in a
very nice Makassar type house. We went upstairs to the
main room, which was large, and in which there was a bed
with a klambu [mosquito net]. There seemed to be several
other rooms in the rear. The floor was of wide planks not
placed too close together so that the air could come up into
the room. The house itself was of wood with atap thatch [i.e.,
of palm leaves or the like]. The Imam said he had seven chil-
156 dren. He married in 1929 in Mecca, and seemed very proud
● 562 of this. He brought it in at the very first chance. He is a
576 small, quite handsome man, perhaps forty years old. His
wife is pretty, has gold teeth, and looked as if she were
dressed in Javanese style. She is evidently modern in a
sense, as she came right up to us, and shook our hands.
Rahim said this was not the old style, as ordinarily women
would stay behind. She also broke into the conversation
from time to time. However, she did sit at another
table, listening. We sat at a table in the middle of

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 562
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197]
words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaëng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaëng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaeng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favorably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when [114]
in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

563 I then asked whether there were other stores in the kampong. He said there were several, mostly belonging to Chinese. Rahim said the Chinese live in a few houses along one street. He pointed them out saying that the Chinese, or at least some of them, had been there for a long time and speak Makassarese well. But, though they marry Makassarese girls, the children of such marriages never do, but instead follow their fathers' line. Evidently they marry Chinese. Thus it appeared that the Chinese breed mates for their own folk by first mating or marrying with local girls. Rahim added that although Chinese men married Makassarese girls, Makassarese men never married Chinese girls. This is understandable, as there are no Chinese girls until the second generation. Then they are considered Chinese and marry Chinese. I must ask about the feeling toward the Chinese on various points. Rahim went to
000 this kampong school, and then to an intermediate school in Makassar, and then, I suppose, to a higher school.

123 . As we left the store the lads asked if I would take them to
512 the mosque in my jeep. The old man especially said that it
● 562 was a long walk for him. Indeed it was so. In fact, I wondered if he would have done it if there had been no jeep. Four of them, including Rahim's father, piled in, and I took them to the mosque. This is Friday, and many people were walking in that direction. Rahim said that it was taboo for women, and there were no women going.

346 The mosque was quite a fine one, white, with (amazing!) an
177 old cremation urn at the top of one tower. Van Heekeren said this was usual. These urns were imported from China four to five hundred years ago, and were evidently used for ashes in Hindu days. But it is remarkable to me that one should be on top of a mosque!

285 I saw some very fine baskets in a store. One was vari-colored with a round top which had words plaited in around the border. Perhaps I will buy it later.

342 Thus went the first day or at least the first morning. I will leave things alone for a while. And on Monday I will meet my assistant. My general impression of the houses in the kampong is one of a mixture. The good houses are built mainly of wood and thatch, but there are several of these which are poor and are falling down. Van Heekeren said that bamboo is scarce, hence the use of wood. And maybe that accounts for the lack of good repair in some cases. The people are pleasant and polite, I have been pleasantly impressed. I see very few women around here and wonder where they are. One sees many more in Java. And those one does see here, though often very fine, are not generally so handsome as the Javanese or Sundanese.

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy
having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the
gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of
boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only
to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood
clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circum-
cision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with
a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but
but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the out- 567
side they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 535
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are
none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including
two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to
have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the
line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have
the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble
The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere
chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-
way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles
and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562●
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming
181 masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this
point. I said that they needed business education, and they
saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great
extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only
hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent
over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kam-
pong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it.
In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers
and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told
them about the Javanese using these without giving up Moham-
medanism, and although they could see the point they responded
in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This
also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge
training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
● 562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None
speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach
classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They
saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over
Dutch because it is an international language. They said that
all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read
the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they
read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them
when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak
Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can
understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can under-
stand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman
characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say
all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I
wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about
this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the
farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but
368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling
library here before the war, and also a library in
Bone, but this was no longer the case.

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. 000
During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today. The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and [439]
import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is hardly worth speaking of.

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. Formerly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C. [probably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East India Company)--Analyst]coins and also kepeng. Now they still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me. 436 178

As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including 177
four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were 489
three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. 493
There is much travel by bus today.

As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic 428
and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main
thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance 562
it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that 591
the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one. 611
But the girls generally get the house. This is important because the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more property than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Nevertheless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he [578]
might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really excited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would fight, and even knife him.

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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●562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. 842
But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Per- 611
haps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here?
I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They [123]
listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families.
They said there simply was no control here. The more the
better. I talked at length regarding the future decision con-
cerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather
a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of
Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that
here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children,
but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very inter-
esting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories.

We quit at 6 P.M as the guru had to go to prayer. This is 512
Friday (or maybe he goes everyday).

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The 123
people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is 574
true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always 562
tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must al-
ways be served to guests, and the Kepala kampong said that
if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there
may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come
into the front when I am present, a difference from the be-
havior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served
by the Kepala kampong or his son or a retainer. The Kepala 576
kampong, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends
over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes
hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the
younger ones not so much.

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. 595
Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten 852
days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several 574
houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is
sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant.
We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a 000
house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way
we saw the kampong Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later
the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watam-
pone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a
three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children
soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim
like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they
marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau.
The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am
not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the
marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the
marriage is completed.

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese 535
in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and 181
there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead- 152
pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the sim- 832
ple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the 292
local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have
much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light
banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was
when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected
because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face to-
ward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward
prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The
high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And
the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under
them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in
festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and 124
finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Moham-
medan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living 163
children per woman was three, but that the average number
of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average
number who die to each woman is two. They say there has
been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not
much if any difference according to class. This I do notice,
that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is 861
the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. 828
I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that
they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says
there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a
child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex]
(and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted
that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary
people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. 562
They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, 584
women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women 883
never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) 181
If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or some-
one else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not
usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders
doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change
noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional
pair coming from school together, but this is carried out
for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely, there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal,
562 and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for weddtng rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed [791]
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
]day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash,
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 562●
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that 178
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 554
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 782
They said that women have two stones, and men only one! 796
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I 517
got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The 181
Land of the Walking-Dead". When I described the amuse-
ments of New York City to Andi he said that he would die
there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old
Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for
example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big
attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did 167
not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if 186
he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens
said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc.
If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world,
and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is 178
general and there is not much to say. The death punishment 681
is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the 796
common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even 805
included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric
systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and
Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are
birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation,
marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They [241]
knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts
that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for
the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways,
there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find
some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is
no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead any-
way.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: 574
I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and 852
two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kam-
pong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of
the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three
buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of
women were working at the preparation of different kinds of
food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said
the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any de-
mand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of [562]●
men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear
part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much 176
new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus 874
chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third 401
grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from 403
bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25
and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing
he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

Regarding sex, Thierens said that the extreme repression of it and the lack of open relations of a social sort between boys and girls here causes a high rate of homosexuality among boys. He said that nearly all boys are so. This may also link with the wandu custom, or at least the prostitute part of it. The boys are used to homosexual practice in youth, and like it. Also, perhaps the women, so bound by adat, are cold. Thus the homosexuals may be an attraction. The whole dead business has paralyzed these people even down to the simple sex matter. I remember the homosexual practices in Bontorio. But that was in the court, where there were girls. Maybe even there it was hard to get girls, and there may have been little in the way of social relationships. I remember that Bontorio had to get his slave girls on the sly. That is what Andi said, things must be kept in the dark. M 831 838 181 154

In regard to the Toala and the To Patuntung, I went to Soppeng on Sunday. We took one route down and another one back. It is in a rather mountainous section but Soppeng itself is a large and attractive town. On the way we could see the remoteness of many of the people here, even those on the road. In Soppeng I met Denzo, the Christian leader. He is young and good looking, much like Lethe in type and manners. His family comes from Saleier, but also from Bone. He was born in Saleier. He was baptized in 1937 although coming from a Mohammedan family. His mother is also a Christian and so is at least one sibling. He said that this resulted in some trouble with his father. By 1939, he had 800 Christians. During the Japanese time this number shot up to 2,000 and now he has about 3,000. This is the only place in the Buginese country where there are Christians. He has a church which is a part of the Protestant Church of Indonesia. But it is not a mission proper. He said that he converted from all classes, including at least one high fellow. He said that there are more women than men which did surprise me. I asked him how to approach women. He said that one must first ask the man. If the man is converted, then one can work on the woman, and usually the whole family becomes Christian. But one may not talk to the woman without the man's consent. Denzo said there was some trouble with the radja and with the nobles and with the fanatic Mohammedans. But after a while there was not so much trouble because they found out the Christians did not break up the adat and so they could not be too bad. Again we see the point that adat comes first, the Mohammedan practices being secondary. M 797 562 M [576] M [181]

Then I asked about the To Patuntung. He said there are not so many of them. They are ten kilometers walk south of C 563

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included 541
ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat 728
the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe.
Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), 642
Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba, 634
and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over.
This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who [562]
sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English.
Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the [793]
opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre- [838]
Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong. He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the 567
Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in 554
the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of his status.

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs. M 304 881 852

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heaven ones. This explains a difficult point. M 565 173 793

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace. M 778 793

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former. M 562 609

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime. C 669 643

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I Java OE1
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holds the title to it usually has no claim to reimbursement for the use of it; not even if there is a later divorce.

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Statements are frequently made about marriage property in terms of the burden of proof in case of controversy: "the possessions are owned in common, unless it is proved that the wife does not do the housekeeping." This may have a confusing effect. Actually, the determination of burden rests on the question of what is normal. And what is in conflict with the normal must be proved in each particular instance.

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While the marriage continues, the spouses each deal with the common possessions within his or her normal sphere. In the case of important transactions, they sometimes act together. But if the husband takes action, the consent of the wife is presupposed and the act is valid, even though he has not consulted her. If, however, the wife should openly oppose one act or another, then the husband cannot act alone, save in case of necessity. Third parties have to take this into account. The same thing is true in the incurring of debts. Obligations entered into by the husband or wife must be met as family obligations through utilization of their common property. Such debts are recoverable from this property, and if their joint property is inadequate, the "asal" possessions of the person who incurred the debt must be used. In Macasser, "asal" (sisila-) property may even be set aside for joint debts, in preference to the common property. But the "asal" possessions of a deceased person cannot be so used. If a husband or wife should have individual debts, such as premarital debts, then those debts are recoverable, in the first place, from the "asal" property of the party concerned, and, in the second place, from the common property in its entirety. There is no such thing as an undivided share of the husband or of the wife in the common property during the marriage. Therefore, seizure of an undivided share for the collection of a debt is an absurdity, according to adat law principles and practice. While a marriage exists, the estate cannot be divided against the will of the parties concerned.

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Division of marital property comes into play primarily in case of dissolution of marriage. If it is not evident that one of the spouses has so misbehaved that every claim to a part of the possessions has been forfeited, or that the wife relinquished her share as indemnification for repudiation (pages 181, 183), each of the spouses usually takes his or her "asal" possessions and possibly his or her share in the common matrimonial property. This common

167 /58 cont./ group regularly went back to the homeland, albeit only temporarily. Everywhere people gave as a reason for colonization the fact that it was easier to earn one's livelihood here than in the homeland. In two of the three kampongs, there were more men than women, a phenomenon which is to be regarded as normal (1) in the regions of colonization, where

1. See the table on p. 80 for figures.

the heavy work falls to the men.

Only a general tendency was observable for the period when most of the colonists had come. Men of approximately fifty years stated that they had come here first as young men, thus about 25 years before, initially often as seasonal workers, and that they had stayed to live here only later. Others gave their arrival as from 20 years to a year ago. My impression is that after a few pioneers had first arrived, large numbers of Makassarese began to migrate to the north around 1935. From the statements of a number of informants it appeared that their present-day place of residence was not their first, but that they had originally settled elsewhere after their departure from the homeland. It can be stated that, once people make one move, further migrations frequently follow.

167 563 The migrants did not possess an ornament: "That remained in Galesong," as they once put it. I did not see any saukang on the sawahs. People denied having little ancestral houses or offering bowls (2) in their houses. They gave as the reason

2. See pp. 86, 87.

for this the fact that the Buginese among whom they lived here were strict Moslems who did not care for such old-fashioned affairs.

563 582 /59 cont./ Many young colonists return to the homeland in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

563 583 In addition the small percentage of silariang marriages is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find silariang so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of silariang marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

342 563 184 The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

186 563 621 Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the common language constitutes a unifying element for these colonists.

The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

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	Total Number of Registered Houses	Total Number of Individuals	Men	Women	Festive Marriages	Silariang Marriages	Married Couple Related to Each Other	Married Couple Not Related to Each Other	Average Number of Individuals per House	Place of Origin	
										Galesong	7
Kape	25	133	80	53	27	1	19	9	5 1/3	Lebakkang	10
										Pangkadjene	4
										Maros	4
Langa	28	165	85	80	22	7	26	3	5.9	Galesong	28
										Lebakkang	9
										Segeri	2
Paria	15	80	34	46	16	1	8	9	5 1/3	Pangkadjene	1
										Maros	2
										Djeneponto	1
Total 1949	68	378	199	179	65	9	53	21	5.56		
Bontoramba 1948	129	787	382	405	105	27	104	28	6.1		

186 /61 cont./ but the majority are only interested in owning
563 land back in the homeland.

Language and common residence strengthen, at least for the time being, the integration of the colonists.

The Worship Community

612 The Makassarese related group was defined as a group of
769 relatives whose members worship their ancestors at places and times designated for this purpose.

Participation in ancestor worship is linked to kinship. For instance, one whose grandparents were not related to each other, and whose two pairs of grandparents were not related to each other either, belongs to four different groups of relatives and may participate in the ancestor worship of all four different groups. In practice, an individual participates primarily in the worship of the group with which he lives. But he may also share in that of his kinsmen, even if he does
[557] not have daily contact with them. His choice in this is determined to a great degree by the social standing of these kinsmen. There is a demonstrable preference among people to turn to the prominent members of the related group in ritual matters.

769 Here we will first describe the most significant aspects of the ritual. Subsequently, we will make comparisons with the ornament ritual.

Essentials of the Ritual

In spite of local differences and despite personal viewpoints of the person carrying out the ritual, the pinati (1), there is

1. See pp. 82, 83.

a high degree of uniformity in the ritual prescriptions. A number of elements are to be found everywhere, such as rice, oil, incense, and water. Some actions /62/ are carried

583 /89 cont./ If one wants to obtain a general view of the amount of sunrang paid in the course of one year, the following figures will serve that purpose. In Borongloë (a good 14,000 inhabitants), the Imam, charged with keeping the marriage registers, had to record 107 marriages between July 1, 1948 and July 1, 1949. Of these, the sunrang amounted:

in 2 cases to 26 reals
in 24 cases to 24 reals
in 2 cases to 22 reals
in 77 cases to 20 reals
in 1 case to 12 reals
in 1 case to 5.00 guldens.

563 583 The amount of 5.00 guldens was registered at a marriage between Javanese who were part of a group of approximately 200, living together in kampong Pakatto. This low sunrang, for the Makassarese regard the amount as such, is one of the reasons why the latter are inclined to regard the Javanese as people of the very lowest status.

667 583 The sunrang of 12 reals was paid to the father of a woman who was regarded as a slave of the adat community head.

665 583 602 Nine of these 107 marriages were contracted between individuals from the kampong Bontoramba. In seven of these nine cases, the sunrang was not 20 but 24 reals, and in only two cases was it 20 reals. This situation which, if one considers the total number of marriages for which 24 and 20 reals were paid respectively, is very unusual and can only be partly interpreted. For each of the seven cases the people were able to give a certain reason. These follow here.

/90/ Both a son as well as a daughter of the Kapala of Bontoramba were married in this year. For both a sunrang of 24 reals was regarded as appropriate. In the case of one couple, the mother of the wife had Buginese kinsmen among whom, in their own country, a much higher sunrang than that of 20 reals was always paid. In the case of another couple, the woman was regarded as related to the adat community head; "she was not equal" (tena nasangkamma), said the Imam, and therefore

554 /91 cont./ The same can be said of the imam's office. The
583 Imam of Borongloë, who furnished information concerning the amount of the sunrang, explained several times that in a certain case a higher sunrang had been paid than was prescribed because the woman in question was related to him. This illustrates the
[602] advantage of kinship, for the woman was honored by the Imam with a higher sunrang than would otherwise have been possible. He would not have been able to refuse the request to record a higher sunrang without being accused of snobbery, for this would have shown that he no longer wanted to recognize his kinsmen as equals and thus no longer as kinsmen. /92/

● 563 4. The sunrang appears to be locally bound. Buginese
583 who have a regulation in their own country by which a much
631 higher sunrang is paid have to submit to the local regulations. It is a public secret that actually they frequently pay their own sunrang of 44 reals but that in the registers an amount of 24 (22 or 20) reals is recorded. The marriage official knows about this and silently acquiesces. Officially there is no violation of the principle that the head of a certain territory is entitled to the highest sunrang.

554 5. It is necessary to be acquainted with the period when
583 the regulation was issued (1940) in order to understand how it
659 is possible that in spite of the existing regulation a higher sunrang was paid for a sister of the adat community head than by the head himself. For the sister, who married in 1939 (before the new regulation came out), a sunrang of 28 reals was received, but when this head himself married fully a year later (after the new regulation), he was not allowed to pay more than 26 reals. There was no getting around the recent prescription issued by the Prince. Considering this situation, the somewhat annoyed remark of this head that in future he would take good care that no one received more than 26 reals was quite understandable.

554 6. The sunrang is not always equal even for people who
583 are kinsmen. A little leeway is possible, and it is just this
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M1 [359 cont.]
175 Company. An expedition was equipped to punish the sultan.
64 After a fierce battle in 1784 Riouw was conquered and the sultan
721 was forced to recognize the Netherlands administration as his
M1 overlord, from whom he had his state in fee. The sultan's seat
[636] was transferred to Lingga, where it is today. In the beginning
the sultan retained his authority over Johore and Pahang. With
the Treaty of London of 1824, however, this was changed because
the Netherlands ceded all its territory on Malacca to England in
return for what England still held on Sumatra, namely, Benkulen.

I In 1830 a new treaty was concluded with the sultan of
M1 Lingga, whereby monetary compensation for the loss of the two
648 territories (Johore and Pahang) was promised him.
636

The sovereign of Lingga bears the title of Jang dipertuwan besar or sultan of Lingga. He has his state in fee from the Government, which is authorized to depose him and to name his successor, who, however, must always belong to the ruling dynasty and insofar as possible be chosen by succession.

M1 The sultan is assisted by a state administrator with the
MK title Jang dipertuwan muda Riouw or Radja muda Riouw from the
643 dynasty of the Buginese princes. On these islands there are many
645 Buginese, whose settlement there [360] dates from the beginning
563 of the seventeenth century, when they supported the Sultan of Lingga in a war with Siak. In 1720 one of the Buginese commanders was appointed viceroy of the state by the sultan, and since that time this office has always been held by a Buginese. The viceroy is recommended by the sultan and appointed by the Government. He has his seat on the island of Penjingat or Maro near Riouw.

M1 The viceroy is not only the general state-administrator,
643 but he also has supreme control of the islands between the coast
645 of Sumatra and Singapore Strait and Dempo Strait in the China Sea, that is, the Riouw group (Bintan, Batam, Bulan, Gampang, Galang or Galah, Chombal, Sugi) and the Karimun Islands (Great and Small Karimun). The viceroy seems to have had proprietory
M1 rights over these islands. The sultan more directly governs the
636 Lingga group (Lingga, Singkep, Sebangka, Sadjuwa, and Temiang).
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The sultan receives 35,000 guilders from the Government
651 in compensation for leases ceded to the country. Otherwise his
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563 I then asked whether there were other stores in the kampong. He said there were several, mostly belonging to Chinese. Rahim said the Chinese live in a few houses along one street. He pointed them out saying that the Chinese, or at least some of them, had been there for a long time and speak Makassarese well. But, though they marry Makassarese girls, the children of such marriages never do, but instead follow their fathers' line. Evidently they marry Chinese. Thus it appeared that the Chinese breed mates for their own folk by first mating or marrying with local girls. Rahim added that although Chinese men married Makassarese girls, Makassarese men never married Chinese girls. This is understandable, as there are no Chinese girls until the second generation. Then they are considered Chinese and marry Chinese. I must ask about the feeling toward the Chinese on various points. Rahim went to this kampong school, and then to an intermediate school in Makassar, and then, I suppose, to a higher school.

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123 As we left the store the lads asked if I would take them to
512 the mosque in my jeep. The old man especially said that it
562 was a long walk for him. Indeed it was so. In fact, I wondered if he would have done it if there had been no jeep. Four of them, including Rahim's father, piled in, and I took them to the mosque. This is Friday, and many people were walking in that direction. Rahim said that it was taboo for women, and there were no women going.

346 The mosque was quite a fine one, white, with (amazing!) an
177 old cremation urn at the top of one tower. Van Heekeren said this was usual. These urns were imported from China four to five hundred years ago, and were evidently used for ashes in Hindu days. But it is remarkable to me that one should be on top of a mosque!

285 I saw some very fine baskets in a store. One was vari-colored with a round top which had words plaited in around the border. Perhaps I will buy it later.

342 Thus went the first day or at least the first morning. I will leave things alone for a while. And on Monday I will meet my assistant. My general impression of the houses in the kampong is one of a mixture. The good houses are built mainly of wood and thatch, but there are several of these which are poor and are falling down. Van Heekeren said that bamboo is scarce, hence the use of wood. And maybe that accounts for the lack of good repair in some cases. The people are pleasant and polite, I have been pleasantly impressed. I see very few women around here and wonder where they are. One sees many more in Java. And those one does see here, though often very fine, are not generally so handsome as the Javanese or Sundanese.

123 chosen to remain in office he then goes back to where he
609 came from. This evidently was quite something to them. I always added that this was neither better nor worse, but just a different way of doing things. I think I put the point across. I said that in the United States we had large houses and big buildings because the weather was so cold. But basically the principles were the same. I said that they used bamboo for struts and supports while we used steel. They used clay to work where we use cement. Then I brought up the point that they knew considerable about the United States as a result of having seen many moving pictures. On the other hand, we know nothing about Makassar.

272 At this point, without any pressing business, the Kepala kampong called for some coconut water. We had quite a time about the word coconut milk in English. Someone was told to strip a few coconuts and the coconut water was quite good, although I could see that it would spoil rapidly. It was served in glasses, though Rahim asked first if I preferred it from the
[833] nut directly. In Bontorio it is said that this coconut water causes impotence, but the men drank it.

● 563 The assistant showed me some silver filigree work. It
326 struck me as mediocre, but I said that it was fine. Later van
439 der Wetering, Secretary of the Centrum Cultureel Stichting [Cultural Foundation Center] in Makassar, said that it was poor and made for the tourist trade. They use a kind of tamarind acid to clean such silver work. It is actually quite banal. One fellow said that the Chinese brought the silver
435 from Hongkong and gave it to the smiths. Later they bought the finished article back and sold it. The fellow who was the constructor of the building said that there was much trouble nowadays. He needed a truck but could get one only by paying f.80 per day. But he could make only f.75 per day. When I commented: apa boleh buat [what can be done about it?] they laughed.

829 We talked about mobility and change from generation to generation. I said that in the United States a son seldom followed the trade of his father. Although this was not too clear they seemed to be surprised. They implied that if the father was a smith, his son would be one also.

609 After a hearty farewell, we went back to the Karaëng. He
156 was there, and there were still many people around. We went in and noted that the atmosphere was entirely different. He is a kind of United States business man in type. He is close mouthed and position-proud. Perhaps he was just embarrassed. However, I missed the give and take that was so

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua. M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads. M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over" M 471 443 563 M 461 463 C 647 563 152 829

The camera, as usual, made quite an impression. In general, rapport was good, and I came back in the afternoon to give my assistant more paper. He drew a fine rough map of the kampong and is a very good man. But I need to have an expansion of many of his answers [to RK's questionnaire]. The trouble is that it is hard for me to read Malay. I have to get around it by having it translated into Dutch! 126 124

Balombaru, September 1, 1949. Second day: This time without Rahim. I have arranged, I think, to have a man type up Saleh's notes in Dutch. I got to the house at 8:30 A.M., and looked over some pages to give to the translator. The material consists of page after page of complete census data, house by house, giving age, occupation, family connections, and so forth. I can also check the material with the accompanying map. Saleh did a fine job; he is a remarkable fellow. Rahim says that although he went only as far as the lower school, he reads a lot and is interested in things in general. 124

First, I talked over the census with Saleh, his hadji father, his cousin's helper at gold work, and the old bearded sea captain carpenter. Then, after coffee we went off on a ride around the kampong following his good map. We went first to the cement factory, run by a Makassarese named Liyu who was once a poor man but learned a lot about business and has now become the richest individual in the village. He owns the cement factory. It is located near a river, where the big praus used to be able to sail in near the old market place (twenty-five years ago). The river here is now a wide, dry bed. In the distance is Gusungdjonga where Saleh's father lives. It is an island in the wet season. I noted the remnants of a bamboo bridge going across to the other side. It was standing one hundred years ago. The cement factory, with four big kiln chimneys in two buildings together with several other buildings, uses local lime rock and wood from the nearby woods. The rock is broken up and put into the blazing ovens at the top of the fire. It comes out as fine cement. Because of the great amount of road building going on now sales are way up. On the bank of the river are many big heaps of sand, and plenty of trucks to haul it away. Also, Saleh says that there are plenty of men working here. I took a photograph of the factory. Liyu's house, a big one, is situated nearby. 339 472

Then we went to the site of the old pasar, in the center of the village. On one side we noted a row of cement houses rented by the radja to Chinese, who can't own the land. Nor 563● 427

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
764 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photograph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photograph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
782 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
412 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers, etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This belonged to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
743 leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map) [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss
758 Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows. These dwelling places are much better than native houses. There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the children especially get leprosy, and that when children are born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

● 563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Neverthe-
less, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
● 563 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thou-
755 sands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

the latter there are ten graves of former radjas who were also holy men. One was especially important. Over the door was a sign in Arabic telling about the dates and lives of the men there buried. The dates are from 1600 to 1700, the Golden Age, of course. Busses are loaded going to this place, and the area itself is thronged. The people buy oil cakes and bring real flowers and lay these on the graves. The graves are thick with flowers. Then the people make their request, for example, for a child to get over an illness. I saw at least two Chinese there and I was told that plenty of them come to make requests. I did not go to the Kale Goa place with the graves today as it was too late. I will go tomorrow morning. I had little time to go into religious matters, but these matters are very strongly held here. I will cover these notes later on. 764 782 563 755

I took Saleh to meet Nunuhitu, the translator and typist. 124

Ternate and the Moluccas: I met the Sultan of Ternate in the club, where he stayed until 3 A. M. He touched no alcohol. He said that if he were in the United States he might drink, but not in Indonesia. He is a very little fellow, his clothes being too large for him, and is in the room next to me at the hotel. He is very keen and speaks English very well. He was in Australia during the war and spent quite a bit of time with the Americans. He even has a familiarity with American slang, for example, merry-go-round. A Dutchman said that he is 100 per cent Nederlander, and he spoke thus, but evidently not a stooge. He says he knows that he will have to yield to the folk here soon, but admits that other radjas are often not of the same disposition as he is. He has an intelligent progressive mind evidently, and although he works with the Dutch, he knows why. That is, he realizes that the Indonesians need their help. He is a member of the East Indonesia Senate. Evidently there are very few in this body, and they are the highest only. Thus the Tidore sultan is not in this body, but in the House of Representatives. The Sultan said that the siwa and lima were old Ternate and Tidore customs originally. Ternate, in the old days, was divided into nine negri or tribes, and everywhere rule among the people was divided into nine divisions. This is no longer true on the island, but he knows that it once was this way. He says that two of the original nine negri still exist. Tidore originally was divided into five negri and wherever the local adat was extended it was so organized. I asked him how he knew about this, and he said that his father had told him. His family has been in direct ruling line for 600 years and these old things are passed 000

Bukaka, September 7, 1949. First day: I went to the house of the Kepala kampong and began going over the schedule with Andi and the teachers and a few of the boys. Andi has a big empty map on which he will work. He is scared of the census-taking so I told him to start on Bukaka proper in which there are more than a hundred houses. This should be a good sample. He is a slow worker. He said he was having much trouble getting the common people to speak. The Kepala kampong is cooperative and so are the teachers and a few others. But the rest say that they don't know. He is irritated and he said that the Bone people get scared of everything. He said that he did not know why. Perhaps it is the government, but no reason is sure. Later Thierens said that maybe this was because they were scared of Andi, who represents the radja class. I think perhaps he was right. It would have been better if I had got a common man from the kampong to do this job. We got a lot of probably only approximately accurate information regarding the population. 124

Evidently, few people leave per year and the population is relatively stable though seemingly on the increase numerically to a slight degree. Those who leave are mainly unmarried men. When they leave they go mostly to other places on Celebes. From this place there are no contract coolies and few sailors (compare this with Makassar and the kampongs near Makassar). Many of those who go away return as they say it is pleasanter and more pleasing to live in the kampong. They complain of the crowds of people outside. Also they can always get food here. (But this information is derived from the returnees, and perhaps those who have not returned would tell quite a different story.) Those who have returned to the village say that they have no trouble refitting into the kampong life. As for property and so forth, those who had it mostly had families and had left property with them while they were away. There is no noticeable resistance to anyone leaving the village. 166

The section on migration was really quite unsatisfactory. 167

As for immigration and information on visitors it appears that even fewer individuals have come into the kampong in the last fifty years. There are a few Chinese, Arabs, Toradja, as well as a very few Makassarese. There are also a few Javans. Family relations seem to be important in this respect. Very few people go away regularly, just as very few people visit regularly. Immigrants fit in easily if they are Mohammedan, but it takes a while. But the Toradja stay apart, as do the Chinese. Several Toradja work for Chinese. And 563

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they
203 often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The
205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
●563 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
161 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly
582 had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

426 They say that there are not many who have run up debts
465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to
499 borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
466 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at
[435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f. 30 per month, and one meal costs about f. 1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f. 1 per day.

563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop-
443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The
472 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only
433 manufacturing center in the area.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the
661 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.

208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa-
668 ganda against it coming from Makassar, But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.

M 6065 521 conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no political life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside

M 602 565 212 601 of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large

M 602 171 families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over

● M T 582 ● 563 771 Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

M T 582 563 771
M 582 178 585
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M 588 565 684
M 575 562

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

office and even to Batavia. The trouble with Wadjo is that many letters there are left unanswered because friends of the corrupt administration are involved. But the controleur is catching them, as he gets copies in the office at Watumpone and then goes to Wadjo and asks why no answer. This is evidently the reason, or one of them, that the Wadjo folk are ready to revolt against the radja and the government. The letters are written by letter writers, who charge a fee to write them in most kampongs. M 695 661 668 212

In regard to Wadjo and Soppeng, Denzo said that the latter is pretty good and that the radja sees this is an overgangstijd [transitional period], as does his administration. Thus the situation is not so bad. But he agrees that Wadjo is awful.

Incidental: I see from the Sadang notes that the swing [During the period of rice ripening, swings are made of ratan, rope, and buffalo hide. The swings are attached to the branch of a tree. In some areas (Kesu, Sadang, and Balusu) boys and girls swing together. Swinging is done to promote the growth of the grains of rice. In some parts of the Sadang area (e.g., Rimbon), the swinging is done by women who also sing a song of gratitude for a good harvest. This custom apparently survives principally as a children's game. All references to swinging will be found in category 524. --Analyst] is used during the entire period of rice planting or rice ripening. S 524 243

I noted that the three-window front of a house, which I had thought was specifically Makassarese, is also found on Buginese houses in the mountains, for example in Soppeng. Thus all that has happened is that the Makassarese have kept it well, while the Buginese in the coastal and other areas tend to lose it. M 342 178

On the way up to Makale, I saw plenty of Toradja, including a coffin on a platform in the yard. The platform was made of bamboo. Bohn in Paloppo and my notes on van der Veen say that this is probably the Luwu group of Sadang. And Bohn corroborates that many are descendants of slaves who were brought there. They live mainly in separate kampongs from the Buginese and there are very few mixed kampongs. They have little social contact, except trading. They practically never intermarry. M 563

On the way in I noticed that the place around Rantepao is full of niche graves. Nearly every appropriate rock face has at least one, together with an ornate door. In these rather solitary ones, however, I did not notice the tautau. M 764

Makassar OG6
Toradja OG11

his status. The Kepala kampong repeated that there are many grades of slaves, and evidently the higher ones actually regard themselves as superior to ordinary commoners. He said that formerly there were many more slaves here, but that many went away when greater freedom of movement was allowed. He added that in the kampongs near the towns there are fewer slaves than in the more remote areas. At one time a noble might have owned as many as a hundred or more slaves. M 567

I quizzed him about the to detjeng. He said this was hard to explain because there were so many kinds. He agreed that the crucial point is that there is some noble blood involved. However, he said that one might use the term detjeng in reference to slaves; all this means literally is "good" (baik). M 565 851 582 567

I asked about class intermarriage, and Andi said that marriage of a matola with a slave woman means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. Also, the marriage of a matola man with a commoner means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. He is not too clear about all this, and it certainly could stand some case research.

In the kampong of Tolangi there are supposed to be a number of Toradja descendants. I saw this section of Bukaka and noted that there were only about seven to eight houses. They are located near a mosque. The Kepala kampong said that the Toradja there try hard to assimilate into the Buginese group, and that they do not like to be called "To Tolangi." They try to move out of this section so that they can hide their Toradja origin. The older ones can still speak Toradja, but the younger ones are forgetting it and they try never to let it be heard (like immigrants in the United States). Today they intermarry with the Buginese. Andi said that there are plenty of Toradja people in Watampone, lots of them living near his house. They come from all over the Toradja country. By and large they are workers at rather poor jobs and do not mix in very much. M 563 T 186 167 191 177 M 565

In talking about intermarriage I insisted that everyone has to know whether a person has a slave background or not. They agreed to this and said that marriages are watched carefully. 582

We went to a cemetery where there were two beehive cement and brick tombs just like the Kale Goa. Inside were the usual graves and on them were placed flowers. There was a smell of incense in the tomb. The Kepala kampong said that people make offerings and pray here. He said that the Chinese come here too. These graves are about two M 764 174 [563]

Note that the Chinese may not buy land. All of them live in the stone (cement) houses beside the leveled market place. This is known as rumah sewa and is shown on the map. It is rented out by the radja. 563 425 342

The one Toradja is a woman married to a Chinaman.

Saleh pointed out that there are many cases of commoners using the title of daeng now. However, he has ignored them in this list of names because he knows that this is merely a pretension on their part. 162 565

C. Trade and Class

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Javanese	Chinese	Total
Goldsmith	30	19	1	-	-	50
Peddler-small trader	9	32	3	-	3	47
Merchant	2	2	-	-	-	13
Leather-worker	4	39	1	4	-	48
Smith	5	3	-	-	-	8
Industry	1	2	-	-	-	3
Carpenter	1	4	-	-	-	5
Farmer	2	13	-	-	-	15
Roofer-thatcher	1	5	-	-	-	6
Coolie	-	-	-	-	-	2
Cycle-repair	2	-	-	-	-	2
Weaver	-	2	-	-	-	2
Coach-bike-shaw	1	1	-	-	-	2
Dyer	-	1	-	-	-	1
Kalker	-	1	-	-	-	1
Government	1	1	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	1
Bamboo dealer	1	-	-	-	-	1
Military	1	-	-	-	-	1
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Sailor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Sandman	1	3	-	-	-	4
Teacher	-	2	-	-	-	2
Barber	-	1	-	-	-	1
Teamster	-	1	-	-	-	1
Laundryman	-	1	-	-	-	1
Unknown	2	9	-	1	-	12
None	4	11	1	-	-	16

121 /4 cont./topic. The kinship terminology served as a starting point for this purpose.

/5/ Choice of Working Area

123 631 565 The stranger who intends to carry out an "adat investigation" in South Celebes -- and all ethnological investigations, those concerned with adat law as well as sociological and similar investigations, are so termed by the Makassarese and the Buginese themselves -- first comes in contact with the prince of the province /Landschap/ or with the head of the adat community where he wishes to work. One may not bypass the prince and his kin group /familie/, the nobility, at least not without incurring great difficulties later on. For the consequence of failing to obtain his consent to work in a certain kampong in his domain is that one loses the much needed good will of a large part of his subjects who might otherwise become good informants. Ignoring him is more than just discourtesy; it is an action which, from the point of view of the prince, expresses hostility. A highly placed stranger -- and that, after all, includes every investigator -- is a potential center of power to whom those who might be less favorably inclined toward the prince might be drawn and thereby constitutes a danger for the latter.

123 565 671 Adat investigation among ordinary kampong people is further suspect because, according to the prince and his kinsmen, the little man has no adat, just as, according to the Dutch bourgeoisie of half a century ago, the people had no manners. For a man of the nobility, adat is just that which distinguishes him from the people; his adat is the real one.

123 Here at the same time the danger that threatens one who would begin an investigation with the nobility becomes apparent. He loses the opportunity to obtain an insight into the relationship between high and low, as seen from the standpoint of the latter. Only after I had expressly declared that it was precisely [121] the adat of the common people that I wished to study, because Mr. Friedericy had already described that of the prince, was it agreed that I should live elsewhere.

621 /15 cont./ Kampong Bontoramba has approximately
[161] 800 residents. There one finds one of the two public schools
[368] which the entire adat community of more than 14, 000 individuals boasts. Along the large road a bicycle repair shop has arisen, and there are more coffee warong /shops/ than in many other places. A large group of Buginese, attracted by a
166 great deal of fallow land and good transportation facilities, has built its houses there in the course of the last 20 years. The Makassarese who live there at present arrived no more than 60 years ago. Coming and going never takes place en masse in Makassarese country. In successive stages a pioneer receives more members of his kin group in his house; by successive stages other people move away.

[554 A certain period of settlement by a large group is /16/
565 noted mostly when a man of high nobility moves and many follow him. Formerly, in periods of insecurity for the individual, this was probably a more usual manner of migration, but today it no longer is. Thus, around 1900, a large number of kinsmen coming from kampong Pakatto, situated eight kilo-
[621] meters further up the road, settled in Bontoramba. As kinsmen /familiele den/ constituting a part of the same related group /ver wantengroep/ they organized themselves anew in Bontoramba and adjusted to the new circumstances, at the same time striving for the realization of the usual Makassarese ideals. To this end, they followed the old Makassarese adat.

The Bilateral Related Group

612 The Makassarese related group /ver wantengroep/ should
621 be described as a bilateral endogamous group of relatives (1)

1. Kin relationship is indicated by the term sibidja or sipamanakkang.

whose members worship their ancestors (pattautoaang) at the places and times designated, and at the same time as a group

582 /24 cont./ likewise contracted without any definite preference for one of these marriages being apparent.

Knowledge of kinship relationships does not go beyond the
582 eighth- and ninth-degree kinsmen. Relatives further removed
602 are "distant" (bella). If in rare cases people speak of a marriage between sampopingappa (tenth-degree male and female cousins; children of sampopintallung), one will probably hear the opinion expressed that this is an undesirable marriage. Others, however, do not seem to be aware of this.

Among the marriages contracted between sampopintallung (eighth-degree kinsmen), there probably also exist marriages of sampopingappa (tenth degree) or of kamanakang sampopintallung (ninth degree, thus, not members of the same generation). In such cases people are not certain any more about the exact relationships. Statements contradict each other, and in such cases of uncertainty there is a tendency to settle on that kin relationship which one regards as the proper and normal one for a marriage between kinsmen as the correct one.

The most common marriage is, therefore, the marriage between sampopinruang and sampopintallung (respectively, sixth- and eighth-degree male and female cousins) who at the same time are members of the same generation. Of all other marriages it is said that they are unfavorable or unlucky, or
[565] else that they are forbidden. In the nobiliary related group there is a tendency to shift to samposikali and sampopinruang (the fourth- and sixth-degree male and female cousins respectively).

The Family

593 Two functions of the family /gezin/ will be discussed here.

The father officially occupies a predominant place in the family. The relationship to his sons is based upon the notion that he is in command and that it is impolite to contradict him (1). /25/ A son is supposed to know what is fitting, by

158 /56 cont./ According to reports, adults are also subject
626 to such attacks, however, I never witnessed this. To be sure, an adult sometimes uses it as a threat, for instance, when he (she) has set his (her) mind on something that seems unattainable. A woman from Macassar who had caused a drum (ganrang) to be played at a festival of her kin group in Goa was questioned about this by the kapalakampong /kampong
[533 head/ concerned, since playing the ganrang is a prerogative
565] of the nobility in Goa. She threatened with adjallo' if the use of the drum should be forbidden her, and finally a decision was made that the drum could be played because she did not live in Goa and at home in Macassar she was allowed to play the ganrang.

In Macassar a girl who was sixteen years old and still at school threatened adjallo' because she wanted to continue attending school in spite of obvious disapproval on the part of her mother and aunts. A man arranged his second marriage behind the back of his first wife because, as he said, he was afraid that she would adjallo' and in so doing might well prevent his second marriage if she heard about it beforehand.

The reaction of others to such fits of temper was one of aversion. People turned away; no one made an attempt to help, nor did anyone appear angry. It was believed that nothing could be done about it.

158 Both phenomena, mobility and adjallo', in my opinion
578 should be regarded as expressions of a conflict for which the individual sees no other solution, a conflict which is based on personality structure. It was impossible for me to do any further investigation along these lines. The fact that both sexes participate in mobility to the same extent might suggest the /57/ necessity for an analysis of the "basic personality structure" /cited in English/ (1) of the Makassarese.

1. For this term see A. Kardiner, most recently in The Psychological Frontiers of Society, New York, 1945.

/77 cont./ 1. Ibid.

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778
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descent would dominate completely, and that is not the case.

An ornament is supposed to be in the hands of the group member with the purest blood and the best personal qualities. The individual who has the ornament in his possession is therefore believed to have these qualities until it turns out to be otherwise.

One who shows that he possesses the best personal qualities is therefore, according to the Makassarese idea, of high blood.

A prince is regarded as possessing these personal qualities to the greatest degree. However, they do not always find expression.

182 An ornament strengthens the unity of the group. At the same time it furthers the continuity of this unity. But a breakthrough on the basis of personal qualities must always be considered a possibility, in the light of what has been said above.

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Chapter II

Social Status

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In the ethnological literature Makassarese-Buginese society is known as a hierarchical society. Friedericy (1) decided

1. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlands-Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. 4, p. 582.

114 /78 cont./ upon a division into two classes /standen/, the
565 nobility and the people. In addition he reported the existence of intermediary classes, that of headmen and slaves. The groups of relatives from which this society is constructed remain in the background with Friedericy. Proceeding from what is already known here, the relationship of kinship and class will first be indicated at this point. A few introductory comments will precede this.

635 All Makassarese-Buginese land, as has been mentioned,
565 is divided into provinces. The prince who stands at the head of a province belongs to a bilateral group of relatives which constitutes a class /stand/ apart, the nobility. The members of this group are called karaëng. They primarily live together in a few kampongs bordering on each other and constitute a well-integrated group. They are distinguished from the other groups of relatives residing in their province by virtue of the fact that their common descent is, according to general opinion, higher than that of the other groups. Among other things, this opinion finds expression in the forms of social intercourse with those lower, the people, which is indicated by the term tau samara' (literally, "ordinary people").

565 It is not possible to say that the nobility is distinguished from the lower groups of relatives through a certain ritual or through any other special characteristic (2), for all groups

2. For the term "specialities" /cited in English/, see R. Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 272 ff.

of relatives distinguish themselves from others around them through such a specialty. Each group of relatives is quite conscious of this, and the members actually boast of it. One can state that the karaëng group possesses more of these special characteristics than the other groups, that in some cases it forbids the use of these special characteristics to members of

565 /78 cont./ the other groups, and that it has the power to enforce this prohibition /79/ The special characteristics of the nobility serve as class prerogatives.

Among the lower /people/, this rarely gives rise to difficulties because in the majority of cases no one values the idea of taking over a special characteristic from just any other group.

565 582 The noble groups of relatives which live in the respective provinces are, like the nonnoble ones, not completely endogamous. Marriages between members of these groups who therefore live in two or more different provinces occur regularly. In this respect the noble related group acts like the lower ones.

114 565 The prince's group of relatives constitutes a well-integrated group whose efforts within the province is directed at maintaining the existing balance of power. Friedericy gathered his material among the nobility. His description of the organization of the classes is in many respects the picture which one obtains of the society if one views it through the eyes of the nobility. He thus places great emphasis upon the characteristics which distinguish the nobility from the other groups, and upon the "intermediary classes" with terms applying to them. One of these terms is ana' tjera'. Among the nobility this designates a child of the marriage between a man of the nobility and a woman from the people.

565 602 Among the nobility class and kinship coincide to a great extent. A commoner can only be admitted into the nobility by way of kinship, that is to say, by marrying into the nobility. Such a marriage, however, does not immediately lead to complete admittance. Terms such as ana' tjera' regulate this. Admittance is accomplished only after several generations. These terms are therefore only in use among the highest class. They have a negative emotional quality. These terms are never heard among the people. To them a child of a mixed marriage is someone of noble blood, even after two or three generations. Such a person has standing just through "blood" alone.

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554 /79 cont./ Members of the lower groups of relatives, who, viewed from the standpoint of the nobility, form a single whole, are themselves not conscious of their unity. Each Makassarese regards his own group of relatives as higher than those around it. He always wants to /80/ raise himself above a group around him that is regarded as equally high. In all groups of relatives there is a constant striving to rise higher, without this being fixed in a social hierarchy. The groups are therefore always in a relationship of opposition toward each other. Each group, on the one hand, tries to prevail over the other and, on the other hand, tries to avoid being dominated by the other.

Neither do these groups form a "social class" /cited in English/ in the sense that Ogburn and Nimkoff attach to that expression. Of the "common people" it is not always possible to say that they "meet on equal terms" /cited in English/ or that they have "essentially the same social status" /cited in English/ (1). One can therefore never say in advance whether

1. W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, A Handbook of Sociology, London, 1947, pp. 210 ff.

two individuals may marry each other, because that would imply a certain equality. At the least it means that the man is not lower than his future wife. The uncertainty concerning the "/social/ class" of each individual is clear.

If, as a stranger, one asks someone from these groups to what class he belongs, he becomes embarrassed. He does not think of the possibility that the interrogator intends to distinguish him from the nobility, and as far as his environment is concerned, he is unable to indicate any class because there exists no social hierarchy with established class characteristics. He can merely indicate his /social/ class approximately by pointing

565 /80 cont./ to his group of relatives. In so doing, however,
554 nothing has as yet been said about the possibility of a future marriage. This depends further on his personal qualities and finally on the evaluation of his position at a certain moment. A person's /social/ class is no more than the possibility of contracting a certain marriage at a certain moment.

114 Friedericy has added an explanation of their origin to his
174 description of the social classes and their mutual relationships.
85 He thought that it was possible to indicate that the class organization arose from an exogamous fraternal grouping. His theory was first presented by de Josselin de Jong. The latter was able to indicate such a structural change among the
000 Natchez; classes there developed out of clans (2).

2. J.P.B. Josselin de Jong, "The Natchez Social System" /cited in English/, Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, September, 1928, pp. 553 ff.

Ideas concerning the origin of social classes have changed little since then./81/ Van Heek (1), as the last one, in

1. F. van Heek, Klassen- en standenstructuur als sociologische begrippen /Class and Status Structure as Sociological Concepts/, Inaugural Address, Leiden, 1948, p. 7.

1948 states concerning this: "To the extent that in primitive societies the groups increase in size, come into greater contact

000 /81 cont./ with each other, become more complicated in their organizational forms, and their accumulated stores of goods become larger, their internal hierarchic articulation begins to stand out more clearly."

Larger numbers in themselves do not necessarily bring about structural changes, however, and it is just these that interest us. The problem of the formation of a class structure in essence remains untouched here.

114 174 565 The arguments adopted by Friedericy for his theory from an analysis of Makassarese culture do not appear convincing to me. His theory and my objections to it will therefore be briefly taken up at this point (2).

2. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen, 1933, Vol. IV, p. 90.

On the basis of an analysis of the creation myth, Friedericy assumed that at an earlier stage in the development of society a fraternal division must have existed. Now, in order to make the idea of the origin of the present-day society from the mythical organization acceptable, he mentions a number of characteristics which both have in common: "A bipartite structure, superiority of one group over the other, patrilocality after marriage, the nonlocalized character of the groups -- all these things the two organizations have in common. Moreover, where initially we believed a great difference to exist, we have found upon closer examination clear indications in the present society of former exogamy of the two groups as well as of matrilineal descent" (3).

3. H. J. Friedericy, Ibid., p. 599.

114 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he
174 then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of
565 divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all
586 even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba, and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana
[567] (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." Before the war the government linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves. As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement loses its force.

114 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of
174 earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes.
565 Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that,
582 simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 Of the four common characteristics, the mention of
174 patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding.
565 My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).
[591]

1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure, superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

114 /82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from
174 an exogamous kinship grouping.

565 The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articulation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came into existence, is not clear.

128 The connection established by Friedericy between class and
565 kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used
554

2. F. van Heek, op. cit., p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing" /aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be feasible.

182 It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes
554 signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage
582 is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment. Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two elements which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

554 The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's
[581] children because this establishes the standing gained by one personally, within the bounds set by descent.

557 /84 cont./ The fifth child, a girl, married her eighth-
581 /85/ degree cousin, a grandson of the old Imam of Borongloë.
612 In so doing, the kin-group tie with the first religious official of the adat community was established on a firmer basis.

The members of the adat community head's widespread group of relatives reside in almost three kampong territories. The sixth child, again a son, married the daughter of the head of one of these kampongs. In this case the adat community head and the kampong head were first cousins.

Finally, the seventh child, a girl, married one of her sixth-degree cousins residing in one of these other kampongs.

584 On the basis of this example, a number of comments can
612 be made.

1. The adat community head, the father, was in this case the central figure who brought about the various marriages of his children. But this is not necessarily always so. If one witnesses several weddings successively in various houses of the same kampong and in one and the same related group, one will be struck by the fact that in each case the same elders are instrumental in arranging all details of the ceremonies. The parent concerned is consulted, but the actual leadership is in the hands of others. The same seems to be the case, if one investigates who brought the marriage partners together. The matter, to be sure, is discussed with the children's own parents, but it is of such importance to the related group that it cannot simply be left to them. If they make suggestions, these are taken into account. If they come to talk, they are given advice. But if they do nothing, other prominent members of the group take the initiative.

584 2. Just as the marriage of the fourth son was organized,
565 regulated, and paid for by a member of the high nobility, the adat community head in his turn likewise brought about a large number of marriages of his subordinates in the course of the years, sometimes after they had made their preference apparent to him, sometimes on his own initiative (1).

584 /85 cont./ 1. At one count, he arrived
565 at 18, not counting the
marriages of his own children.

In so doing, the existing tie between high and low is greatly strengthened. The person who has brought about one's marriage /86/ is never forgotten. Such a marriage ceremony is on a much smaller scale than the higher person would have for his own child; nevertheless, it is always more expensive than it would have been had it been given by the kinsmen of the marriage partners themselves. Hence, the lower person
[554] receives as festive wear, for instance, a headdress of a certain color or a kris of a certain type, to which he actually has no right, but whose use is granted for the occasion by the higher person. As a result his standing rises.

3. From this example it appears further that the general
554 notion that all kinsmen should be each other's equals is incorrect.
602 It is clear that the adat community head, who is a prominent
582 man in his group, insofar as he chooses them from among his kinsmen, favors children of other prominent members of his group as spouses for his children. Accordingly, a tendency toward endogamy exists among the prominent members of the related group. Furthermore, even among kinsmen such great differences in standing may exist that a marriage bond is regarded as undesirable by one of the parties.

The conflict of these tendencies becomes most clearly apparent in a well-integrated related group through the marriage policies of its prominent members. For the ordinary members this conflict is less urgent. They find sufficient possibilities for marriage within the group.

The Bride Price (sunrang)

554 For a Makassarese, the marriage of his child is an extreme-
585 ly important event because it demonstrates the standing that

583 /87 cont./ community head), and in part to kin relationship (kinsmen of the adat community head). By juggling these unequal amounts, it is possible to obtain a higher sunrang according to one rule than one is entitled to according to another.

554 583 The amount of the sunrang is in principle linked to the level of the woman's group of relatives. Her standing and that of her group is made known by the sunrang paid at her wedding. It is therefore important for her kinsmen that she command as high a sunrang as possible. On the other hand, for the man's kinsmen it is just as important to pay a high sunrang on the basis of the principle that in effect man and wife are equal in standing. It is therefore comprehensible that the sunrang has a tendency to rise.

554 565 583 [643] In his kingdom, the prince is the highest. He, and with him his kinsmen of the same blood, should therefore have the highest sunrang within that kingdom. As a result he is concerned that the sunrang in his region be clearly established according to rank and status, and known to everyone, so that his subjects will not pay or receive a higher sunrang /88/ than he himself. Hence, one repeatedly encounters prescriptions concerning the amount of the sunrang in lontar. Nature, however, seems to be stronger than rules. There always arises, some time after the amount has been officially established, the tendency to surpass the prescribed limits. Rules are only too gladly forgotten. As time goes on, more and more people seem to have paid and received a sunrang that was higher than they were permitted. Consequently, a new sunrang edict must be issued periodically. The last such regulation in the kingdom of Goa dates back to 1940. This sets the sunrang for

kinsmen of the Prince	at 28 reals
for the adat community head	at 26 reals
for the latter's kinsmen	at 24 reals
for ordinary people	at 20 reals
for slaves belonging to the Prince	at 12 reals.

554 /88 cont./ It is interesting to see how this regulation was
565 applied in practice. To this end, I examined the marriage
583 registers of the adat community of Borongloë for 1946 and 1947 to trace the reasons that led to the establishment of a sunrang of 26, 24, or 22 (!) reals, where the parties seemed to have a right only to 24 and 20 reals, respectively. The result is as follows:

The sunrang of 26 reals, according to the regulation covering only the adat community head, was first paid on the occasion of the marriage between two descendants of the former head of the adat community of Bonto. Karaëng Bonto was, as recently as the beginning of this century, the head of a small, but more or less independent, adat community which subsequently became amalgamated with Borongloë. His descendants still have something of his standing. At present they live in Borongloë territory and therefore are unable to get a higher sunrang than the adat community head. Here it seems that they were permitted an equal sunrang. A sunrang of 26 reals was further paid at the wedding of a first cousin of the adat community head to the daughter of one of the head's followers of good standing. Twenty-four reals should have been the maximum here.

A sunrang of 24 reals, designated according to the particular regulation for kinsmen of the adat community head, was likewise paid, first, at the wedding of a daughter of one of the /89/ followers of this head, secondly, at the wedding of a sister of one of the kampong heads, thirdly, at the wedding of the daughter of a follower of a descendant of Karaëng Bonto, and fourthly, at a wedding between Buginese residing in Borongloë. The latter, to explain the fact that they wanted to see a sunrang of 24 reals registered, declared that in their own homeland they were entitled to a sunrang (Buginese: sompa) of 44 reals. A sunrang of 22 reals was finally conceded to a couple of strangers who declared that they received a sunrang higher than 20 reals in their own land.

583 /89 cont./ If one wants to obtain a general view of the amount of sunrang paid in the course of one year, the following figures will serve that purpose. In Borongloë (a good 14,000 inhabitants), the Imam, charged with keeping the marriage registers, had to record 107 marriages between July 1, 1948 and July 1, 1949. Of these, the sunrang amounted:

in 2 cases to 26 reals
in 24 cases to 24 reals
in 2 cases to 22 reals
in 77 cases to 20 reals
in 1 case to 12 reals
in 1 case to 5.00 guldens.

563 583 The amount of 5.00 guldens was registered at a marriage between Javanese who were part of a group of approximately 200, living together in kampong Pakatto. This low sunrang, for the Makassarese regard the amount as such, is one of the reasons why the latter are inclined to regard the Javanese as people of the very lowest status.

667 583 The sunrang of 12 reals was paid to the father of a woman who was regarded as a slave of the adat community head.

665 583 602 Nine of these 107 marriages were contracted between individuals from the kampong Bontoramba. In seven of these nine cases, the sunrang was not 20 but 24 reals, and in only two cases was it 20 reals. This situation which, if one considers the total number of marriages for which 24 and 20 reals were paid respectively, is very unusual and can only be partly interpreted. For each of the seven cases the people were able to give a certain reason. These follow here.

/90/ Both a son as well as a daughter of the Kapala of Bontoramba were married in this year. For both a sunrang of 24 reals was regarded as appropriate. In the case of one couple, the mother of the wife had Buginese kinsmen among whom, in their own country, a much higher sunrang than that of 20 reals was always paid. In the case of another couple, the woman was regarded as related to the adat community head; "she was not equal" (tena nasangkamma), said the Imam, and therefore

565 583 602 /90 cont./ she was not allowed to receive 26 reals (!), but this kin relationship was nevertheless sufficient to raise her above the normal 20 reals. In the fifth case, the man was a kinsman of the Imam himself. It was an act of friendliness on the part of the bridegroom's kinsmen to offer the bride, who actually was regarded as lower, the sunrang customary in his group, because, in so doing, they showed that they accepted her completely as an equal (sunranna bura'ne naerang). In the sixth case, kin relationship with the ex-kapala of an adjoining kampong (Buttadidi) was given as the reason why 24 reals were paid, and in the last case, an aunt of the girl declared that a sunrang of 24 reals had always been customary in her kin group. The curious thing in this case was that this aunt herself had contracted a marriage by flight with a man who was regarded by her kinsmen as so much lower that they had never been willing to agree to a reconciliation (1).

1. For further elaboration of this case, see Chapter III, third part.

With the exception of this last-mentioned case, the first six marriages involved individuals of the Kapala group. It is not impossible that the marriage ties established by the Kapala with the kin group of the adat community head (2) constituted

2. A daughter of the Kapala married a kamanakang (French: neveu /nephew/) of the adat community head.

a reason for the Imam to record a sunrang of 24 reals in a number of cases for the kinsmen of this Kapala, against which he would have had objections in other cases. Finally, the adat community head is the one who must guard against the sunrang

565 /90 cont./ of his subjects approaching too closely his and
583 that of his kinsmen. The differences must continue to exist.
602 Everyone is convinced of this.

A number of observations can be made in relation to these
654 data.

583 1. It appears that in stating the reasons why /91/ a certain sunrang is paid at a certain wedding, the primary consideration concerns the woman. "The sunrang of the woman may never go down," it is often said. This means that the sunrang of a girl may never be lower than that which was paid for her mother. At the wedding of a woman to a lower man -- the exceptional case will be discussed below -- the latter always pays the sunrang of the woman. In addition, he makes a large number of other extra payments. In the case of the marriage of a man to a lower woman, the man's party likewise frequently pays the sunrang that is customary in the woman's group. Sometimes, however, the man wants it to be apparent that he is very favorably inclined towards his in-laws, and then he pays the sunrang customary in his own group, but this is a favor on his part. In the ordinary case, that is to say, at a wedding between two people who are regarded as equals in standing, the woman is, as it were, the gauge of value of her group. Her sunrang must not go down because her standing, which finds its most important expression in the sunrang, must not go down thereby, since this would lower, in turn the standing of her group of relatives.

554 2. Being a follower (1) appears to be a reason for raising
557
602
583

1. See pp. 133 ff.

the sunrang above the level of the group to which this follower belongs, another example showing that being a follower raises a person's standing.

554 3. The office of kampong head appears to be a reason
583 for receiving a higher sunrang for one's sister and daughter.
[622]

582 /94 cont./ last-mentioned case, we may speak of a drop in
602 standing, even though the sunrang is maintained at its former level. If there are individuals who have become separated from a well-integrated related group, this means that they were quite unsuccessful in their striving to rise; if they had been successful, the other members of the group would have endeavored to bring about a marriage with one of them, since success attracts kinsmen as well as non-kinsmen.

Vertical Mobility of Individuals

554 The level of an individual is determined by his descent
562 as well as by his personal qualities. It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall. Striving to rise is not a primary requirement for women.

554 A man is able to increase his standing through personal
581 qualities. The acquired standing may be consolidated in a marriage. The outcome of all striving is, with a single exception, marriage with a woman of approximately equally high position.

554 The marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly
565 forbidden. The only case in which it is directly apparent that
582 the woman is higher than the man is a marriage of a woman of the nobility to a man who is not of the nobility. The qualities in which a man must excel in order to be able to contract such a marriage are clearly stipulated.

Such qualities are given as learnedness, courage, and wealth. It is told of Sjech Jusupu, a highly venerated saint in South Celebes whose grave is always visited by crowds of people and whose life history people like to recite, that he, as an already recognized sage /95/, asked for the hand of the daughter of the Prince of Goa. The Prince would gladly have consented to this, but the members of the Royal Council (Hadat) of Goa,

554 /95 cont./ were against it. They only yielded when the
565 Prince drew their attention to the fact that in the old lontar
582 the three above-mentioned qualities are already named as qualifications for a man to be permitted to marry a higher woman.

In the few historical writings that I was able to consult, I did not find examples of war lords who were able to contract marriage with a higher woman on the basis of successes gained in battle.

The present-day generation is acquainted with the case of a wealthy merchant from Macassar, a hadji, who married one of the female followers of the Queen of Goa. This man was a favorite of the Prince, who followed his advice in many cases. He therefore owed his rise in standing entirely to personal qualities. In addition, the case is well known of a young man born in an ordinary kin group but employed as a tax official and very influential at the same time, who married a daughter of one of the adat community heads. The sunrang in these cases remained the same as the one that had
[583 been paid for the mother and sisters, but an exceptionally
585] large amount was asked for, and paid, to cover the expenses of the feast. This is called the buying of blood (ammalli tjera').

554 In these very rare cases, the difference in descent be-
581 tween man and wife, according to general opinion, was great.
582 But even in the more or less regularly occurring cases where these differences are small, learnedness, wealth, and courage are of importance. An imam or a revered guru ngadji (1),

1. One who instructs children in the reading of the Koran.

may contract a marriage, or he can cause his son to contract one, of a type which a brother who remained an ordinary kampong

554 /95 cont./ resident would have no chance of contracting.
581 In one of the fights that arose in Goa in 1946, a man saved a
582 number of his wife's kinsmen by his courageous behavior.
His wife should not have been allowed to marry him, because
[626] she was higher than he, and for that reason her kin group had
declared her dead (2). As a result of his bravery, the wife's

2. See Chapter III, third part.

kin group was persuaded /96/ to agree to a reconciliation. In cases where the differences in social level are small, there may be hesitation as to whether the man and woman should marry. If both parties are agreed, and the marriage is brought about, it is not possible for an outsider to disapprove. It is believed that the reasons leading to the marriage could not be evaluated (1).

1. A discussion of the cases in which there is a difference of opinion, will be found in Chapter III, third part.

554 Children from such a marriage, even where the difference
565 in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded
562 officially as equals in their mother's group of relatives,
582 because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not
fall /in social standing/. Daughters marry by preference in their mother's group; with respect to the sons there is some hesitancy. Factual data are lacking. I was unable to discover any terms used to designate these children (analagous to ana' tjera').

In cases of marriages between a man and a lower woman, only those where the difference in level is great deserve mention, for marriages in which the man is a little higher than his wife are normal marriages. They should not be distinguished

554 /96 cont./ from marriages in which the partners are regarded
562 as equal. The marriage of a cousin (samposikali) of the adat
582 community head to the daughter of a kapalakompong /kampong head/ is called a marriage between equals, but on the part of the head, the idea of a union of his cousin with a son of the Kapala is rejected because this young man is regarded as lower than the girl.

554 One of the princes had a son called daëng Ali by a woman
565 from the kin group of one of the adat community heads. His
585 brother had a daughter called daëng Batje by an ordinary
574 kampong woman. Daëng Ali was regarded as considerably higher than his first cousin. They married and lived with the groom's father, the Prince. Now it is expected of the kinsmen of daëng Batje's mother, ordinary kampong people as we said, that they will be modest /97/ and that they will not constantly come to visit their sister (cousin or aunt, as the case might be). Of daëng Batje, in turn, it is expected that she will receive these kinsmen in a friendly way; that she will not show herself proud toward them, but will entertain them nicely. She should not entertain them too lavishly, for that would be a sign of superiority, but especially not too poorly, for that would indicate that the visitors were not appreciated. For daëng Batje the visit of her kinsmen is an agreeable matter, because people can see how the relatives appreciate her, a fact which in turn strengthens her position with respect to them. Through her, therefore, her kinsmen have a certain right to come to the palace. A couple of nieces -- the best ones are picked out for this purpose -- may temporarily come to live in the palace. There they learn the superior manners of the nobility. In so doing, they rise in standing and later have a chance of a better marriage, something which again works to the benefit of their entire group.

554 Children from a marriage of a man to a lower woman
565 are regarded as lower than their father's kinsmen and higher

554 565 /97 cont./ than those of their mother. The daughters are preferably married to someone in their father's group of relatives.

The position of the sons resulting from these marriages is difficult. By reason of their descent they are unable to marry daughters from their father's group. For a marriage they are dependent upon their mother's group. In practice, it appears [156] that they often conduct themselves as the wildest and boldest among the young men. It may well be that this conduct is unconscious in order to show themselves, at all costs, worthy of a girl of somewhat higher blood.

Karaëng call those who were born from such marriages ana'tjera' (literally, "blood children"), but the kampong people call them karaëng. The former is a denigrating term, the latter one of respect. Lower persons know people with karaëng blood who live in their kampong; the latter are regarded as slightly higher than those about them by virtue of their blood. Upon questioning, it appears, for instance, that their great-grandfather was a karaëng who married one of the women from the group of relatives residing there, that his son married a kinsman of his mother, and so on. The fact [583] that their grandfather (great-grandfather) was a karaëng is taken into account in determining the sunrang; the knowledge is kept alive.

/98/ Confusion is created if one calls the ana'tjera' an intermediate class. They do not form a related group occurring between the nobility and the people. It is merely a matter of individual cases having a tie in common with their father's group, the karaëng. They try to be taken into their father's group of relatives. Among themselves, however, they do not form an integrated group because, through the mother, they always belong to different groups of relatives. But whichever of the two groups they settle down with, their father's or their mother's, they are not regarded as equals by those around them.

554 /98 cont./ As regards these ana' tjera', it is immediately
562 apparent that the interests of sons and daughters are distinct.
565 The former are dependent for marriage upon their mother's
582 group, the latter upon their father's group.

Vertical Mobility of Cultural Elements

565 Sorokin has pointed to the fact that not only individuals
626 or groups, but even cultural elements may rise or go down (1).

1. P. Sorokin, Social Mobility, New York and London, 1927, p. 133.

Each status /stand/ /group/ has its own external characteristics by which its members are differentiated from the others. Forms of social intercourse and clothing, mode of eating and celebrating festivals are the most spectacular of these. The higher groups constantly strive to preserve their own forms for their members. Lower groups constantly strive to take over elements belonging to the members of the higher status, since by this alone their standing rises.

Attempts to adopt their ways is opposed by the higher groups. On the one hand, their adoption is regarded as ridiculous, on the other, it arouses the anger of those higher; sometimes punishment is meted out. Adoption of elements from the highest status is not carried out directly by the lowest of the people, but takes place gradually. First those just below the highest adopt their forms, and so on down. It appears that not only the higher, but sometimes even those lower resist adoption of their forms by another socially lower, that is to say, they fight against a rise in social standing by a competitor.

565 643 /98 cont./ Several characteristics are linked to the Prince's group of relatives, and as such becomes status characteristics.

/99/ The Prince speaks of his slaves (ata), but if the adat community head were to speak of his slaves in the company of a man of nobility, it would make him ridiculous. The Prince regards the use of a certain kind of spear (lallung) at the ornament ritual as prohibited to anyone except his own kin group. Difficulties have never arisen about this, for it appeared that this type of spear is frequently unknown among members of the lower groups of relatives. But difficulties did arise concerning the use of the festive drum (ganrang) which is likewise exclusively reserved for kinsmen of the Prince. It turned out that the ganrang was regularly played in secret by others, too. In many cases the Prince winked at this practice, but when, in 1941, he heard that in a certain kampong the drum had been played where, in his [534] opinion, this should not have happened, he sent out the kapala concerned to investigate. No punishment followed the misdemeanor, and no prohibition for the future. The fact that the guest who had brought the drum with him came from outside Goa was accepted as an excuse, but only in order to prevent the further difficulties that would have resulted from an actual prohibition. Playing the ganrang is a privilege of the Prince of Goa; everyone, even the stranger, must comply with that. This fact corresponds to what was reported above about the amount of the sunrang for Buginese who in their own land have a much higher bride price (sompa) than the Prince of Goa, but who place themselves under his sunrang, at least formally, while they reside inside his kingdom.

565 634 643 At his inauguration the prince of Goa stands upon the Goan investiture rock where the prescribed ritual is performed on him. There he accepts the vows of faithfulness from the great of the realm and adat community heads. The last two adat community heads of Borongloë stood on the "Flat Rock"

565 /99 cont./ of Borongloë in 1939 and 1947 respectively.
634 There the ritual was performed on them, and they received
643 the vows of faithfulness from prominent kinsmen and kapala-kampong. But while the princes of Goa have stood upon their rock for hundreds of years for their inauguration, this was not the case in Borongloë.

The inauguration of the father of the present-day head, which took place in 1916, /100/ was performed with ritual (adinging dinging) at the "Flat Rock," but he did not insist upon it, and vows of faithfulness were not made. However, when this head abdicated in 1938, he himself arranged the inaugural festival for his son, and on this occasion standing on the rock was presented as old adat. It is characteristic that
565 this adoption of a ritual element belonging to the karaëng
626 group was not repudiated by members of this group, but by a
634 few members of one of the other prominent groups of relatives of Borongloë. As an old man said: "You, Gallarrang (1),

1. Title of the adat community head of Borongloë.

did not stand on it (the stone), and now you let your son stand on it."

This way of striving to rise was therefore criticized by a member of one of the adat community's kin groups foremost in opposition. The person against whom the remark was directed, the old adat community head, later reported that shortly thereafter the old man had fallen sick and since then had never really recovered again. In his opinion this signified that what he had done was correct and that the criticism had been unjust. He believed that the ancestors would have turned against him, had they considered the ritual performed by him to be incorrect. This indicates that a prominent
[177] figure may interfere consciously in ritual matters and bring about changes.

554 /100 cont./ A favorite's daughter who temporarily resides
565 in the house of her father's master may learn to make little
576 cakes of a certain name and form, known only among the higher people. In that house she also learns the forms of social intercourse observed among household members and at daily meals. Upon returning home, her altered manners are immediately conspicuous. She addresses her mother only in a soft tone of [illegible], she does not eat as ravenously as the others, and she conducts herself completely like a well-brought up girl from the better social circles. At least in the beginning, she is also treated differently from the other children. "She bears the sign of daëng X" (2), it is said

2. Bata piarana daëng X, literally, "the etiquette of nurture by daëng X."

[582 approvingly of her. As a result, she has a chance of a better
557] marriage, that is to say, of a marriage to a higher man than any of her sisters would be entitled to, since they did not enjoy the privilege of staying temporarily in the house of daëng X.

/101/ When the seven-year-old son of my host offered me cigarettes and when he came to tell me that dinner was ready, he briefly dropped to his knees in so doing. This is a custom completely unknown in his father's group of relatives and borrowed from the karëng's kin group in whose house the father had lived in his early years. The custom was then taught to the son. The father laughed happily; "He knows his manners," and by this he meant that his son had appropriated good manners, namely of those who are higher. It is a sign of politeness to treat a higher guest with his own forms of social intercourse. The lower person who shows that he is familiar with these forms gains in standing in so doing. If this were to become a daily practice, his conduct would be

554 /101 cont./ thought of as ridiculous by the related group.
565 They would see in it merely an affected way of distinguishing
[576] himself from those around him.

The wearing of certain ornaments by a bride, and of a kris or a headdress (sigara') of a certain color by the bride-
[585 groom, is frequently a sign of friendliness on the part of a
572] higher person. He may, as a favor, permit a lower person to adorn himself on certain occasions with things which belong to the higher group. This raises the standing of the lower person.

A woman who caused her deceased mother to be treated as though she were a relative of the Prince was regarded as arrogant. "She is daring," was the reaction of those around
[626] her. It means that what she does is dangerous, because in so doing she enters the state of "bassung"; that is to say, she can be punished for this deed with a swollen belly. Nobody, however, expresses his disapproval openly, since, after all, it is quite possible that what she does is exactly the right thing, and in that case the one who made the remarks would be punished, as happened in the case of standing on the investiture rock.

If a person conducts himself as a higher person, and if he does so with great self-assurance and with success, then these modes of conduct help to determine his social standing.

The System of Followers

571 The system of followers is one of the most obvious aspects of the tendency toward vertical mobility. It may be described as the /102/ totality of relationships between a higher person (karaëng, lord) and those lower, whom he calls ana' ana'na (1) or taunna (his people). The basis of this system is the

114 /102 cont./ able to describe his impressions in a clear and lively manner. The conditions he sketches can still be recognized as typical of South Celebes, but at the same time it is apparent that much has changed. His description will first be reproduced here. Then my own data will follow, /103/ and in the process we will be able to point out a number of times what has remained and what has changed.

554 "...the higher the nobility to which one belonged, the
565 more did one possess the privilege of impunity. The little
571 man almost completely lacked protection against the presumptions and vexations of the Anakaraeng. As a result he was forced to look for protection from those who caused the evil condition, namely, the nobility. The latter undertook the protection, but conditionally, that is, the Anakaraeng demanded a certain measure of subjection of his protégé. From this a relationship developed to which we refer as "being a follower," but which is described more characteristically and accurately by the Makassarese word for follower, Ana ana. (Ana signifies "child," Ana ana, "little child.") Between the Anakaraeng and his protégé there existed, therefore, the relationship of a great and powerful man and a little child.

"The follower was obliged to recognize the Anakaraeng as
571 his master (karaeng). He was forced to accompany him while
675 hunting and on his travels, to help him in various agricultural activities, to bring his small presents, and to perform services at his festivals. He was obligated to assist him if he was threatened or attacked, or if he had to avenge an insult. In a word, he had to follow his master (minawang) and carry out whatever he was enjoined to do. The Anakaraeng, on the other hand, assumed the responsibility of guarding his ana ana against any arbitrary treatment, and if they suffered alleged or actual injustice, he took their side. The relationship was so close that to insult a follower was equal to insulting his

/103 cont./ master, and the latter already felt offended if
571 one of his followers so much as received a poor reception. If
675 a follower's horse or buffalo were stolen, the master would say: 'My buffalo or my horse is stolen,' and he would leave no stone unturned to get back the stolen property and to avenge himself upon the culprit -- more accurately, the one who insulted him --, for he would not dream of handing over the thief to the authorized judge.

"The tie between Anakaraeng and ana ana was voluntary and consequently could be broken. The Karaeng rarely dismissed his followers because of bad behavior. As a rule he did so if the follower did not satisfy his far-reaching /104/ obligations or had been disobedient. The follower, on the other hand, would choose another Karaeng if he thought that he was being insufficiently protected, if his master demanded too many services of him, or if, in his opinion, another follower was more favored. Such a break in relations was rarely resorted to, however, because the follower would incur the hatred and vengeance of his former master.

"The Karaeng were also obligated to provide for the material interests of their followers. They helped them with paddy fields, with paddy, plowing, cattle, and sometimes with money, for instance in cases of marriages and deaths. Not all Karaeng, however, fulfilled this obligation; many were more intent upon their own interests than upon that of their ana ana.

554 "The higher the social standing of an Anakaraeng, the
565 more followers he had. Conversely, the more followers he
571 had, the greater was his standing and influence, and the anakaraeng /sic/ who had the most followers was at the same time the most prominent and the most influential.

571 "Followers consisted of distant blood relatives, people
[602] who from generation to generation had been the followers of one single kin group, and people, frequently foreigners, who

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
[558] his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's protection and help and at the same time the loss of social standing which the association with the superior casts on him. Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position of the lower people has become stronger.

554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
571 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower. Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary. If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relationship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends

1. In the Bontoramba census, they were included among the Rest group.

upon their personal relationship to their master whether they will continue to come and help at special events such as festivals.

As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
571 married couple who had committed silariang. Before
591 reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

571 /109 cont./ whose personal qualities were of little account
634 among the Makassarese, relied almost entirely upon ties created by preceding generations. That he was able to maintain himself as head during these times is merely due to the support of his father, the former head, and to that of the Self-government of Goa.

The kinsmen of the adat community head live distributed
554 over three kampong territories. In his group of relatives it
571 is always pretended that the number of followers living with
602 and among the kinsmen in these kampongs is very large. This
634 is done to make the social standing of the group appear as great as possible. After all, the possession of many followers indicates that a group rises considerably above those around them. In effect, in the adat community head's group of relatives only eight houses with followers were found. The occupants in each case had a special tie with one of the head's kinsmen. They performed the customary tasks for the head and cooperated at the festivals of other members belonging to this group of relatives.

According to reports, the number of followers of the
554 karaëng group is very large, especially the number of those
● 565 whose previous generation also worked for this group of
571 relatives. The karaëng are each supposed to have had one or more followers who frequently lived in the neighborhood of the master (1). This conception of the situation corresponds

[241]

1. It is related that here working the sawah is entirely in the hands of followers because people do not like to see a karaëng working in the sawah.

554 /109 cont./ completely to the established ideal, the more
565 followers, the greater the standing. But in view of the experience
571 with the adat community head's group of relatives who, even though on /110/ a lower level, gave the same representation of the matter, it is necessary to be careful here, too, so long as we must proceed entirely from unauthenticated reports.

178 The importance of the system of followers in the earlier
571 form described by Kooreman decreased. New forms arose; these are to be found in the big-city relationships of Macassar. In the country areas, the relationship of large landowner to day laborer is an example.

The system of followers in and around the city of Macassar
178 is observable wherever wealthy merchants earn their money
441 by means of the sale and purchase of rice and fish, sand and
571 stones. For their trade they employ a large number of people. This employment relationship can best be described as that of followers to their master in which the personal qualities of the merchant, the punggawa, are of overriding importance. Here, too, a follower avenges an insult done to his punggawa. Here, too, services performed --frequently in addition to a fixed salary or piece wage -- are rewarded irregularly and in a general way. Here the punggawa also has a personal tie with a number of his people. When he dies his trade immediately goes down. His organization is built upon personal ties with his subordinates.

Large Landownership

491 Some characteristics of the system of followers can also
571 be found connected with large landownership (1), in the
466

1. No figures are available to indicate precisely when we can begin to speak of large

466 471 571 /111 cont./ furthermore has demonstrated that he is capable of administering and working his own lands well. A koasa is frequently an energetic personality. Such an individual in turn easily attracts laborers, either among his own kinsmen, or among the other kampong residents. Through his koasaship he gains in standing. The reason that the sunrang was higher for a girl than was customary in her group of relatives was explained by the fact that her father was a koasa.

One whose standing is solely based upon descent will not necessarily be a large landowner at the same time. After all, he frequently may not possess the personal qualities necessary to attach the best koasa to himself; inferior koasa, in their turn, attract inferior workers. The distribution of the harvest is less well organized, the number of sheaves that such a large landowner would receive in his house would therefore be scarcely worthwhile. A large landowner who might attempt to make working contracts which are too advantageous for him would find out that this is not appreciated. As a consequence of such a move workers who do not need his land to provide for their sustenance would either go to work the lands of others, or else start up for themselves.

Not every nobleman, therefore, is able to muster up the [565] initiative and the organizational ability to develop a new complex of sawahs. This can only be done by a nobleman who possesses, in addition to the necessary descent, the personal qualities required for such an undertaking. If these personal qualities are present, many people, rather than setting out for themselves, develop a tract of land for him under the leadership /112/ of one of his koasa. The tie with the superior is then regarded as of great importance (1).

1. Sometimes a person who possesses much land employs a so-called koasa-lompo ("large representative") who, in his turn, hires local

466 /112 cont./ koasa, sometimes called,
471 for purposes of differentiation,
571 "small representative"
(koasa tja'di).

One who owes his standing solely to his personal qualities
441 obtains no more in returns from his land than a person whose
471 standing is based entirely upon his descent, as might be expected
454 on rational economic grounds. During the postwar periods when many Makassarese merchants were earning large sums, one might have expected that many of them would have invested even a small part of their money in pices of land in the interior. One would have thought that they might have bought sawahs, or that at least they would have had large pieces of land entered in their name in the land-tax registers with the purpose of having them developed later. Nothing of this kind, however, appears from the Goa land-tax registers. The opinion of one of these merchants that he did buy jewelry with this money but no land because land is difficult to sell quickly if one needs money merely points to the direction in which the explanation must be looked for.

For a merchant who is not related to the nobility of Goa,
571 it is difficult to attach a good koasa to himself and through him
565 a large number of laborers. If he were to purchase several
554 pieces of land, his share in the harvest would not be worth the trouble. An ordinary kampong individual prefers to work the land of a prominent man from the karaëng group. In that he has confidence; it strengthens his position. A tie with a nobleman always appears valuable. On the other hand, so long as economic necessity is not coercive and the personality of the large landowner does not convince him of his special personal qualities, there is no reason for the kampong man to work for this wealthy stranger. In principle, this stranger is regarded as an equal with whom one can therefore

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the karaëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng.
[582] Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
156 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the
178 present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis
[648] figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to
571 himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
634 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to maintain himself in his function.

178 /117 cont./ taken over by lower groups, like so many other
565 cultural elements belonging to the highest group. In this case,
567 the possession of slaves was not prohibited by this highest group to the lower ones, but at the same time it was not simply permitted, either. This explains why, in his first conversations with the investigator, the adat community head claimed the number of his ata to be very large. At the same time it explains why, when the ata question was repeatedly brought up, he later remarked that it was a little silly to talk so much about his ata.

Most of the external characteristics that distinguished slaves during Kooreman's, and perhaps still in Friedericy's, time have disappeared. A single characteristic to be found with only a few individuals today is still reminiscent of a complex which half a century ago occupied a much more important place in the culture.

Loyalty Oath

521 Whenever Makassarese men between fifteen and thirty-five years of age -- referring to those I have in mind -- are together, it is a part of etiquette to tell tales which give to the observer an impression of boasting and exaggeration. Successes with women (always unrecognizably indicated in the vaguest terms), successes gained in a fight, or a victory in a verbal battle, they like to elaborate on all these. A valiant deed or a regal gesture is not kept quiet. In describing a feast, the number of buffaloes slaughtered for the occasion, the number of guests present, and the length of the festival are always made to appear as great as possible. Earlier festivals, in these stories, invariably surpass /118/ those of present times in all respects. The size of the speaker's own group of relatives in the past is clearly represented in this manner to those now alive, and thus also to the younger men, who are always among the audience.

114 /116 cont./ society declares that the class of slaves is "really
567 secondary" and that it had "no appreciable task in the life of the society." Consequently, he eliminates slaves from his further discussion. From his data, however, it must be con-
565 cluded that slaves stood in a special relationship to the karaëng
567 and that in Goa they had no other ties among each other than the awareness that they all belonged to members of one and the same related group. The above-mentioned sunrang regulation in which the Prince establishes a special sunrang only for his
554 slaves favors this point. To mention another example in
567 support of this interpretation, the adat community head of
634 Borongloë does not speak to a karaëng about his ata, but about /117/ his people (taunna), because speaking of his ata would be an expression of haughtiness. In so doing he would place himself on a level with a karaëng and thereby make himself ridiculous. Toward his subjects he does speak of his ata, but even then he does so much less openly than the Prince (1).

[641]

1. In 1949 slaves in Borongloë had the active right to vote. In point of fact they participated in the election. Before the war I made no inquiries into this matter. On page 552 of his dissertation (1933), Friedericy reports that slaves were barred from the right to vote with respect to the heads placed over them. Here he is referring to the slaves belonging to the karaëng.

178 It seems that the possession of slaves is something that be-
565 longs to the karaëng group like a certain ritual or a certain
567 color, and that it is something which has been successively

175 /130 cont./ In the period after 1905, when complaints
177 registered with the officials of the Inland Administration were
648 acted upon, the leaders of such groups, even those of high
669 nobility, were increasingly restricted in their movements. It became apparent that they were not safe before the administration officials if someone had registered a complaint about them. Very slowly, often unconsciously, the realization must have dawned upon them, that they had to choose between submission to the rules of the new order, which the government upheld, and resistance against this same government.

175 The activities of those who chose resistance became
648 increasingly more distinct from those of the first mentioned.
669 Those who continued to resist were forced to withdraw gradually with their followers into districts beyond easy access until they were finally taken prisoner or killed, after having been forced completely into the defensive and having been labeled bandit chieftain or gang leader. Such was the end of men like daëng Pabarang in the western part of Bone around 1910, and like Tolo (1) in Polombangkeng /131/ in 1915.

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1. "In the second quarter of the year mentioned (1915), the number of robberies increased disquietingly through the appearance of a number of notorious gang leaders in the former province of Goa. Among these leaders there belong Tolo and his dreaded lieutenants, Basareng, Baso Patjiro Daëng Mapata, (constituting part of the Goa royal family) Radjamang,

175 /131 cont./ Djappa, Bakka (the two
177 last mentioned had been
579 armed police servants and
565 instructors in the use of
firearms), and Abbassa
Daëng Manromo Karaëng
Biladji, stepbrother of Goa's
previous prince. In a
comparatively small region,
these persons committed no
less than 130 lootings over
a period of a few months.
The brutalities frequently
committed by them in
broad daylight were
indescribable since they
were convinced that,
even if they were recognized,
nobody would dare betray
them. The native heads,
including many regents, paid
them royal respects, presented
them with horses, and
organized feasts at their
arrival for which buffaloes
and horses were slaughtered.
In many districts a system
of contributions, a tax,
was even introduced which
safeguarded the payer against
inconvenience." Eerdmans,
p. 1078.

175 They had become figures who no longer fitted into a social
177 system that was based on the ideas of peace and order, legal
security, and personal safety, upheld by the government (1).

550

1. Through a series of special

177 /134 cont./ goalkeeper of the karaëng's team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaëng had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaëng
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he, and not the karaëng who was the loser in this collision. It is understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
576 showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams, high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive" in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaëng can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

668 /138 cont./ the present-day rulers, only to become the prince himself in place of those who have been driven out.

181 The ideal of Makassarese-Buginese culture which is unconsciously present in people's thinking could be described
182 as a large kingdom comprising the whole of South Celebes
668 where peace prevails under a powerful and good prince. This formulation is based upon the striving, inherent in every bilateral related group, for expansion and steadily continuing inclusion of all surrounding groups until as large a grouping as possible has been attained, whose limits for the present are those of South Celebes.

182 We mentioned earlier a strong horizontal mobility which can be explained by a conflict in personality structure
565 and at the same time by a great insecurity about the
154 individual's standing which has its source in the absence of a clearly delineated vertical articulation. Unrest and insecurity are therefore always present, even in times of peace and order.

154 The established ideal is unattainable, but the individuals content themselves with this so long as they have the
181 opportunity to continue striving for this ideal in the "ordinary"
182 ways present in the culture. But as soon as this possibility
668 no longer exists in their opinion, and when the individual, perhaps unconsciously, believes that he is unequal to the circumstances, then the otherwise usual tension between ideal and reality becomes too great. The individual then seeks to attain his ideal in an extraordinary manner, which almost every culture provides.

The expectation of salvation is a hypertension phenomenon. It is an attempt to actualize in a short period of time the distant ideal which for a number of individuals had become too unattainable, whatever the reasons for this may have been.

589 /161 cont./ In the 1930 census report, the suggestion is
114 made with respect to the "East of the Archipelago, " "that the continued unmarried state of a woman in the native society is regarded as more or less undesirable or dishonorable" (3). I

3. Volkstelling 1930,
Part 5, p. 66.

have been unable to find a single indication in South Celebes pointing to the correctness of this last qualification. For the
581 woman concerned it is regarded as "undesirable" that she does
589 not marry. It is believed that only through marriage does one become a "complete person." Attempting to bring about someone's marriage signifies that one means well for this person. But one prefers to see a young woman unmarried rather than to see her marry a man who is not regarded as suitable.
[554] Suitability is judged almost entirely on the basis of his social standing.

By the same token people prefer to see their son unmarried than to see him contract a marriage contrary to parental wishes. Not to marry may be undesirable for an individual, but it is always regarded more highly than to marry an undesirable partner.

114 "Among the Makassarese, " the report goes on (4), "who
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4. Ibid., p. 67.

565 have strict difference between the social classes, the number of unmarried women /162/ among the higher classes is great because there the bride price and the "balandja" (the expenses of the wedding feast) are so high. " Now this "bride price" among the kinsmen of the Prince of Goa amounts to 28 reals or 56. -- guldens, and that of the small man to 20 reals or 40. -- guldens. The difference of 16. -- guldens does not

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583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
589 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
[582] in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary argument to explain the fact that a large number of women remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also used as an "explanation" for the existence of marriage by flight. It is safer to assume that in times like those after 1929, the number of marriages by flight increased somewhat through a gradual adjustment toward new relationships with regard to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance, cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts, and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does not like to cut down those amounts, because then one has the feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
178 previous one.

435 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
583 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
585 same amount as a number of years before. The members of

156 /164 cont./ inadequate in their social relations with other
589 men, could be the reason for their refusal to marry. The fact that the older people do not consider these individuals capable of contributing to the standing of the group could be the reason why they are satisfied with their refusal.

[584] No initiative toward marriage of any kind may ever proceed from a woman. The docile, withdrawn girls are set up as an example. I believe, but would like to see this confirmed by further investigation, that among the unmarried women these docile types are still the most frequent. The more aggressive personalities who possess to a lesser degree the qualities most valued in this society seem to marry sooner. An old woman explained why a particular girl had been allowed to marry by reasoning that otherwise one might have difficulties with her later. By this, the old woman most probably was thinking of the possibility of siri' problems arising. The fact that these characters marry, while docile individuals frequently remain unmarried, points to the fact that the older people in their selections follow the path of least resistance. The types from whom the most difficulties are to be expected have a better chance of marrying.

[581] The men with the personal qualities that are most /165/ appreciated and the women with the personal qualities that are least appreciated have the best chances of marrying.

•565 It is believed that the karaeng always possess a high de-
156 gree of the personal qualities appreciated in a man. Their
581 opportunities to marry are greater than those of an ordinary man; a marriage to a lower woman is a frequent phenomenon. Figures dealing with the unmarried in this group are not available, however.

The Koro Phenomenon

826 Koro is the Makassarese name for the disease symptom in
158 which a man believes that his penis is shrinking and will turn

595 606 607 /171 cont./ The latter feel responsible for the successful course of affairs in his first marriage, and accordingly they have an attitude of disapproval toward a second marriage, since a [581] lasting monogamous marriage is, after all, regarded as one of the ideals of a successful marriage. When a second marriage has come about through silariang, they show their disapproval and frequently support the first wife. They yield only if the man appears to have enough authority to prepare and to carry [554] out his second marriage independently with his "own people." That is to say, he has a house built for his second wife, or else he buys one; and secondly, he is able to organize a wedding festival on his own, even if it is a small feast. If a man enjoys that much standing and if he possesses that much organizational talent, then his relatives are not merely content [557] with this second marriage. On the contrary, then they even prize him because the festive celebration of a second marriage is a sign of his personal standing by which his kinsmen also rise in standing." /172/

In such a case, therefore, the first spouse can expect little support from his relatives, and only consolation from her own closest kinsmen. The latter merely try to minimize the importance of this event, which is sad for her personally, and to make her accept it as well as possible. There is no question of any moral disapproval of the man's action. Such is the situation in the adat community of Borongloë.

565 595 In the karaëng related group, more second marriages are contracted, especially with women of lower blood. These men have less resistance to overcome. In the kampongs of the ordinary man everyone wages his struggle to gain more standing, and thus for a good marriage for his children. In general, common people do not like to have a girl marry a man who is already married. But if the difference in blood is generally recognized, as it is between a karaëng and a girl [557] from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in standing.

565 /172 cont./ standing. This is what underlies their thoughts
595 when members of the karaëng's kin group declare that lower people consider it an honor to give away their daughter in marriage to a nobleman.

A border line where people like to see their daughter or sister marry a superior who is already married, and where the superior is actually regarded as almost an equal and therefore the marriage is not desired cannot be exactly determined. The boundaries between the classes /standen, here statuses?/ are too vague for this.

554 Exceptional qualities are therefore demanded of a man
595 who has two wives. Through the conclusion of a second marriage he shows that he raises himself above his other relatives. This fact is not appreciated and is therefore counteracted unless he otherwise contributes particularly to
[626] the social standing of the group. If this should be the case, and and if he is able to show this through organizing a second marriage independently, then it is even accepted with a certain pride. There are always a number of men with less exceptional characteristics who wish to take a second wife. The silariang institution gives them the opportunity of doing so without their having to ask the help of their relatives. In these cases, however, his relatives accept this marriage with greater hesitation.

/173/ Second Part

Sexual Union in Marriage

582 In the first part of this chapter, the criteria of selection were pointed out which the older generation applies on the basis of younger people's personal qualities in the choice of

177 /198 cont./ bride who clearly enjoyed the bouquet of white
585 carnations that she had received from him. Arm in arm they stepped into the car which took them to the next event in the festivities at his family's house.

There their gaiety collided with the Makassarese world which demands of the woman that she cry and show herself averse to her husband-to-be. The bride changed her clothing; she received the Makassarese bridal costume with the head-dress belonging to it, and was made up in a manner appropriate to it. When a moment later her bridegroom appeared and risked a joke, he was angrily put in his place. She turned away from him, and, as a good Makassarese bride, she henceforth sat motionless with closed eyes amidst the women, and at appropriate moments she displayed her aversion to her bridegroom in a self-composed manner, completely in accordance with the manner in which the Makassarese feelings must be expressed in this situation.

Child Marriage

584 The marriage policy of the older people permits even sexually immature children to marry. In so doing, they believe that they are keeping a marriage, judged desirable by them from not taking place. The reason that a marriage desired by them does not take place is to be found, in the first place, in the opposition of the individuals concerned -- the opposition of as yet sexually immature children practically does not have to be taken into account --, and in the second instance, in a request made by a higher person.

554 A request by the religious official or by someone with
565 karaëng blood in his veins to an ordinary kampong man can
584 be made on behalf of a kinsman belonging to this higher person -- and in that case there will generally be no reason for refusal --. But it may also be made on behalf of a lower person, one of his followers, or for a close associate. Refusal

554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaeng related group, that only a small number are contracted in that of the adat community heads, and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives.
582 The marriage registers are particularly useless for this purpose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling out the marriage registers know that the administration does not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this girl, a very special figure ahead of his time, had recorded the birth dates of his children in a notebook, and therefore a check was possible in this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

582 /205 cont./ widower, where the widow and widower had remarried and lived together in one house with the children from their respective first marriages, was not carried out in the city of Macassar until the Kali of Macassar declared that no Moslem legal objections existed against this marriage. In Goa, after some hesitation, such a marriage was not sealed. The chance for an unfavorable outcome was regarded as too great.

[584] Where two young people living in the same house have a chance of being married, as happens once in a while in the populous houses of headmen, one of them is sent elsewhere beforehand and is made to marry from there.

A marriage between relatives who do not belong to the same generation is regarded as unfavorable. Husband and wife are regarded as belonging to the same generation. If, [601] genealogically viewed, they belong to a different generation, 593] there arises in the beginning of the marriage an uncertainty with respect to social forms and terms of address, which after a while disappears as forms and terms are adapted to the new relationship. Where man and wife stated that they were members of the same generation, whereas later it appeared that a difference of generations existed between them, it was found unpleasant to be reminded of this irregularity in kinship relations. The conflict which had already become buried revived, as it were, by such an observation.

Where a difference in generations between man and wife is observable, in almost all cases the man belongs to the older generation.

The marriage of a man to a cousin of the fourth degree (samposikali) or to a cousin of the tenth degree is regarded by many as an "ordinary" marriage, but a few regard it as [565] unfavorable. In /206/ the karaeng group of relatives, marriages between relatives of the fourth degree occur with greater frequency than in Borongloe. In these circles greater

565 /206 cont./ value is placed, as they say, upon keeping the
582 blood pure and the goods together. There this marriage is therefore not regarded as unfavorable. In the higher classes, one can observe the tendency toward contracting marriages between closer relatives.

587 A marriage to someone who has already been married (a widower or divorced man) is regarded as unfavorable. The fact that the first marriage failed is ascribed to a lack of "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means), unless a special reason can be shown. The idea that an individual is as he is, and [828] that he himself can change little about this, explains fears that the second marriage will fail for the same reason. Attempts are made to dismiss any thoughts of the first marriage by having the second marriage take place from another house, by choosing another bride's mother, and by making other changes. The best attitude imaginable is therefore thought to be that of a remarrying bridegroom who said, "I am going to begin a new life." This man was prepared to react differently in this second marriage than in the first, at which time he submitted with great aversion to all the ritual, gave his bride a rough tap on the back at the first touch, and in all possible ways made his dislike of this marriage apparent.

A woman prefers not to marry a man who has already been married, as the following verse (kelong) testifies, where a young woman is introduced saying:

[539]

> "I would rather be a fallow piece of land, an unplowed sown field, than having a buffalo run over me who has already been under the yoke once."

Actually, it would be very crude if a girl were to recite [576] this verse. This is only done by older people when it suits them at a certain moment in their marriage policy.

582 /206 cont./ The marriage of an oldest son in a family to the oldest daughter of another is regarded as unfavorable (1), even if both are cousins of the sixth degree, for instance.

1. Makassarese: Ulua siagang ulua nabambang.

/207/ If a couple is married, the marriage of the husband's brother to a sister of his wife is considered unfavorable. This is called "piling up bamboos" (tambung palapa). This [565 184] marriage occurred in the karaeng group of relatives. The marriage partners were first cousins, probably a sign of a limited choice of marriage partners. It is unclear whether this marriage was also regarded as unfavorable by karaeng.

When a couple is married, the marriage of his sister to a brother of the wife is considered unfavorable. This is called "the closing of the crossbeam" (sisuluru palangga). Instances of this in Borongloë are unknown to me.

The marriage of a man to the sister of his wife is forbidden. This prohibition is based upon Moslem law (1).

1. See T. W. Juynboll, Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet volgens de leer der Sjâfi'itische school /Guide to the Knowledge of the Mohammedan Way according to the Dogma of the Shafiite School/, third edition, 1925, p. 185.

The marriage of a man and woman who as children were nursed by the same woman is regarded as prohibited in some cases. The prohibition is based upon Moslem dogma (1).

1. Ibid.

853/208 cont./
862

she begins to wean her youngest. The reason for still nursing her child of about two-and-one-half years who is able to walk, according to the mother, was that she was not yet pregnant. A child that already walks and plays but who still drinks from the mother's breast often turns out to be her youngest. A woman had continued to feed her first child (seven months old) while she was expecting her second. When the milk flow decreased, this child regressed considerably physically, since it was still taking little extra food. Only after the birth of the second one, when the mother was feeding both children, did the first one regain strength. This case must be regarded as an exception, however.

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Weaning is done by means of a bitter fluid smeared on the nipple, which brings quick results. A woman was urging her child to suck even though she had just previously smeared her nipple. Later, when it was offered the breast, the child refused violently.

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[565]

A wet nurse (anrong pasusu) is only to be found in karaeng circles. She is spoken of as

853 /208 cont./ amma'daëng (mother daëng). Being a wet nurse is called hereditary, in the sense that one likes to see that where a woman has a nurse, the daughter of this nurse is again the wet nurse for the daughter of this woman. A young mother of high nobility is said to be modern if she nurses the child herself. A marriage of a noble person with someone who is related by suckling kinship to him is out of the question.

[565]

[582]

582 Finally, it is considered natural to marry a kinsman. In the case of marriage to someone who is not related there is mutual insecurity. Such a marriage always has a practical purpose. People want to extend the circle of their connections, and sometimes it is believed to serve one's aspirations to rise best of all in this fashion. But in the case of such a marriage, the chance of failure is considered greater than in that to a kinsman. "Do not creep out" (teako alamba' assulukii) is said to one who has plans of marrying off his child outside the kin group.

[557]

Since a marriage to a non-kinsman, to a person of a different generation, and to a contemporary of the fourth and the tenth degree, is always regarded as unfavorable, there remains merely the possibility of marriage between contemporaries of the sixth and eighth degree. That is the marriage which, according to the figures given above (see pages 29 and 30), is, at the same time, the most frequent.

554 /210 cont./ A woman "may not go down." Impairment of
[558] her social standing constitutes for her male relatives, and especially for her brother, an affront to their striving to rise. They are injured in one of the very few fixed points which they possess.

● 565 A Makassarese stands in a relationship of cooperation to a superior or an inferior. High and low have common interests. Together they are best able to realize their own aspirations to rise. The lack of an opposition element lends their mutual relationship an emotional security which is absent elsewhere.

An expression of competition between an inferior and a superior entails an impairment of existing relationships between high and low. The reaction to such an impairment is generally
554 a sharp repudiation. The superior tries to maintain existing
565 relationships because these give him emotional security which he lacks elsewhere, because his attempts to rise can only be successful through his tie with inferiors, and finally because his rights and duties towards inferiors provide him with advantages that he does not like to be without.

684 Violation of contact prohibitions between a man and a
554 higher woman also signifies for a Makassarese an impairment
565 of an important, fixed point of comparison in his striving for high /status/, and an impairment of the existing relation between high and low. Thus it means the impairment of two elements that are of essential importance to him in his culture. He faces a situation with which he feels himself unable to cope, and in his opinion there remains nothing else to do than to kill the person who has done this to him (adjallo').

That a violation of the contact prohibition between a man and a higher woman is indicated by the same term as that between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ probably means only that it is regarded as equally serious.

554 Such violation is therefore more serious than if contact
684 prohibitions are violated between equals or near equals. In the

[95 cont.]
793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These orna-
[293 ments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of
778] the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was
[74] the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his property. [96] His power was extended more and more because he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was prob-
[636 ably the only native jurisdictional community on southern
634] Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people, however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their position from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornament-
[631] ships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.

565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes, the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature
641 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treatment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng, sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became. The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary and could be severed by either side.

[614] Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the
582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy
583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

New Guinea OJ1 Makasser OG6 Java OE1
Minangkabau OD10 Buru OH8
Javanese OE5 Ceram OH9
Tanimbar OF19 Kei OH13
Atjehnese OD4 Enggano OD6

[457 cont.]

Jv 843 the woman; the woman appears in a different garment seven times, one after the other; etc. Usually only the tingkeb festival for the first pregnancy is given much notice.

MK 843 ●565 Among another Mohammedan people, the Buginese and [458] Makassarese, the same kind of festival is celebrated with great splendor in the seventh or eighth month by the families of the notables.

Jvns Mn 844 In general, there are no festivities connected with the birth itself, but some peculiar customs are practiced. First of all, we should mention that among the Minangkabau Malayans and the Javanese everything in the vicinity of the confinement must be opened, chests, hatches, etc., and krises must be taken out of the sheath, an example of the so-called sympathetic thought or transmigration doctrine. Among the Minangkabau, all men must leave the dwelling; on Java, on the other hand, custom demands that the man be present, even to the extent that, should the father be away from home at the time, a rice pestle, dressed to look like a man, is placed near the woman in childbed. Another widespread custom is cutting the umbilical cord with a sharp piece of bamboo instead of a knife — probably a survival from the time before iron was known; old customs and implements are preserved longest in such ceremonies.

E T N K B C 844 The custom of not allowing the confinement to take place in the house, but in a specially prepared little hut in the forest is found on some of the eastern islands, namely, on Ceram, Buru, Kei and Tanimbar Islands, and New Guinea; it is also found on the small island of Enggano in the west of the archipelago (west of Sumatra's southern point), where the woman in childbed is taken to the forest or to a secluded place near the dwelling.

Finally, mention should be made of the peculiar, but widespread custom of subjecting the woman to the action of a gentle fire for a considerable time after the confinement, one could almost say a kind of roasting. This is customary, for example, among the Atjehnese. "She who is busy drying herself over the fire," the person "who is lying by the hearth" are

A 844

B [416 cont.]

565 Among the Batak, too—as a reminder, they are divided
554 into two standings, the namora-mora and the halak na djadji—
551 the custom of assuming a galar exists. They have probably adopted it from the Malays, although in a different form. The differentiation into galar pusaka and galar muda does not exist here, and there is only one kind, which is like the galar muda and is used with the nama kètè. It also consists of two parts, the title and the description. The usual title is dja, an abbreviation of radja, for example, Dja porkis, Dja langit, etc. The galar here, however, is not limited to the nobility, but is borne by many of the common people, especially by the well-to-do. [417] The namora-mora, and particularly those who are closely related to the sovereign, change the galar in later life, when assuming office, when marrying, etc., for another whose title is baginda, sutan, mangaradja, pertuwan, etc., as follows: Pertuwan sangkupan, Sutan ganga alam, etc. Often two titles are combined, such as Sutan mangaradja, Djona alam, etc. The title of the galar usually stays in the family [geslacht] in the sense that it passes from father to grandson. If the father has the title pertuwan, then his son is not pertuwan, but sutan, the grandson pertuwan, the great-grandson sutan, etc. Persons without a title have si in front of their name.

e. Celebes

MK
565 Among the Buginese and Makassarese, too, the nobility
643 is quite sharply distinguished from the common class. Members
[562] of the royal family have the title karaëng among the Makassarese, and arung or patta or opis among the Buginese. Both titles are borne by men and women. The ruling sovereigns, male and female, have such titles, but with the addition of mágaú Bug. and mangkaú Mak., thus, karaëng mágaú and arung mangkaú. Princes
MK and princesses of high birth who may be considered for the succes-
[554] sion are called patola instead of karaëng or arung. There is a

[417 cont.]

565 number of titles for the other princes and royal persons, but we
643 shall not discuss them here. The most common title for a noble
554 person who does not belong to the royal family is daëng among both peoples. This title originally indicated someone of high birth, but later it was assumed out of self-conceit and lost much of its importance. Buginese and Makassarese who have a right to this title, however, are very proud of it, and when they have risen to some office, they would rather be addressed as daëng than by their official title. Daëng is also a title for women. A native always addresses his wife and older sisters by it, unless they are of royal blood, thus are karaëng. Another noble title, although less exalted than daëng, is the Makassarese [418] kare. We have already seen how people from the common class are addressed.

643 Just as we have noted for the Javanese and Sumatran
293 sovereigns, every ruling sovereign here has his decorations, called kalompuang, or the so-called ornaments. They consist of various objects, such as long krises, guns, shields, badju rante = coat of mail, betel boxes with cuspidors, parasols, etc. Among all the objects, however, one is the most important. It is called gangkang and is generally a strange sort of thing that according to tradition was found in a mysterious way where the seat of the state was established. Thus, there is a gangkang that is a wild tuber of peculiar shape; another one is a small golden
793 image, and in still another one can recognize an old, worn-out
778 paintbrush. All these ornaments, and the gangkang in particular, are venerated; feasts are even given in their honor. Also, priests are appointed to take care of them.

643 The sovereign derives his authority from those ornaments.
778 For example, to remove the sovereign during a revolt, an at-
669 tempt is made to gain possession of the ornaments. If this succeeds, he has been virtually deprived of his authority.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Ranking of Nobles (Buginese)

●565

	ana' matola ↓ tjera' tjinting	(crown) prince(cess) of highest blood Child: ana'radjeng, children of pure blood
	tjera' dua	- two
	tjera' telu	- three
ana' apona ma' padjunge-descendants (grandchildren) of the King	tjera' eppe	- four
	tjera' lima	- five
	tjera' eneng	- six
	tjera' tudju(pitu)	- seven

(Now: only up to tjera' lima)

↓

to detjeng -well-to-do people, commoners

(down to tjera' eppe' - real nobles)

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, 203
and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting 666
on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems 624
that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the 596
head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his
clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs.
Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like
Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc
splits.

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van 778
Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, 565
kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the
karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he
was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave.
As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next 574
door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and
the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people
around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a
broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-
Heekeren.

The store hasa brick underwall, and a house above. It
appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and
berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always ac-
cepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim
talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked be-
tween ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United 872
States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim 346
said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in 494
a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen 198
the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it ap-
peared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual 435
style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used
Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling,
but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth
grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further
schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong,
[i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa,
and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is
quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather
far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later.
That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I 212
asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim
said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general.
He added that there was a press in Makassar.

Makassar 066
Sadang 068

Makassarese-Buginese: Van Heekeren says that there has been a change in ruler rights. Formerly for example, if the ruler of Goa wanted a good horse of a commoner he would say to that man, "Yours is a fine horse", and the man would say, "It is not mine but yours". Now, the ruler still gets what he wants, for example the horse, but he pays for it, say f 50. Thus there seems to be a gradual change. M 565 178 425

Sadang: The following information is from a man named Heeren, a sociologist from Amsterdam, now a high school teacher in Makassar and working on his dissertation on a village northwest of Rantepao. His village, he says, is pretty well spread out like all of Sadang now. Formerly they lived on high hills but it was difficult to carry water to these positions and they had to leave their buffaloes below where they were easily stolen by the Buginese. They still have a feast and ceremony of driving off all Buginese evil. This is called mabugi. There are about eighty houses in this village including some large ones, and thus a big population. According to Heeren one sees mostly sawah at first, but then one begins to note behind hedges and so forth, houses including very ornate struc[illegible]s. These houses are a couple of hundred meters a[illegible] round them are evidently gardens. Rice barns are impo[illegible] because they show wealth. The village extends for[illegible]o miles by one mile. He chose this village beca[illegible]tepao there is no puang, and thus there are fewer com[illegible]cations. There are tomakaka, commoners, and slaves. The most important feasts are the death feasts. They have a long street, not for cars, and up from it on a hill lie the houses. There are two plazas, rante, and here they celebrate such feasts. Here also are located scores of stone pillars, some three to four meters high. Buffaloes are tied to these pillars. Great debts are accumulated by sacrificing buffaloes. Each family tries to outdo the others in potlatch fashion, and after some sixty-three buffaloes for example, are killed, they will sell their rice fields and go into debt. There is a tremendous amount of waste. It seems that giving buffaloes to others requires return later and they try to outdo each other like the Kwakiutl. There is always a great fuss over property ownership. Heeren said that there are only three puang, and he thinks they came in about the fifteenth century (van Wouden thinks that they are native like the tomokaka, but that the idea came in from the Buginese). He said that he has many Sadang students in Makassar, and as in the homeland they are keen for education.

S [115] 361 565 765 426 431 789

S [349]

noticeable in the Kepala kampong's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim. M 156 609

I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs, a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampong had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampong's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better. M 565 342 554

At the Karaëng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa". I 192

I asked Rahim about the Karaëng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i.e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaëng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes. M 156 554

I went back to the Karaëng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaëng as well as to the Kepala kampong. Rahim said that the Karaëng was ana tino [i.e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i.e., the nine electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought. M 124 565

The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him. M 124

Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were M 541 533 177

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
● 565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

we went to de Graaff's house for a conference. He called in the information man who was also in noble dress. He was old and lean and impressive. His name is Sulewatang Udjung. There were a few others including his son, Andi Pabara. They decided that the best kampong would be near Pampanua, but I said that that would be too far so they then decided on one on the border of Watampone, Bukaka. Andi was chosen as an assistant. There was much talk and the controleurs came in, Kollewijn and Thierens, both fine men and the Buginese should be glad they have them. M 124 [115]

I made long speeches in Dutch and Malay (how silly of me to have thought that I could use English here!) regarding the need in the United States of knowing more about Bone, United States customs, my project, and so forth. Everyone seemed well impressed. The Dutch acted very fine and spent all morning helping me. After much encouraging talk we went to the Arumpone the biggest "medicine" in South Celebes. He lives in a not too impressive house. There is no palace here. The Sulewatang said later that he formerly had the present house of the Assistant Resident. And that house was also not up to Standard Oil standards. The Arumpone's house has an equally large pavilion separated into two parts, in one of which sits the great aradjang and in the other the guests. The Arumpone talked quite a bit of American journalists, especially those who had visited Bone before dying in a plane crash in India. He showed me a photograph of himself taken with them. The Assistant Resident said later that the Arumpone said he was impressed by my speaking in Indonesian and had been critical of the journalists who come here and do "research" without any language facility. The Arumpone is a dignified fellow about fifty, wearing a uniform which looks somewhat like a general's, and a fine yellow songkok. He had two gold pens. He said he was going to Buton tomorrow, and seemed very proud. He said I must come again and take a photograph (that camera!). He is reputed to be a conservative. Also, he is not up to the blood of the deposed and exiled-to-Rantepao former arum. Later Thierens said to me that the Arumpone here lived in fear of intrigue, and that when one of the Aru Pitu [the seven princes of Bone] was around, he shuts up. Thierens also said that this was not too different from the intrigue against the arumpone in Bontorio. The present Arumpone is the head of the Hadat tinggi (House of Lords with veto power) in Makassar. This Hadat tinggi is for all of South Celebes (Sulawesi Selatan). The second man in the Hadat tinggi is the Goa radja. I met the Tomarilalang, the

M 123 565

M 565 292 578

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The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that Andi could also work for me. Thus it goes. The Kepala kampong is a fat fellow with a yellow turban. He is called "Mado" which is the Buginese term for kepala kampong, or rather, Mado Bukaka. His house is not bad, with a ramp on the side structure, but stairs going up into the main part of it. He is no noble, nor are there any bangsawan [titled nobles] in the village. When Sulewatang Udjung ordered, he called together the kali guru [teachers], and notables (the Sulewatang later told me that family heads are also important). They are a motley crew. They came in and sat around on chairs. The Sulewatang, Andi, the magistrates, and I sat around a table. Coffee and cookies were served. They all listened well and the guru, a good looking young man, seemed especially intelligent. The Sulewatang gave an opening address and I joined in with more and more comments regarding the United States and the need for knowledge of South Celebes. They were quite silent, but one or two nodded and smiled continuously. I got the idea that they will do what they are told. They too were fascinated by my camera. Also, as usual, they plaintively asked (as asked by the Sulewatang) why things are so expensive and hard to get in Celebes, when there is obviously so much of everything in the United States. They are greatly interested in this matter. I tried to explain the fact that the dollar is high and the rupiah low, and also about the foreign exchange currency control. They got the main point. We then went over my notes (I had gone over the Friedericy notes with the Sulewatang the night before). They got the idea and it seems that they want to appear as both modern and as good Mohammedans, as they always shied away at questions regarding such things as spirit belief, old type feasts, and offerings. This was especially true of the Sulewatang, who always said that formerly such and such a practice may have been observed here and perhaps at present is still observed in the mountains, but in this place and at the present time it does not exist. I was told that such practices were mere legends now, but they admitted that in most cases the people still knew about them. 124 342 622 624 565

The next day I talked with the controleur. He showed me the perkara [legal case] records of the office here. In Wadjo, Bone and Soppeng combined there are over one thousand legal cases per year. Many of these pertain to horse and cattle stealing, which is an old custom here. I saw one decision: six months in jail. 691 685

C the city government. Maybe I am too hard, but it lines up
647 with my steady claim: let them have democracy, but let them
563 realize that they must pay for and use expert direction. And
152 above all, they must work and learn. There are quite a few
829 Dutch teachers around here in government schools, and that, to me, is good. I hope they stay. I do not know where they will get the money to pay them in a land run by economic illiterates. They try all sorts of ideas. I note that they often ask me why the United States does not help. For example, Andi said, "Why was it that the United States or some American firm did not build a factory in Makassar." I told him frankly that the reason was that there was no money to be made in South Celebes and that they would not come unless they could see certain profit. For example, who here could buy cars and other manufactured products? He took it well. Another interesting thing here is the way they are not at all bashful about the price of things. Everything I have they want to know the price of. This is especially true of the old Sulewatang. However, I met doctors at the beach, and they were rather sophisticated. And still they wanted at once to know the price of my camera as everyone else does. The old Sulewatang came into my room today and looked at everything, asking the price of each object. He commented that everything was wonderful. He also asked if I could not get some of the things he was handling for him! Thus, he obviously wanted my pencil, and whatever else I had. He asked if I could not get him just a small raincoat like I had. I have to be careful, but I manage to turn them off.

M To get back to the first kampong trip, and also to my talk
565 with the Sulewatang at his home the evening before; he told
759 me that it was easy for anyone to know what per cent of blood
829 was in any individual. Thus everything is figured out in per
773 cent. He used the word "pro sen"! Thus if someone who is 100 per cent marries someone who is 50 per cent, the children are 75 per cent. And if someone who is 50 per cent marries someone who is 25 per cent, then the children are 35 per cent (he noted that you just cut the difference!). Thus the notable class consciousness is perhaps clearer here than anywhere else. To what degree is magic power involved? He agreed that there is practically no pure blood royalty in Bone. He knew well the stories of heaven descent, the names of gods, and so forth. I wonder if his son knows about them too? He said that the sanro [a type of native doctor] are still in. Some are doctors, that is, healers. This is all in line. He said that some of them were half men, and seemed to agree that

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo kil-
771 lings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
184 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

621 the border of wanua Palaka, kampong Tjabalu on the west,
it is four kilometers also. This western part is thus a
632 square. On the east side of the road, along the Watampone
101 border, it is only six hundred meters along the street to
131 the Ta border. But then the east border sweeps eastward in
102 a long curve so that on the northern side along the border of
Tjelapa, the northern border runs two kilometers from the
main road. (See rough map, page 46, field notes)[P.266 here]

871 There are two schools in Bukaka, one a religious school
435 and the other a village school. They are near the Watampone
556 border on the main road, or just off it. There are also ten
private Koran schools. There are about six hundred hadjis
here. I met one, a smug young man. And I teased him about
being one of the few rich men in town, but he said that it was
perhaps, if the family resources were pooled, six thousand
guilders. He remarked that ten thousand guilders was really
a great fortune here. Incidentally, the Sulewatang said that
the high figures given for the old days were somewhat off.
Prices were overvalued.

131 In the wanua, running eastward to the sea from Bukaka, are
361 the kampongs Penyula and Ta side by side; then Paopao,
Tibodjong (very small) and Tamaüsing, side by side; then
Toro, Tjelu, Lapobatua, Biru, and Palingorung, all side by
side (the latter two jut out to the south); then Badjoë and Maloi,
side by side (the former on the sea, the latter juts out to the
south); and finally, along the curve of the sea, Rompe. I for-
got to say that these really do not jut out, as Watampone is
also part of the wanua and it is to the south of Bukaka, Ta,
Tamaüsing. Thus the appearance seems to be roughly that
621 of a triangle. Aside from Watampone, each of the fifteen
kampongs has a kepala kampong. And within each of the kam-
pongs there are varying numbers of hamlets. Thus Bukaka
has three, Penyula has one, Ta three, Paopao two, Tibodjong
one, Tamaüsing one, Lapobatua one. I could not get any
information on the other kampongs, but will find out later. The
biggest kampongs, in order, are: Tjelu, Bukaka, Badjoë.
Others are small. Bukaka is the oldest.

368 The big misigit [mesjid, mosque] is used by Bukaka, Ta,
and Watampone. Other kampongs having misigit are: Penyula,
Badjoë, Paopao, Lapobatua, and Palingorung, thus there are
six in all.

632 In Bone, Andi says, there are twenty-one wanua. Seven
● 5165 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, how-
ever, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua
there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imam of the latter is the 368
father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in
later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong [623]
council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone.

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in 622
legal cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after 692
the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he
couldn't the case went to the karaëng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village 623
is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of 203
an election when a great drum is beaten.

In addition to mosques, there are many surau, that is [346]
prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaëng is 565
not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is 368
only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaëng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank.

We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of 632
Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [run- 565
ning east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the terri- 114
tory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangan. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallarang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e.,literally, electoral college--Analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaëng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan.

Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred 175
years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. 565
(See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the

M tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at
175 large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the
●565 people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]
[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and
793 their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession
838 of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst]
231 This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any
881 bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati.
304 But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there
574 for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the
182 Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I re-
771 minded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own
181 idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friedericy). This
fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to
565 another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded.
582 But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman.
829 I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage
rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use
of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked
around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States,
something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indo-
nesian man in the United States could marry an American
woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed.
Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the
567 Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I des-
427 cribed the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty
of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here
who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was
told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They
insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?)
The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many
gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-
on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens,
and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food.
When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house
or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a
survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that former-
ly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he
is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were
perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of
folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are
they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were
descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they
were.

000 One thing about education: the business man asked if I could
take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He
said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told
him to write the Institute for International Education in New
York.

769 Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of
the old belief in present practice, including information con-
cerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the country-
side people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and
that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a
sense, were ancestors.

126 I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in
124 the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the
women were very proud. Also the children remained pests,

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
764 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photo-
graph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photo-
graph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
782 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
412 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers, etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This belonged to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
743 leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map)
758 [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows. These dwelling places are much better than native houses. There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the children especially get leprosy, and that when children are born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and 584
if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment 834
you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him.

Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions 125
as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans.

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such 565
class designations as bangsa hamba[slaves] and others as 558
turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were 567
plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's.

Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell 855
plenty in order to send him to school.

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went 567
to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general 558
exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are 166
of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may 152
be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe.) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 000

000 Mission, Timor. He said that the Catholics have a great organization, and that they do not force Christianity. They do not try to change the habits and clothing of the people. They tell the natives to do as they wish, and change as they please. But the Protestants force changes in clothing, tell them that they are damned if they do not change, etc. On Flores, west of Endeh, the Jesuits have worked far up into the mountains. They had a printing press in Endeh. They also have model farms, including a dairy. They train and educate the young, for example, they have trained the best agricultural man in Timor. He is a native priest who was sent to Wageningen, and then on his return was put into the governmental service. He pays rich returns because he is in the intimate councils of the government and knows all about the radjas, etc. Thus, by clever work, the Catholics have gained much control. Timor is not so good, as it is more influenced by the Protestants. This, of course, is the opinion of van der Wetering (whose views I do not always trust, but he may have something here). He said the system of the Jesuits is that when they start a mission they get money for five years. After that it must be self-supporting. And according to him it usually is.

565 567 Balombaru: Classes existed (exist?) within the slave group too, and it is not the usual hereditary as against new slave idea, but rather that a slave of a noble feels superior to a slave of a commoner, and all grades in between. Thus, as I suppose is the case with servants in England, if you are a maid of a duchess you feel superior to the maid of a baroness. Thus the class idea ramifies, and pangkat is the essence of the whole social functioning.

175 743 Balombaru: September 3, 1949. Fourth day: First I went to the leprosarium to give my books to the nurse. She told me about some awful Javan atrocities after the Japanese defeat in Surabaja. They even shot into the hospital from trees. The idea seemed to her to be to kill all white people. 181 She [i.e., the head nurse at the Balombaru leper asylum-- 621 Analyst] said that the natives have no initiative, though there is more evidence of some form of initiative here than in Java. 743 She divided the colony into three kampongs. Each with an elected kepala kampong. They come to her only if they cannot settle cases.

Again I had several men at the house, including a fairly high turunan radja. We went through about one half of the notes. I asked about the high percentage of unmarried women here and told them that the census reported that this was caused by the high prices. Saleh said no, the price was only f.88 for upper classes and f.20 for a slave. But I noted that he couldn't go to normal school because of the f.65. But, he said, there are ways of getting around this price. For example, one might give a rice field or something in kind rather than money. He said the trouble was mainly in the higher class, as it was hard to find suitable mates. But if it is too difficult one can move down a peg for a mate, but the result then is that the children are of lower status or class. The upper class man said that Fredericy's [i.e., H.J. Friedericy, De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren--Analyst] estimate of 40 pure ana' patola in Goa was rather high. He said that now there is only one, a woman. I think he said that she is not married, but I am not sure. Saleh agreed that it is also possible to run off and thus have a lower price. He also said that there is no real marriage unless the price is paid. All the fussy details apply mainly to the upper classes. And there again I see the fault in the Dutch material. They write of the uppers mostly. There is an absolute rule, a taboo, on a lower man marrying an upper woman [hypergamy]. Punishment for this was formerly death, by drowning. They agreed that this was looked upon as incest and as being sufficient cause of disaster for all. Such results as failure of the rice crop and so forth, might be expected. They put it that the mountains would refuse to send the rain. They laughed when I read from the notes that there was little divorce here because it was so hard to replace a wife. They seemed to agree that there was very little divorce. They said there was relatively little polygamy too, but the old sea captain has two wives now and has had many more. The two never lived together in polygamy now, he said, because they fight. Formerly, they could live in the same house. The present Radja of Goa has two wives.

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Literacy: Saleh said to be careful regarding percentage figures on literacy. He said that everybody learns to read (or at least most people) Makassarese, and many learn to write it. It is taught in school, and also in the homes. Thus he might teach his wife if she were illiterate. He said that in the kampong 70 per cent of the people can read Makassarese and 30 per cent can write it. The figures are lower for Arabic and Roman letters. He has some figures in the material he gave me. He said that school children learn Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic.

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000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
● 565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 567
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are 535
none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

565 The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
567 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

House status marks: little is known about the rules con- 342
cerned with the number of piles, but much is known about 114
the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written 554
in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me 565
say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some
of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it
was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the
commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with
the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is
a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social
indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In
regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now
too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew 773
most of the names and events in the legends of origin, includ- 591
ing the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding
marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a
while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they
may go where they choose.

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline 177
in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the paka- 535
rena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices 527
came in. For example, one of the men said that they were 574
having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the
Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they
are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between 186
Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite 173
ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one,
Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name
of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is 778
only about three kilometers from here. I will go there to-
morrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It
is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite
serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for in-
vulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there
is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language 197
spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was
really a different language. They imitated it and laughed.
They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much 241
of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and 262
it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

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TRADES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (cont'd)

	1	2	3	Total
Manufacturing worker	-	1	1	2
Cycle repairer	-	1	1	2
Fish seller	1	-	-	1
Bamboo dealer	1	-	-	1
Atap roofer	-	-	1	1
Weaver	-	-	1	1
Coachman	-	-	1	1
Dyer	-	-	1	1
Kalker [i.e., chalkers--Analyst]	-	-	1	1
Not given	7	1	4	12
Total	51	13	49	113 [sic]

[565]

TITLE DAENG

	Daeng	Not Daeng	Total
1.	54	233	287 (20%)
2.	-	60	60 (0%)
3.	21	234	255 (9%)
Total	75	527	602 (12%)

Of Goldsmiths, Daeng are:

	Goldsmiths	Daeng
1.	34	24
2.	1	-
3.	2	1
Total	37	25 (70%)

	Non-Goldsmiths	Daeng
1.	17	3
2.	12	-
3.	47	13
Total	76	16 (21%)

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I left for Bone on Monday, September 5, 1949. However, I had to stay at Pampanua for one night as there was no room in Watampone. It is a small place with a large alunalun. There is a big market here which is held five days a week. It is also the place where the radjas of Bone, Wadjo and Soppeng meet for conferences. In addition it is the place where the assistant resident used to stay. I got the idea as I walked in the evening that this place shows mostly still life. I noticed mainly men walking and standing in the stores. The next day I went to Bone, where I had a conference with Andi. There was nothing to do until the next day.

As for changes in political organization in the area during the last fifty years, there has evidently not been very much in the kampong or in the wanua, although perhaps the Dutch made the kampongs larger by combining several under one kepala kampong. The number of wanua evidently did not change. The old organization of Bone was as follows. At the bottom below the earth line were the people at large, the rakyat together with their kepala kampong, who, however, might be a noble too. Above the earth line in the heaven realm (so considered) were first of all the thirty-one kepala wanua, and then above them were the seven princes and above them the two tomakaka, one the tomakaka lolo and one the tomakaka tua together with the makadangetawa who was concerned mainly with foreign affairs. Finally at the top was the [radja] with his right hand man, the punggawa, as head of the army. Orders from the radja to the people went via the tomakaka tua to the seven princes, then to the kepala wanua concerned, and thence to the kepala kampong and thus to the people. Requests from the latter to the kepala kampong then went up to the kepala wanua concerned and thence to the seven princes and then to the tomokaka lolo and finally to the radja. However if a person were a noble he might take his requests directly to the radja and the latter in return might give more direct orders. As in Goa, nobles formerly scorned a lowly job. But at the wanua level they must always be nobles. There is some change noticeable today in that they have only one tomarilalang. It runs something like this today: at the top is still the radja together with the makadangetawa who is now concerned only with internal affairs and below the radja is this one tomarilalang and then come the seven princes or the Aru Pitu each representing a department of the government (but at present one office, that of Aru Udjung [probably the last (in rank?) of seven aru--Analyst] is vacant), then come the thirty-one kepala wanua as before and below the earth line the rakyat also unchanged. 631 178 565

Formerly (now too?), when a noble made a request to the radja, he first made his request to the tomarilalang and together they made the request to the radja.

As for the names of the classes arranged in descending order they are as follows: first the six noble classes known collectively as bangsawan or ana ma'padjung. 565

1. patola
2. tjera - tjitjing
3. tjera - dua
4. tjera - tiga
5. tjera - ampat
6. tjera - lima

M 565 Then there are four classes known together as merdeka, that is freemen.

7. tjera - anam
8. tjera - tudju
9. now no more
10. also now no more

M [567] Then from eleven on there are many kinds of slaves known as ata or hamba. And, slaves might have slaves! Thus there is rank even among the slaves.

M 565 554 The terms of address are: for radja, petah; and this term is used down to the fourth class of nobles, that of the tjera-tiga. For the fifth class, that is tjera-ampat, the term daeng is used and for the sixth class of nobles, that of the tjera-lima, the term pua. However, he said there was much variation, and that petah is used even among commoners. He said that the situation is even worse in the Makassarese area, where daeng, he said, means nothing any more as many people without particular rank in the noble classes use it. In the kampong there are three subdivisions known as kampong ketjil: Bukaka, Tolangi, and Walena. There are four assistants known as seriang: three in Bukaka and one in Walena. There are five representatives known as wakil. They are like police.

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C 631 I asked about the whole structure of the East Indonesian government and his uncertain statements went something like this: First is the negara [state, i.e., of East Indonesia]. The president is Sukawati, the premier, Anak Agung. There is then the Senate.

C [635] Second, there is the Daerah Sulawesi Selatan [District of South Celebes], at the head of which is the Ketua hadat tinggi (Arumpone). Then comes the Hadat tinggi comprised of fifteen radjas. From these a working committee of five members is formed. And finally there is the Dewan Sulawesi Selatan [South Celebes Council] consisting of four representatives from Bone.

C [634] Then there is the landschap [province], which makes the third division. The organization is as above and the Aru Pitu, the seven princes, are like a cabinet. They do not have a parliament yet but they have had elections and will soon sit. This body is called the Dewan Pertimbangan, consisting of twenty-one representatives.

The fourth cut is that of the wanua, with the thirty-one kepala wanua.

Finally, as the fifth division we have the kampong, headed by the kepala kampong and the assistant or seriang.

The new radja, chosen from [a certain] family, is selected

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692
There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper 665
administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there 668
are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an
eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad ex- 668
periences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't 663
keep their word, and although he is a conservative, he keeps 576
his word. Thus he is disgusted with politics. Nevertheless, 178
he has a great deal of influence even with those who are relatively radical. When a blazing representative of the Republic here meets the Radja he gives him sembah [homage, respectful greeting with hands placed together on the forehead]. And this is true also in Makassar. But the new and radical politicians are also still caught in the web of the rigid adat of South Celebes. As for the exiled Arumpone, the Controleur said that if the Dutch were to leave, there is a good chance for a coup d'etat here, and in other places as well. He also agreed that if in the Republic, with freedom the radjas will suffer with a resultant political upsurge. As 648
for the point that many of the people think that the Dutch and 663
the radjas are working together, I get the impression that it 178
is partly true, and the Dutch I meet constantly rationalize 565
this by saying that all would fall apart here if the traditional custom law, the adat, which depends upon the ordered, ranked universe were to be suddenly abolished. But, says the Controleur, the people do not know how much the Dutch keep the radjas from excesses both diplomatically and behind the
scenes. Still, he said that it is difficult now because the 661
Dutch are only here as helpers and can work only through the 656
radjas. In previous times if there was a bad fellow high up in the state, the Dutch could jail him. But now, for example in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use anyway because the replacements would probably be just as bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating the size of the family. For example, they will list a family as consisting of nine members when it really has only five. Then they will give out the ration for five members, keeping the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the Chinese.

Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that 665
if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties 521
would get much support. He also said that the relatively

M 6065 521 conservative PNI [PartaiNasional Indonesia, i.e.,Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic l life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

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are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were
going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very
pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from
the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It
was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around
it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's
brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule
seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably
politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no
potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The
food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouth-
wash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is
a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is taste-
less.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be
here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison
which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was
that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other
instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were
largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds
and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up
new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher
and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set
and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But
there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman
teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs
if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned,
others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very
young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were
up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother
said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at
the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the
drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have
troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

although he told me that they were "his people". He said 535
that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would 565
be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He 567
said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may
not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one [435
of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must 582]
pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And
even later, when they are no longer able to perform as
padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry.
The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and
he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner
who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the
kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as
padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prostitutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are
not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fifteen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot,
and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese dancing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be
a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, deadpan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They
are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and
chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fascinated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically
doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job
because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth.
The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and
their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented
out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with
cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also powdered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older
and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother
said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There 574
were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the 431
birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty 181
of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about be- 576
fore the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around 567
in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and [292]
finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer
came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very
humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been
ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought
immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I
have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic examples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. They said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684 sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
588] must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely, there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal,
562 and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

● 565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

and where they have come from. For example, they tell 565
people that they were nobles where they came from. Here 567
is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power 178
of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there 696
were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. 681
If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They 567
became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they
have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is 626
a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember
it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any
event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would [684]
be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or [588]
a woman who married or had something to do with a man of
lower status.

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social 557
sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale 565
by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. 556
The social classes are set.

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it 554
would be better to say that there is some. There are many 531
cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able
to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they
may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which
were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more
wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is
practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all
the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman
and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are
numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes,
terms of address, and manners.

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable 178
flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for 554
an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted 342
only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and 565
nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly 531
use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present.
As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the
"real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide
and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one
except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved
wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used
illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so
used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in
house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was
once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampong wears one. However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it. In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles. Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem to be alternates of all sorts. They call me padika tuan, as I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone. (This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Makassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was formerly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when approaching their superiors or when passing them. They squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with them. They wait until they are asked a question. And every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the Kepala kampong meets me or says goodbye he holds our right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very best place. The Kapala kampong and other common guests sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked the Kepala kampong who was waiting in the car to come onto the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate. One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese this

789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier, and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage between higher women and lower men. To compensate for this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Tomarilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something between the states. There are frequent marriages in the noble class between the states, and thus it is something like the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ĕppa, lima, ĕneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

176 with ingenious gears, and two spools. It also has a circular
401 shutter in front, and is fantastically clever. The Sulewatang
403 and Andi both said it was a great pity that he had no training.
874 He is a fine lad. He had three rolls of old newsreels and travel pictures and showed them after someone lent him a few batteries. One of the films was broken. Evidently he is called upon to show the same old films quite often and as a result they are wearing out. I was quite impressed with the Sulewatang's and Andi's strong statement regarding the lack of schools for such men here. Later I told Thierens, and he said he would see if he could not send the lad to Makassar for training. His machine really works well. He even has a wheel for a string arrangement if he gets a small motor. It reminded me of the old man in Balombaru who had made a match head cap pistol for his son and also a model Makassarese prau, with a propeller, with an auxiliary motor rigged up from an alarm clock. It could run over a hundred meters. There is certainly technical skill here that could be developed.

565 We left the party and the Sulewatang came with us to stay
574 at the local Sulewatang's house (Kepala wanua Tumurun,
431 which he was formerly). This lad, a young and quite bright
156 fellow, is his nephew. He was going to visit the Aru Tau in Watumpone, where his wife had recently given birth to a child. They evidently visit around with fellow nobles a lot, and this takes up much of their time. I tried to bring the Kepala kampong into the conversation at the Sulewatang Tumurun's house, where he was sitting to one side. However, the two uppers would not let me. They were uninterested in the Kepala kampong. This peculiar disregard for any human qualities in preference to rank is a pain to me. The old Sulewatang asked me to show him United States currency. I was sure he would want some for a souvenir. He asked me to get him a nylon shirt from the United States. I think it is because he has always been used to asking for what he could get for nothing from the poor people here. These nobles have only to ask for things from the masses and the latter dare not refuse (honor?).

696 Incidental: The Sulewatang said that the kampong where the feast is being held was not a former fugitive kampong, as Andi had told me. But at any rate they evidently had such kampongs at one time as both of them knew about the matter.

that once in a while the military post brings in a film, but this is rare. Most of the folks do not get to see this. This is a very important item, and now I see why they seem to be so provincial. In this respect, they are behind the Buginese, who are avidly interested in the United States. S 546 177

For the sacrifice of buffaloes, all family members contribute, and for the big feast the entire kampong makes some contribution, each person with his own assessment. S 782 596

It is possible, they say, to tell the age of a house by its style. Papajungan demonstrated this, hitting the thing right on the nose. In order to get the age of the house he repeated a long genealogy on his fingers giving individual names. It came out to two hundred years. Every noble has a genealogy going back to the heaven people. At one time they showered down in various places like rain. The genealogies then started. Even slaves have genealogies. 527 S 173 565 613 773

The kampongs have sections, as in Makassar and Buginese country. S 621

As for class differences, Lethe is a tomakaka, as is Palinggi. They are high. I gather that Papajungan is also high. He said that in the old days there were plenty of wars. His father, for example, fought against the Sangalla puang. He does not believe the story that the puang could stop a war by appearing (but maybe this is only in the Makale area). He said there was little dancing or music here, and saw a difference when we talked about Java and Bali. He said that they dance and sing at feasts, but that there is not much to it. I asked about the recitation of the old man (tominaa, priest, and not slave) at the maruk feast which I saw. He said that he would be asking the buffalo favors. Thus it seems that the buffalo to be sacrificed is a kind of messenger. S 565 S 535 527 782 825

He said that various heavens showered down the nobles, who after descending intermarried at different places and this started things off. He said that the only incest taboos are between siblings, different generations, and between first cousins. Second cousins may marry, but a case is sometimes made out of this. Third cousins are all right. Incest causes the lack of rain, and so forth, and formerly the people caught living in such incestuous relationships were killed. But they have no exile rules or laws as in the Makassarese and Buginese areas. One case was interesting. In Kessu, only a few years ago an old woman who had been a slave in the Buginese area returned to the kampong and is still there. She had become a Mohammedan, but quickly reverted to Toradja religion. S 773 582 684

Regarding Bone: I remember that the Kepala kampong said that another class-linked house matter was that of stones under the piles. In the early days only nobles, and no other could use stones. The rest had to sink their piles in the M 342 565

M 342 ● 565 [304] Now it is all right for others to use stones as is the case of his own house. In addition, only nobles were allowed to wear gold ornaments in former days. Papajungan knew little about tattooing although he understood what I meant.

000 He was interested in contraception and seemed impressed with my arguments for planned families. He is a smart lad and could get some place. He is very lively. He said that if he had a chance he would go to the United States at once.

S 782 231 Animals used as offerings at feasts are: buffaloes, pigs, dogs, and fowls.

S 674 In pre-war days there were perhaps two criminal cases per year in Rantepao. Now there are hundreds. Cases range from stealing and fraud through a number of other types, but usually do not involve murder. (Japanese influence on demoralization?)

S 876 Regarding schools: I notice that much time in the yard is spent standing at attention or standing in formation and in marching. When they march here, the boys are stripped to the waist. They march slowly with their arms swinging as do the British guards. Could this arm swinging be Japanese too? Anyway this is not an agreeable business. What is the use of it?

S 764 565 556 Regarding the graves: Papajungan said that the coffins in the cleft are of the people who are too poor to have a niche made for them. These coffins may belong even to nobles. Query: is van der Veen right in saying that there must be one slave per niche? Can slaves be placed in the niches without trouble?

As for the stones, Papajungan said that only the nobles can use them free. Commoners and slaves may use them if they pay a price to the nobles. But if they are poor, then they use wooden posts only. (This may be like the feast I saw on a distant hill near Rantepao where there were no stones.)

S 824 On the first day of the feast in Lempo I noticed that there were many men working at cutting palm branches. They were used for decorations of various types.

S 241 [784] Papajungan says that until now in most places there has been an absolute taboo against slash-and-dibble, or dry agriculture (ladang). It is forbidden, and would ruin the wet rice fields. But there is also a taboo against planting corn or peanuts or anything else in a dry rice field after the harvest. However, Papajungan says that the taboo is just beginning to break down in the areas around the town and he hopes that it will continue to do so as they could get more

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8
Celebes OG1

S 793 838 There are not many homosexual priests, but there are some. (Could this be an indication of Buginese influence, or is it from the common underlying base of both Buginese and Toradja culture?)

S 565 535 527 In Rantepao they have many tumbang at the mabua. There is a tumbang from each noble family.

Move to Watampone: I left Makale on September 21, and

C 117 went to Watampone via Pangkadjene. I started work there, but on Friday, September 23, at dusk, while returning from Cape Patiro I hit a stump and the jeep overturned throwing me out and cutting a gash many inches long in my scalp. I was knocked out but was soon taken to a house. People carried me to the office of the district kepala in the dark. This was several miles away. They carried me on a bamboo litter, and there was much blood. A party arrived with a doctor and I was taken to a hospital and stitched up. I was laid up for two weeks with a concussion. I am now writing on Wednesday, October 5, twelve days later, and seem to be all right. I hope to be able to leave here for Makassar on Sunday, October 9th.

Someone stole the spare tire and bracket from the jeep. It had evidently broken off on impact. This accident nearly finished me, and it made me miss the ship to Bima on September 30. I will now try to get the earliest ship going to either Bima or Ambon.

M 125 Watampone: Starting September 22, I spent most of my time recovering from the accident.

Andi brought me the census and map, both of which are fair. The census is poor in one respect, that is, the number of slaves and other classes given is only good for the heads of households. I will try to get more accurate data on this before I leave from the Kepala kampong. Also, the census is not really a complete job, and I made a mistake to say only the heads of households. And the census is good only for one of the three parts of the kampong complex. The results, however, are given below.

M 565 346 I talked a bit now and then with Andi and others. One thing I noticed was that across from the pasanggrahan there is a middle school, which was the former palace of the radja, as can be seen from the five flaps on the gabled tin front. The regalia were kept in a side building (like a pavilion), which is at present the principal's office. The walls are very thick (I thought of the atomic buildings which have thick walls to keep powerful rays inside!). The present Radja had a house built across the plaza, and for the regalia, a bigger pavilion alongside.

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
586 and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
153 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
152 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with
[565] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas, the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said that this will mean very little in this area except for the formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to receive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect, too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean further insecurity for his position. There are great preparations being made for this event at the present time. There will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge. This is merely a generic term. At the top are the ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here (though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng, descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depending on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only

to tjera lima. The Buginese names are: tjitjing, dua, telu, 565
eppe, lima, eneng, and pitu. They have declining degrees of royal blood. Between the tjera lima and the to detjeng, the uppers of the kampong, the line is vague. The latter can usually drag up a bit of royal blood somewhere. Down to tjera eppe (ampat) they are real nobles.

Then we got onto the subject of the present Radja. Andi said that he should not be telling me what he was, but that since I wanted to know he would be very frank. Formerly a person of only tjitjing rank could not be a radja. In the really old days this ruling was held to in one hundred per cent of the cases. The present Radja, however, is only of tjitjing rank. The exiled one is ninety per cent ana'matola. This latter fellow is evidently the Goa man who was put in by the Dutch almost twenty years ago, and whom they kicked out after the war for some reason. I get the impression that a lot of gossip goes on about this situation and that the present Radja is well advised to stick close to the Dutch.

Then we talked about the big households of the nobles. 592
Andi's father has thirty in his house, and Andi himself has 183
seventeen. He complains about his inability to support all of them on his salary. I asked him why he does not throw them out. He said that this just isn't done and that a man is proud to have a lot of people in his house. They are mainly nephews, nieces, young siblings and siblings-in-law, and old folks. When the young ones marry, they usually set up their own house. He then asked, "Who would cook, keep house, care for the children, etc?" I commented that one Dutch woman with a babu can do all of this, and he wilted, saying that upper women here just are not that way. Here again we see the entanglement of adat and the "right thing to do."

Andi said that the radja has many slaves. This is true 567
of other nobles too. There are two kinds of slaves: (1) Those who freely admit that they are slaves, especially if they are slaves of real uppers, because they are usually proud of their masters. Of these there are not so many. (2) Those who get angry when their low origin is mentioned.

Thierens said that the Christian leader Denzo in Soppeng 797
is being sent away. Despite his success in converting, 831
Thierens continued, Denzo has been disgraced, because it was discovered that he was loose with women and that he has a girl in every kampong. Thus he has spoiled things

797 for himself. Could this be a case of railroading? My
831 guess is that this kind of behavior would not be noticed if he were not a Christian leader. I must ask Rahim.

162 [for author's comments on these census figures see
621 p. 198, category 116--Analyst]

565

STATISTICS FOR BUKAKA

A. Bukaka, a Buginese Kampong Adjoining Watampone

Total population	1960
Total households	270
Per household	7.26
Males	959
Females	1001
Sex ratio	96.0
Total children	1089 (male 548, female 541)
Minor children	792 (male 408, female 384)
Ratio of children to adult	1.25
Minor children to adult	0.68
Children per household	4.02
Minor children per household	3.34

B. Class of Household Heads

To Detjeng (lower nobles)	46
To Samar (commoners) (included are 14 entered as "unknown," but Andi says they are very probably all commoners)	194
Slave	1
Chinese	10
Arab	14
Javanese	5
Total	270

162 C. Polygyny of Household Heads
565

Number of wives	Class	Trade
3 (2)	1 Arab	1 merchant
	1 noble	1 tailor
2 (8)	2 noble	2 smith
	2 Arab	1 merchant
	4 commoner	1 trader
		1 goldsmith
		1 chauffeur
		1 government employee (messenger)
		1 toothmaker
Totals 10	10	10

D. Women Living Alone

162
565

Noble	Commoner	Arab	Children	Others in House	Trade
2			3	11	2 tailor
		1	1	2	nil
	1			3	"
1			3	2	"
		1	2		"
	1		1		"
1			5	2	"
1			2	3	"
	1		2	4	"
1			1		potter
	1		2		nil
	1		4		"
Totals 6	5	2	26	27	

Total number of women living alone: 13.

Andi says most of them work at weaving, sewing, and other home trades. Some have sawah and let them out to share-croppers.

E. Complete Listing of Trades by Classes

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
Chief	1						1
Subchief		2	xl				3
Merchant	1	1		6		6	14
Tailor	5	5		1			11
Farmer	15	91					106
Cycle repairman		1				1	2
Shoemaker		1				1	2
Restauranteur						1	1
Government employee	3	14					17
Small trader	4	10		2			16
Watchmaker		1					1
Bus worker		3					3
Semi-skilled		1			1		2
Peddler	2	13			2		17
Poolroom				1			1
Coolie		9			1		10
Teacher	1	2					3
Police	2	2					4
Kampong judge	1						1
Toothmaker	1					1	2
Chauffeur	3	10		1			14

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E. Complete Listing of Trades by Classes (cont.)

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Tota.
No occupation (all except 1 are women)	2	8		2			12
Bus owner	1						1
Laundryman		2					2
Goldsmith	1	2					3
Priest	1	1					2
Mosque officer		1					1
Storeclerk		2					2
Smith		1		1	1		3
Baker		1					1
Domestic servant		2					2
Barber		3					3
Tinsmith		1					1
Mason (stone)		1					1
Bikeshawman	1						1
Pensioner (soldier)		1					1
Potter	1						1
Carpenter		1					1
Hatter		1					1
Total							270

F. Combining Above

Farmer	106	Priest	2
Government employee	17	Store clerk	2
Peddler	17	Domestic servant	2
Small trader	16	Chief	1
Chauffeur	14	Restauranteur	1
Merchant	14	Poolroom owner	1
Tailor	11	Kampong judge	1
Coolie	10	Bus owner	1
Police	4	Mosque officer	1
Subchief	3	Baker	1
Bus worker	3	Tinsmith	1
Teacher	3	Stone mason	1
Goldsmith	3	Bikeshawman	1
Smith	3	Pensioner	1
Barber	3	Potter	1
Cycle repairer	2	Carpenter	1
		Hatter	1

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F. Combining Above (cont.)

Shoemaker	2	Watch repairman	1
Semi-skilled	2	No occupation	12
Toothmaker	2		
Laundryman	2		
			270

G. Final Combining of Trade and Class (Household Heads)

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
Farmer	15	91	-	-	-	-	106
Trader	7	23	-	2	2	-	34
Skilled	8	19	-	2	1	3	33
Government	6	18	-	-	-	-	24
Merchant	2	1	-	7	-	7	17
Laborer	-	15	-	-	2	-	17
Chauffeur	3	10	-	1	-	-	14
Kampong officer	3	4	1	-	-	-	8
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
None	2	9	-	2	-	-	13
Totals	46	194	1	14	5	10	270

H. Percentages of Above

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
Farmer	33	47	-	-	-	-	39
Trader	15	12	-	14**	40	-	13
Skilled	17	10	-	14**	20	30	12
Government	13	9	-	-	-	-	9
Merchant	4	1*	-	50	-	70	6
Laborer	-	8	-	-	40	-	6
Chauffeur	7	5	-	7	-	-	5
Kampong officer	7	2	(100)	-	-	-	3
Clerk	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
None	4	5	-	14**	-	-	5
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 1 per cent

** Slightly more than 14 per cent.

I. Size of Household and Class

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
20 or more	2	-	-	1	-	-	3
15-19	4	2	-	1	-	-	7
10-14	11	31	-	6	-	2	50
9 or less	29	161	1	6	5	8	210
Totals	46	194	1	14	5	10	270

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8
Celebes OG1

M 162 5565

J. Percentages of Above

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
20 or more	4	-	-	7	-	-	1
15-19	8	1	-	7		-	2
10-14	24	16	-	43	-	20	19
9 or less	64	83	100	43	100	80	78
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

K. Final Combining of Size of Household and Class

10 or more	17	33	0	8	0	2	60
9 or less	29	161	1	6	5	8	210

Percentages of Above

10 or more	37	17	0	57	0	20	22
9 or less	63	83	100	43	100	80	78
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

C 162 Then I tried to compare the three kampongs, Balombaru in the Makassarese area, Marante in the north, and Bukaka here. Much of the data, however, is not comparable.

L. Comparison of the Three Villages:

	Population	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Per House
Balombaru	602	297	305	98	5.3
Marante	1262	628	634	99	5.1
Bukaka	1960	959	1001	96	7.3

	Child to Adult	Minor Child to Adult	Child to House	Minor Child to House
Balombaru	1.14	-	2.8	-
Marante	1.02	0.59	2.59	1.70
Bukaka	1.25	0.68	4.02	3.34

Main Trades

Balombaru	Craftsman, trader, farmer.
Marante	Farmer, village officer (and nothing else)
Bukaka	Farmer, trader, craftsman, government employee, merchant, laborer, chauffeur.

In the foregoing sections and the above comparison, the Buginese kampong can be seen to have a much wider range and more variety, in regard to occupation especially. Bukaka, however, is very close to a large town. Balombaru, the Makassarese kampong, is much farther from the city, and in addition is a kind of center for goldsmiths. It is a craftsmen's town par excellence. The Sadang kampong is what it looks like, purely agricultural.

S [115] 197 Sadang: I had a long talk with the Controleur (Meendersma) of Mamasa, who had been also in Mamudju and Masamba. Thus he is acquainted with Mamasa, Mamudju, Rongkong, Seko, Seko Pada, and Galumpang. He said there are two Seko

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
565 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

his status. The Kepala kampong repeated that there are many grades of slaves, and evidently the higher ones actually regard themselves as superior to ordinary commoners. He said that formerly there were many more slaves here, but that many went away when greater freedom of movement was allowed. He added that in the kampongs near the towns there are fewer slaves than in the more remote areas. At one time a noble might have owned as many as a hundred or more slaves. M 567

I quizzed him about the to detjeng. He said this was hard to explain because there were so many kinds. He agreed that the crucial point is that there is some noble blood involved. However, he said that one might use the term detjeng in reference to slaves; all this means literally is "good" (baik). M 565 851 582 567

I asked about class intermarriage, and Andi said that marriage of a matola with a slave woman means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. Also, the marriage of a matola man with a commoner means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. He is not too clear about all this, and it certainly could stand some case research.

In the kampong of Tolangi there are supposed to be a number of Toradja descendants. I saw this section of Bukaka and noted that there were only about seven to eight houses. They are located near a mosque. The Kepala kampong said that the Toradja there try hard to assimilate into the Buginese group, and that they do not like to be called "To Tolangi." They try to move out of this section so that they can hide their Toradja origin. The older ones can still speak Toradja, but the younger ones are forgetting it and they try never to let it be heard (like immigrants in the United States). Today they intermarry with the Buginese. Andi said that there are plenty of Toradja people in Watampone, lots of them living near his house. They come from all over the Toradja country. By and large they are workers at rather poor jobs and do not mix in very much. M 563 T 186 167 191 177 M 565

In talking about intermarriage I insisted that everyone has to know whether a person has a slave background or not. They agreed to this and said that marriages are watched carefully. 582

We went to a cemetery where there were two beehive cement and brick tombs just like the Kale Goa. Inside were the usual graves and on them were placed flowers. There was a smell of incense in the tomb. The Kepala kampong said that people make offerings and pray here. He said that the Chinese come here too. These graves are about two M 764 174 [563]

I 635 668 666 boasting pattern in the United States and Indonesian culture. He said that they will give their "platform" in incidental speeches and on wall posters.

All of this is not too clear. Anyway, I see that Stefel, like Riekerk, thinks that the "radical" tendency in elections is encouraging. At least some Dutch officials seem to want to have "radicalism" here. Stefel says that the absence of political parties in general is a sign of political immaturity only; they will come.

M 304 565 881 778 852 535 Makassar, October 11, 1949: I had a talk with Rahim. He showed me photographs of circumcision, with tooth filing and hair cutting as well, taken in kampong Borongkaluku of district Borolloe. This is under Gallarang, one of the nine bate of Goa.. This kampong is eighteen kilometers east of Makassar on the way to Malino. In the pictures there were three children being fixed, all of nobility. Two of them were girls, one was a boy. Also their youthful lower-class followers participated, wearing very elaborate, decorative dress too. Only nobles can afford to have these great feasts. There is a big procession, with people carrying all sorts of magical objects. This goes to the holy stone of Songkolo' (there are only three in all Goa), which is near Borongkaluku in the district of Borolloe. The stone is in a fenced-in bamboo place, like the stone at Kalé Goa. Here a man does a kris dance before an open door of the flat stone sanctuary. A woman does a holy dance in the same place. These are fine photographs. They also show a mother having her first teeth filing. This is done ceremonially only, with a gold ring. She has clamped between her teeth a piece of wood. A fowl is being held by the operator who smears the blood from it on her teeth. Then there are photographs of the boy and the two girls (look to be about 8 to 5 years old) being "filed". (Here again it is only mock filing with a gold ring; after a few years they will get the real filing with a stone). They also have pieces of wood clamped in their teeth. Other photographs show these same children getting their hair locks cut off. There is a wonderful picture of a boy's penis being clamped and cut (supercision) and another showing the bloody scar on the top of the penis. This is done with a steel knife. There is also a photograph of one of the girls being cut, but her vulva is behind a cloth sheet and the operator is working on it underneath, so that from the picture one cannot see what is going on. Another photograph shows the Mohammedan prayers being offered at one side and a pagan stick offering on the other.

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs. M 304 881 852

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heaven ones. This explains a difficult point. M 565 173 793

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace. M 778 793

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former. M 562 609

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime. C 669 643

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
● 565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

behind where there were many houses for his many slaves. That house had horns on the gables. The sunat feast lasted six days and five buffaloes had been killed for food as well as many fowls. Many fancy cakes were served which had been left over from the feast. I saw the boy who had been cut and he is said to be thirteen, although he looked much younger. I asked about the repeated cutting, up to seven times, and Saleh said that this is usual. He looked wise at this moment, and sizing up the boy, said, "I think it isn't finished with this fellow and that he will have to be cut again!" M 881 [342] 304 565 343

I asked about the gaukang, and they agreed that the radja and the nine bate must have them. As for the others, for example the karaeng, some have them and some do not; but formerly they must all have had them. M 778 565

I asked about the charms, the djimat, and they said that there are still plenty being used in the kampong. M 751

We finally drove to the seaside where there was a bathing beach and bath houses. They say that there are many Dutch who come here and pay a fee. It is owned by the local karaeng. M 529

I had a talk with Emanuel, a student of van Voll, and ter Haar's former assistant. He looked like an Indo [i.e., Eurasian]. He is trying to get through a uniform marriage law for Christians in all of East Indonesia. He admitted that this is a difficult task because the families are so often mixed, and the settlement of property is likewise very confused. 000

I asked Emanuel about the divorce pronouncement by a man. He agreed that it was normal for a man to say it three times in order for it to become a full divorce. If it is said only once or twice the couple can remarry, but if it has been said three times it is final. He said, however, that there are two other forms in Indonesia (he said that ter Haar mentioned this). One form is when a woman gets a man to agree to give talak by offering him a settlement. This is in line with true Mohammedan law. The other kind is peculiar to Indonesia. It occurs when a woman complains to the judge that she has offered a man settlement for the requested talak, but the man has refused. The man is then called to the judge, and if he is still unwilling and all is in order, the judge himself may pronounce talak. I 586 592 C 586 592

I had a talk with engineer Resink, who is here for the Economic Affairs Department. He is an "Indo" and talks about "us" Indonesians. I get the impression he is a radical I 668

000 style of 200 years ago. This must be an amazing place and I should go there some time.

I got the final data except for the class of the kampong officials on Balombaru, and the reckoned statistics are as follows:

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A. Balombaru

	Balombaru	Bontotangnga	Sappabulo	Kalukuang	Balombaru Utara	Total
Males	145	32	120	132	134	563
Females	142	28	132	157	127	586
Totals	287	60	252	289	261	1,149
Sex ratio	102.1	114.3	90.9	84.1	105.5	96.1
Houses	51	13	49	60	48	221
Per house	5.6	4.6	5.1	4.8	5.4	5.2
All children	157	27	150	140	134	608
Children per adult	1.21	0.82	1.47	0.94	1.06	1.12
Children per house	3.08	2.07	3.06	2.33	2.79	2.73
Children under 15	73	23	93	108	105	402
Children under 15 per adult	0.34	0.62	0.58	0.60	0.67	0.54
Children under 15 per house	1.43	1.76	1.90	1.80	2.19	1.82
Nobles	160	13	79	64	32	348
Commoners	110	37	173	205	181	706
Slaves	17	7	0	13	2	39
Javanese	0	3	0	7	0	10
Chinese	0	0	0	0	45	45
Toradja	0	0	0	0	1	1

B. Percentage of Population by Class [The numbers underlined appeared thus in the original notes--Analyst]

Nobles	56	22	31	22	12	30
Commoners	38	61	69	71	69	61
Slaves	6	12	0	5	1	3
Javanese	0	5	0	2	0	1
Chinese	0	0	0	0	17	4
Toradja	0	0	0	0	1*	1*
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Less than 1 per cent.

Note that the Chinese may not buy land. All of them live in the stone (cement) houses beside the leveled market place. This is known as rumah sewa and is shown on the map. It is rented out by the radja. 563 425 342

The one Toradja is a woman married to a Chinaman.

Saleh pointed out that there are many cases of commoners using the title of daeng now. However, he has ignored them in this list of names because he knows that this is merely a pretension on their part. 162 565

C. Trade and Class

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Javanese	Chinese	Total
Goldsmith	30	19	1	-	-	50
Peddler-small trader	9	32	3	-	3	47
Merchant	2	2	-	-	-	13
Leather-worker	4	39	1	4	-	48
Smith	5	3	-	-	-	8
Industry	1	2	-	-	-	3
Carpenter	1	4	-	-	-	5
Farmer	2	13	-	-	-	15
Roofer-thatcher	1	5	-	-	-	6
Coolie	-	-	-	-	-	2
Cycle-repair	2	-	-	-	-	2
Weaver	-	2	-	-	-	2
Coach-bike-shaw	1	1	-	-	-	2
Dyer	-	1	-	-	-	1
Kalker	-	1	-	-	-	1
Government	1	1	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	1
Bamboo dealer	1	-	-	-	-	1
Military	1	-	-	-	-	1
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Sailor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Sandman	1	3	-	-	-	4
Teacher	-	2	-	-	-	2
Barber	-	1	-	-	-	1
Teamster	-	1	-	-	-	1
Laundryman	-	1	-	-	-	1
Unknown	2	9	-	1	-	12
None	4	11	1	-	-	16

162
565

D. Trade and Class Combinations

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Javanese	Chinese	Total
Skilled	44	75	2	4	-	125
Goldsmith	(30)	(19)	(1)	-	-	(50)
Leather	(4)	(39)	(1)	(4)	-	(48)
Other	(10)	(17)	-	-	-	(27)
Peddler	9	32	3	-	3	47
Farmer	2	13	-	-	-	15
Merchant	2	2	-	-	9	13
Unskilled	1	7	-	-	-	8
Sailor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Industry	1	2	-	-	-	3
Government	2	1	-	-	-	3
Coach-bike-shaw	1	1	-	-	-	2
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Teacher	-	2	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	1
None	4	11	1	-	-	16
Unknown	2	9	-	1	-	12
Totals	68	162	6	5	12	253

[595] Marriage Cases

8 cases of polygyny. All extra wives live outside the kampong. [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst]

7 cases involve noble men.

1 case is the case of a rich commoner, Liyu, the brick-tile-cement tycoon. He has made money, and now has a second wife.

E. Interclass Marriages: Aberrant (13)

M - Man
W - Woman
N - Noble
C - Commoner
S - Slave

	Ages	Trade	Number of case
NM-CW (11)	80-60	None	D 51
	70-60	Leather	E 17
	70-55	Goldsmith	A 9
	60-60	None	A 23
	60-57	Cycle repair	C 7
	60-40	Goldsmith	A 37
	60-24	Thatcher	E 13
	50-40	Leather	D 16
	35-30	Unknown	E 35
	30-25	Sandman	E-19
	25-18	Goldsmith	D-21

E. Interclass Marriages: Aberrant (13) (cont.) 162 565

	Ages	Trade	Number of case
NM-SW (2)	60-50	None	E 1
	30-30	Unknown	D 2
CM-SW (None)			

F. Interclass Marriages: Taboo Cases (3)

NW-CM (2)	40-45	Peddler	C 6
	20-25	Goldsmith	A 21
NW-SM (None)			
CW-SM (1)	70-85	None	D 4

G. Class of Children of Aberrant and Taboo Marriages

NM-CW	N	But before, commoner.
NM-SW	C	Before, same.
CM-SW		No cases.
NW-CM	C	Taboo before.
NW-SM		No cases.
CW-SM	C	But before, slave.

Formerly, in allowing a higher man to marry a lower woman, the rule was that children would be dropped one class. Now the same is done for a noble man marrying a slave woman, although the child of a noble man-common woman marriage is a commoner. There are no cases of a common man marrying a slave woman. 565 851 582

Formerly marriage between a lower man and a higher woman was taboo. Now such marriages result in the lowering by one class of the status of children resulting from such a marriage, if the man is a commoner and the woman a noble. However, the class of the children follows that of the higher parent if the man is a slave and the woman a commoner. The marriage of a slave man to a noble woman is evidently still taboo.

H. Sailors 162

Former	10
Still	4
Total	14

I. Moved into Kampong

From other Makassarese areas	61
From Buginese areas	2
From Java	5
Total	68

J. Working or Have Worked outside Kampong

In other Makassarese areas	7 (except sailors)
In other Celebes areas	0 (except in-migrants)
In Java	2
In Borneo	3
In Ambon	1
In other Moluccas	1
Total	14

I had many talks at random, especially with Thierens. He 181
is willing to work, but says it is only toward a dim future. The
police official (Aru Pontjeng) and his son (Aru Matjege, head
of the local government) especially, see that things are not
good. Everything is inefficient and childish. I met the former
one day, and at once he asked my impression. I dodged his
question and he said at least everyone eats here. I said yes,
but many were slaves. He was shocked, but saw my point,
I will talk with him again. I told Thierens that questions, es-
pecially of the kampong folk and even of Andi and the Sulewa-
tang, showed that the people were ripe for economic education.
They are puzzled. And they take to such talk. Thierens said
that they get scared, and agreed that they go on governmental
business trips in order to get away from problems. The truth 423
is, it is too poor a land. Then too, it is feudal. Thierens told 566
me a secret. I had seen private fish ponds belonging to the
Arumpone in Palette, near the sea. He told me that near that
place entire kampongs are working in the service of the arum-
pone. It is quite medieval. But perhaps the only way to oper-
ate this place is to keep serfs and slaves. At least they eat.
But what hope is there for a rise of standards? For example, 653
I asked how they built roads and schools. Andi said heeren- 434
dienst [literally 'master's service']. I then said that if that
were true, how would they pay for the increasing number of
teachers. For that they would need money too. I said that they
had rice, maize, and men--and that is all. The answer I do
not know. As Thierens said, for the past forty years they have 185
grown more and more used to Western administration. Now, 434
they must keep things up to Western standards of speed and ef-
ficiency. They have neither, but they do have even grander
ideas than the Dutch gave them concerning the future. They try
to reach outward to a level of speed approximating that which
the Dutch represented, and so forth. Instead they become dizzy.
They are desperate. And even with the help of the Dutch (and
Pontjeng said right away that they co-operate with the Dutch),
how can they pay the Dutch and give them enough security in-
ducement unless they have the money. In all, it is a non-pay-
ing daerah, and my guess is that the whole of East Indonesia is
a non-paying negara. The only way out seems to be to get Java
and Sumatra, and perhaps, in part, Borneo, to pay the bills;
or to slip into a peasant economy and drop all ideas of grandeur
and of a great and prosperous future with schools, etc.

Tomorrow, August 30, 1949, I am leaving for Makassar. 000

612 /20 cont./ A kampong head was appointed to rule over a
621 kampong territory. This head thereby also obtained authority
622 over the members of other groups of relatives which gradually
631 came to live in that territory. Formerly, it is probably true to say, such a new group would have built up a small power center of its own there and would have displaced the existing one. Today such a group must actualize such a striving for power within fixed territorial administrative boundaries. This occurs frequently through a struggle for the headship of the region concerned, whether it is a kampong, an adat community, or a kingdom. The idea remained that a genealogical group should be in command of the territory inhabited by this group, and thus also of all those who lived in it. The striving for this can be observed repeatedly.

612 This striving is always directed primarily against the other
621 group living in the territory which approaches the first-mentioned most closely in standing, in this case, therefore, the Mangenre group. But in view of the fact that this group is small and little integrated, the members of the Kapala group do not feel themselves threatened, and accordingly little is perceptible of their striving.

The same picture that was here given with regard to Bontoramba can also be observed in the majority of the other kampongs. A sample made in 1940 in kampong Pakatta indicated that there two groups of relatives of almost equal size resided in the kampong territory with a few separate households (a very small Rest group, therefore).

The only related group in the adat community which
[634] occupied an entire kampong territory practically by itself was that of the adat community head. Members of this group live distributed over two to three kampong territories. As the headman's group of relatives, however, they stand in contrast to all other Borongloë groups of relatives in the adat community
[567] territory. A few households of slaves (1) and a few separate

1. See below pp. 149 ff.

[567]
612 /20 cont./ households are the only non-kinsmen who live in
621 their kampong territory. /21/ In each case, therefore, one encounters two more or less strongly integrated groups of relatives per territory, with, in addition, a nonintegrated Rest group regarded as small and insignificant.

612 Furthermore, it appeared that members of one and the same related group lived scattered all over South Celebes. In this respect, too, there is therefore no question of unity between a related group and its territory. The reason for this is evident. For this it is first necessary to show how a related group should be conceived.

The territorial division taken as a starting point in the investigation described above has the advantage of making a sharp demarcation possible, namely a division between houses inside and outside the kampong border. The related group as a genealogical unit lacks these sharply defined boundaries. An individual frequently belongs to more than one group of relatives, and people who are closely related to each other, first cousins, for instance, thus often belong not only to a common kin group, but also to mutually distinct ones. This is a direct consequence of the fact that marriages are regularly contracted between people who are not of the same kin group.

582 A child resulting from such a marriage may contract an
611 endogamous marriage either in his father's group of relatives
612 or in that of his mother, because through his father he belongs to the latter's related group, and through his mother to hers. And where father and mother in their turn were born to a man and wife who were not related to each other, the same child can contract an endogamous marriage in any one of the four different groups of relatives of the four grandparents. After all, he belongs to four different groups of relatives.

612 It is clear that a division of the Makassarese into sharply distinguished groups of relatives is fully imaginary.. Each individual belongs to more than one group of relatives and would therefore also have to be apportioned to more than one such

114 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he
174 then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of
565 divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all
586 even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba, and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana
[567] (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." Before the war the government linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves. As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement loses its force.

114 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of
174 earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes.
565 Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that,
582 simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 Of the four common characteristics, the mention of
174 patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding.
565 My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).
[591]

1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure, superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

583 /89 cont./ If one wants to obtain a general view of the amount of sunrang paid in the course of one year, the following figures will serve that purpose. In Borongloë (a good 14,000 inhabitants), the Imam, charged with keeping the marriage registers, had to record 107 marriages between July 1, 1948 and July 1, 1949. Of these, the sunrang amounted:

in 2 cases to 26 reals
in 24 cases to 24 reals
in 2 cases to 22 reals
in 77 cases to 20 reals
in 1 case to 12 reals
in 1 case to 5.00 guldens.

563 583 The amount of 5.00 guldens was registered at a marriage between Javanese who were part of a group of approximately 200, living together in kampong Pakatto. This low sunrang, for the Makassarese regard the amount as such, is one of the reasons why the latter are inclined to regard the Javanese as people of the very lowest status.

● 567 583 The sunrang of 12 reals was paid to the father of a woman who was regarded as a slave of the adat community head.

565 583 602 Nine of these 107 marriages were contracted between individuals from the kampong Bontoramba. In seven of these nine cases, the sunrang was not 20 but 24 reals, and in only two cases was it 20 reals. This situation which, if one considers the total number of marriages for which 24 and 20 reals were paid respectively, is very unusual and can only be partly interpreted. For each of the seven cases the people were able to give a certain reason. These follow here.

/90/ Both a son as well as a daughter of the Kapala of Bontoramba were married in this year. For both a sunrang of 24 reals was regarded as appropriate. In the case of one couple, the mother of the wife had Buginese kinsmen among whom, in their own country, a much higher sunrang than that of 20 reals was always paid. In the case of another couple, the woman was regarded as related to the adat community head; "she was not equal" (tena nasangkamma), said the Imam, and therefore

/113 cont./
Slaves (ata)

567 Matthes translates the term ata by "slave," "servant," "subject." This translation is still correct, even today. When the Prince of Goa speaks of his ata, it must be determined from the context whether he means by that his slaves, his followers, or his subjects, or possibly even his noble confederates. If someone refers to himself as ata in relation to the Prince, this is a self-abasement which -- especially if an important person is involved -- /114/ frequently amounts to an excessive elevation of the Prince and thus, at the same time, of the speaker himself.

It is as difficult to translate the concept ata with a single term as it is to describe someone's social status in fixed, known terms. A translation is only possible if the relationship of the speaker to the one whose ata he considers himself to be is clear. Ata indicates a relationship. A resident of kampong Pakatto who calls himself an ata (subject) of the Prince of Goa turns out to own an ata (slave) himself.

Insofar as the term ata is translated by "slave," it appears that slaves belong to the highest social class. Friedericy reports that they were generally despised, but that court slaves occupied a privileged position compared to ordinary people (1). It seems that slaves cannot be placed in a fixed

1. H. J. Friedericy, Dissertation, p. 551.

social hierarchy. They do not form an integrated group, either. Each slave has individual ties with his master. Their position can merely be indicated by the relationship to their master.

The position of slaves in Makassarese-Buginese country does not give rise to strong sentiments. "Even

567 /114 cont./ though slaves were despised, insofar as I was able to find out, the treatment which they received cannot have been bad, " writes Friedericy (1). According to Friedericy,

1. Ibid.

around 1905 slaves displayed the following chief characteristics:

1. Slaves were made by kidnapping (in time of war), through purchase, and through judicial sentences.
2. Slaves were regarded as persons without rights.
3. Slaves had a special sunrang lower than that of other people.
4. For slaves, ties with their master, not those with their kinsmen, were of prime importance.

With respect to these points, an investigation into present-day conditions prevailing among this group yielded the following results:

178 567 1. Kidnapping, trade in human beings, and sentencing to slavery through judicial sentence have been officially forbidden since around 1905. These practices may have continued during the first few years after that date, but soon after they no longer /115/ took place (1). Consequently, no new slaves

1. This refers to the area of the self-governments, which did not come under the direct influence of the government until 1905. Only then could the "abolition of slavery" be carried out effectively there.

were added.

2. At present there are no people left who are regarded to be without personal rights before the judge. If there are, for instance, people who have no land of their own, it is never

178 /115 cont./ stated that they may not possess land, but only
567 that they do not need it because they are already being taken care of. Everyone knows that these people are free to move elsewhere to live and purchase or clear land. In several judicial proceedings it appeared that lower people were able to assert their rights against higher people.

178 3. In the above-mentioned regulation issued by the Prince
567 of Goa, which set the amount of the sunrang for different ranks
583 and classes in his realm, the sunrang for "the Prince's slaves" was fixed at 12 reals. No mention is made of other slaves. In the marriage register of the adat community of Borongloë, this sunrang for slaves was registered twice during the period from 1940 to 1949. However, they were not slaves of the Prince of Goa but slaves belonging to the adat community head and to a member of one of the prominent groups of relatives in kampong Pakatto, for whom the royal slaves' sunrang was entered.

4. Of a number of persons it may be said that they live with, and work for, their master. They have no land of their own. Their group of relatives comprises only a few families and is neither integrated nor traditional. They take part in the worship community of their master.

With these data before us, it is idle to debate whether someone is a slave or not, for example, because his parents were "slaves," and because a sunrang of 12 reals was paid for his marriage, but who, after all, is free to go wherever he likes, and has set up a trade in Macassar. While in his kampong he is still regarded as a hereditary slave because of his origin; in Macassar he is considered a clever tradesman.

178 The number of those who are regarded as slaves in their
567 own kampong is diminishing. No new slaves are being added to this number; rather it is decreasing. In some cases this process even came about /116/ through an official declaration of emancipation (sura' maradeka) issued by the master. This happened as late as 1939 in Mandar (1). In the majority of

178 /116 cont./ 1. Legally, of course, such a declaration of emancipation has not the slightest significance since the official emancipation of all slaves by the government.
567

cases, however, the emancipation was brought about by the fact that children of slaves moved to other regions and there obtained the same opportunities as other independent individuals in their striving to rise. A family can be said to be still regarded as slaves in the kampong only if it is generally known that the respective parents were slaves, that at their marriage the slaves' sunrang was paid, and that this marriage was entirely regulated and provided for by the master, and if this couple has then continued to live in the same kampong, does not own any land there but works the land of the master, and further performs the customary tasks for him.

Put in general terms, this implies that in Borongloë, at present, contempt is expressed only when marriage possibilities are discussed. Then it appears that ordinary people (tau samara') prefer not to enter into marriage ties with such people. Their marrying chances -- and this applies particularly to the young men -- are limited. Further, I noticed a certain contempt only when, as an investigator, I made inquiries concerning their official position. The work that the slaves perform is the same as the work performed by many others who are regarded as followers.

[582]

In 1883, Kooreman did not mention slaves in his definition of the concept of followers. For him, slaves form a group apart. Friedericy (2) in his analysis of Makassarese-Buginese

114
567

2. See Friedericy, idem., p. 582.

114 /116 cont./ society declares that the class of slaves is "really
567 secondary" and that it had "no appreciable task in the life of the society." Consequently, he eliminates slaves from his further discussion. From his data, however, it must be con-
565 cluded that slaves stood in a special relationship to the karaëng
567 and that in Goa they had no other ties among each other than the awareness that they all belonged to members of one and the same related group. The above-mentioned sunrang regulation in which the Prince establishes a special sunrang only for his
554 slaves favors this point. To mention another example in
567 support of this interpretation, the adat community head of
634 Borongloë does not speak to a karaëng about his ata, but about /117/ his people (taunna), because speaking of his ata would be an expression of haughtiness. In so doing he would place himself on a level with a karaëng and thereby make himself ridiculous. Toward his subjects he does speak of his ata, but even then he does so much less openly than the Prince (1).

[641]

1. In 1949 slaves in Borongloë had the active right to vote. In point of fact they participated in the election. Before the war I made no inquiries into this matter. On page 552 of his dissertation (1933), Friedericy reports that slaves were barred from the right to vote with respect to the heads placed over them. Here he is referring to the slaves belonging to the karaëng.

178 It seems that the possession of slaves is something that be-
565 longs to the karaëng group like a certain ritual or a certain
567 color, and that it is something which has been successively

178 /117 cont./ taken over by lower groups, like so many other
565 cultural elements belonging to the highest group. In this case,
567 the possession of slaves was not prohibited by this highest group to the lower ones, but at the same time it was not simply permitted, either. This explains why, in his first conversations with the investigator, the adat community head claimed the number of his ata to be very large. At the same time it explains why, when the ata question was repeatedly brought up, he later remarked that it was a little silly to talk so much about his ata.

Most of the external characteristics that distinguished slaves during Kooreman's, and perhaps still in Friedericy's, time have disappeared. A single characteristic to be found with only a few individuals today is still reminiscent of a complex which half a century ago occupied a much more important place in the culture.

Loyalty Oath

521 Whenever Makassarese men between fifteen and thirty-five years of age -- referring to those I have in mind -- are together, it is a part of etiquette to tell tales which give to the observer an impression of boasting and exaggeration. Successes with women (always unrecognizably indicated in the vaguest terms), successes gained in a fight, or a victory in a verbal battle, they like to elaborate on all these. A valiant deed or a regal gesture is not kept quiet. In describing a feast, the number of buffaloes slaughtered for the occasion, the number of guests present, and the length of the festival are always made to appear as great as possible. Earlier festivals, in these stories, invariably surpass /118/ those of present times in all respects. The size of the speaker's own group of relatives in the past is clearly represented in this manner to those now alive, and thus also to the younger men, who are always among the audience.

Lesser Sundas OF1 Ambon OH4
Makassar OG6 Moluccas OH2
Borneo OC1 Batak OD5
Nias OD11 Minangkabau OD10

Mu [420 cont.]

Am Most of the burghers are Christians, although there are a
565 also Mohammedans among them. In the militia the latter are
T79 armed with pikes, the former with guns.
411

[421] Chapter 18

a. Slavery; b. Bondage

a. Slavery

I Actually, slavery should no longer exist in the Malay
567 Archipelago. Article 115 of the Government Regulations abolished slavery throughout the Indies as of January 1, 1860, at the latest. Nevertheless, it is far from disappearing. Slavery still exists in many areas of the Indies where our authority has not
LS or has not fully been established, and in some other areas it was
MK only recently abolished. For instance, in the Padang Highlands
Br and in the Batak lands, both of which are under our authority,
Ni slavery was not abolished until 1876. It still exists in Silindoeng
Mn and Padang Lawas, which were annexed in 1877, as well as in
Bt the independent Batak lands. It is also found on Nias and among
567 the Dajak [Dyak], at least among the tribes that inhabit the interior, and among the Buginese and Makassarese, and furthermore on the various islands of the Lesser Sunda group. We shall discuss this briefly. The origins of slavery vary and are threefold
I in nature. One becomes a slave:
567
121

1. by being made a prisoner of war,
2. as a consequence of punishment for committing a crime,
3. on account of debt (1) [footnote 1 is not referred to in the text].

1. Cf. Wilken, "Het Pandrecht bij de volken van den O.I. Archipel [Liens among the Peoples of the East Indies Archipelago]," Bijdr. T.L. en Vk. v.

Bahau OC5
Makassar OG6
Batak OD5
Bali OF7

BK [426 cont.]
567 masters if he can find someone who is willing to pay his debt to his master. This is more or less a brighter side of bondage, because a bondman can, if he has a bad master, at least try to improve his lot. Apart from this difference, bondage and slavery are very much alike. Many people look down on bondmen with as much disdain as on slaves.

MK In Celebes, more specifically among the Buginese and
567 Makassarese, persons become slaves through debts. It can hap-
426 pen that a person has many debts, his own or inherited ones,
727 which he cannot pay himself and which the family refuses to pay. If the creditor agrees that the person may work for him until the debt has been paid, then he becomes a bondman, but if the creditor is not satisfied with that and neither the sovereign nor the hadat (state council) loans the money, then the debtor is sold (1)

1. Niemann, "De Latowa," Bijdr. T., L. en Vlk, v. Ned. Ind., 4th series, Vol. VIII, p. 227.

and becomes the slave of whomever buys him. Furthermore, one becomes a slave by selling himself, by being sold as a prisoner of war, or as punishment for wrongdoing against the state council or the sovereign.

MK The slaves may be declared free if they behave well or
Bt if they buy their freedom.
Bl
567 [427] A special instance when slaves are declared free is
764 at funerals. We mentioned this earlier for Bali; Here we want to point to the Batak and Buginese, among whom the same custom exists (1).

1. Van der Tuuk, Bat. Wrdb., see mangalopas (lopasan). Neumann, Tijdschrift Ned. Aard. Gen., Vol. IV, p. 40.

S Then I remembered a night in Makale hearing Karaëng
691 Djongala (whom I met again, remarkably, on a trip in Makale,
683 and found to be not a bad fellow at all, and now speaking
578 Dutch) and de Boer comparing notes regarding legal cases.
828 De Boer said eighty cases a month was not at all uncommon, while the Karaëng said that in his place in Makale there were perhaps twenty, mainly knifings.

A police fellow and the Controleur said that there was much irrational knifing here too. The pattern seems to run something like this. First people become panas hati [literally, hot livered, i.e., hot tempered--Analyst],then they kill someone, and finally become all right. They consider themselves not to be criminals, but victims of unbearable emotion, and thus not really criminals.

M Regarding literacy, Andi said that the percentage of
212 literates here now is about 27 per cent, and this is used by
871 him as a reason for not taking over democracy for a long
556 time. This in turn might enable them to maintain control just as the Dutch did. However, they are setting up schools rapidly, and so are slitting their own throats. Maybe they are sincere, but I look for trouble. As for schools I asked a number of questions today (my last day in Bone this trip). There are village schools for the first three years. Then students may go on to a continuing school in town, in Bukaka which is not far away. Or they may enter the sekolah agama [(Islamic) religious school], in which religion and Arabic are taught. The sekolah agama is located in the village. I got the feeling that these religious schools are losing out in competition with town schools. Only the rich can afford to go beyond the second year high school level, as it is necessary to go to Makassar. I asked about the poor and they said there were no scholarships, so they were usually only able to attend the désa schools. Beyond that they might possibly go to the sekolah agama. In Watampone the breakdown is something like this. There are six years of primary schooling offered followed by four years of middle instruction. After these ten years, if a further education is desired, students must go to Makassar. There is a normal school in Watampone for désa school teachers, but for higher normal training one must go to Makassar. Thus there seems to be the same problem as in the United States. There is a need for schools in every town and at all levels because the poor cannot pay room and
M board in big towns away from home. This leads on to the
556 question of the poor again (I always stress the factor of social
465 mobility in America). The village folks said there were
651 many poor people. They usually live with richer (though none
735 are really rich) people in the houses of the latter and work for
● 567

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua.

M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads.

M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over"

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friedericy). This
565 fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to
582 another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded.
829 But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman. I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States, something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indonesian man in the United States could marry an American woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed. Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the
567 Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I des-
427 cribed the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?) The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens, and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food. When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that formerly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they were.

000 One thing about education: the business man asked if I could take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told him to write the Institute for International Education in New York.

769 Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of the old belief in present practice, including information concerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the countryside people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a sense, were ancestors.

126 I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in
124 the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the women were very proud. Also the children remained pests.

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and 584
if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment 834
you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him.

Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions 125
as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans.

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such 565
class designations as bangsa hamba[slaves] and others as 558
turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were 567 ●
plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's.

Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell 855
plenty in order to send him to school.

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went 567
to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general 558
exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are 166
of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may 152
be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe.) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 000

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one family. They said that they had a very small house and were very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true
161 fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small
592 houses have many more. The population has risen some despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk about it, but they have no money so they have to remain. When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in. I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies. They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world, but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar,
207 and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay. There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst] put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

000 Mission, Timor. He said that the Catholics have a great organization, and that they do not force Christianity. They do not try to change the habits and clothing of the people. They tell the natives to do as they wish, and change as they please. But the Protestants force changes in clothing, tell them that they are damned if they do not change, etc. On Flores, west of Endeh, the Jesuits have worked far up into the mountains. They had a printing press in Endeh. They also have model farms, including a dairy. They train and educate the young, for example, they have trained the best agricultural man in Timor. He is a native priest who was sent to Wageningen, and then on his return was put into the governmental service. He pays rich returns because he is in the intimate councils of the government and knows all about the radjas, etc. Thus, by clever work, the Catholics have gained much control. Timor is not so good, as it is more influenced by the Protestants. This, of course, is the opinion of van der Wetering (whose views I do not always trust, but he may have something here). He said the system of the Jesuits is that when they start a mission they get money for five years. After that it must be self-supporting. And according to him it usually is.

565 Balombaru: Classes existed (exist?) within the slave
● 567 group too, and it is not the usual hereditary as against new slave idea, but rather that a slave of a noble feels superior to a slave of a commoner, and all grades in between. Thus, as I suppose is the case with servants in England, if you are a maid of a duchess you feel superior to the maid of a baroness. Thus the class idea ramifies, and pangkat is the essence of the whole social functioning.

175 Balombaru: September 3, 1949. Fourth day: First I went
743 to the leprosarium to give my books to the nurse. She told me about some awful Javan atrocities after the Japanese defeat in Surabaja. They even shot into the hospital from trees. The idea seemed to her to be to kill all white people.
181 She [i.e., the head nurse at the Balombaru leper asylum--
621 Analyst] said that the natives have no initiative, though there is more evidence of some form of initiative here than in Java.
743 She divided the colony into three kampongs. Each with an elected kepala kampong. They come to her only if they cannot settle cases.

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the out- 567
side they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 535
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

565 The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times
they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was
● 567 probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
563 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thou-
755 sands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

M 565 Then there are four classes known together as merdeka, that is freemen.

7. tjera - anam
8. tjera - tudju
9. now no more
10. also now no more

M [567] Then from eleven on there are many kinds of slaves known as ata or hamba. And, slaves might have slaves! Thus there is rank even among the slaves.

M 565 554 The terms of address are: for radja, petah; and this term is used down to the fourth class of nobles, that of the tjera-tiga. For the fifth class, that is tjera-ampat, the term daeng is used and for the sixth class of nobles, that of the tjera-lima, the term pua. However, he said there was much variation, and that petah is used even among commoners. He said that the situation is even worse in the Makassarese area, where daeng, he said, means nothing any more as many people without particular rank in the noble classes use it. In the kampong

M 621 624 625 there are three subdivisions known as kampong ketjil: Bukaka, Tolangi, and Walena. There are four assistants known as seriang: three in Bukaka and one in Walena. There are five representatives known as wakil. They are like police.

C 631 I asked about the whole structure of the East Indonesian government and his uncertain statements went something like this: First is the negara [state, i.e., of East Indonesia]. The president is Sukawati, the premier, Anak Agung. There is then the Senate.

C [635] Second, there is the Daerah Sulawesi Selatan [District of South Celebes], at the head of which is the Ketua hadat tinggi (Arumpone). Then comes the Hadat tinggi comprised of fifteen radjas. From these a working committee of five members is formed. And finally there is the Dewan Sulawesi Selatan [South Celebes Council] consisting of four representatives from Bone.

C [634] Then there is the landschap [province], which makes the third division. The organization is as above and the Aru Pitu, the seven princes, are like a cabinet. They do not have a parliament yet but they have had elections and will soon sit. This body is called the Dewan Pertimbangan, consisting of twenty-one representatives.

The fourth cut is that of the wanua, with the thirty-one kepala wanua.

Finally, as the fifth division we have the kampong, headed by the kepala kampong and the assistant or seriang.

The new radja, chosen from [a certain] family, is selected

342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouthwash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
● 567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

although he told me that they were "his people". He said 535
that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would 565
be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He 567
said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may
not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one [435 582]
of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must
pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And
even later, when they are no longer able to perform as
padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry.
The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and
he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner
who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the
kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as
padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prosti-
tutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are
not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fif-
teen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot,
and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese danc-
ing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be
a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, dead-
pan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They
are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and
chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fasci-
nated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically
doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job
because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth.
The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and
their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented
out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with
cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also pow-
dered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older
and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother
said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There 574
were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the 431
birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty 181
of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about be- 576
fore the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around 567
in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and [292]
finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer
came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very
humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been
ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought
immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I
have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic ex-
amples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f.88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f.12 and a commoner might pay
567 f.22 or f.44. They said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
588 must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely, there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal,
562 and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
● 567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

and where they have come from. For example, they tell 565
people that they were nobles where they came from. Here 567
is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power 178
of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there 696
were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. 681
If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They 567
became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they
have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is 626
a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember
it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any
event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would [684]
be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or [588]
a woman who married or had something to do with a man of
lower status.

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social 557
sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale 565
by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. 556
The social classes are set.

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it 554
would be better to say that there is some. There are many 531
cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able
to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they
may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which
were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more
wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is
practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all
the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman
and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are
numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes,
terms of address, and manners.

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable 178
flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for 554
an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted 342
only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and 565
nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly 531
use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present.
As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the
"real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide
and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one
except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved
wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used
illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so
used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in
house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was
once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ĕppa, lima, ĕneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567 ●

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

to tjera lima. The Buginese names are: tjitjing, dua, telu, 565
eppe, lima, eneng, and pitu. They have declining degrees of royal blood. Between the tjera lima and the to detjeng, the uppers of the kampong, the line is vague. The latter can usually drag up a bit of royal blood somewhere. Down to tjera eppe (ampat) they are real nobles.

Then we got onto the subject of the present Radja. Andi said that he should not be telling me what he was, but that since I wanted to know he would be very frank. Formerly a person of only tjitjing rank could not be a radja. In the really old days this ruling was held to in one hundred per cent of the cases. The present Radja, however, is only of tjitjing rank. The exiled one is ninety per cent ana'matola. This latter fellow is evidently the Goa man who was put in by the Dutch almost twenty years ago, and whom they kicked out after the war for some reason. I get the impression that a lot of gossip goes on about this situation and that the present Radja is well advised to stick close to the Dutch.

Then we talked about the big households of the nobles. 592
Andi's father has thirty in his house, and Andi himself has 183
seventeen. He complains about his inability to support all of them on his salary. I asked him why he does not throw them out. He said that this just isn't done and that a man is proud to have a lot of people in his house. They are mainly nephews, nieces, young siblings and siblings-in-law, and old folks. When the young ones marry, they usually set up their own house. He then asked, "Who would cook, keep house, care for the children, etc?" I commented that one Dutch woman with a babu can do all of this, and he wilted, saying that upper women here just are not that way. Here again we see the entanglement of adat and the "right thing to do."

Andi said that the radja has many slaves. This is true 567
of other nobles too. There are two kinds of slaves: (1) Those who freely admit that they are slaves, especially if they are slaves of real uppers, because they are usually proud of their masters. Of these there are not so many. (2) Those who get angry when their low origin is mentioned.

Thierens said that the Christian leader Denzo in Soppeng 797
is being sent away. Despite his success in converting, 831
Thierens continued, Denzo has been disgraced, because it was discovered that he was loose with women and that he has a girl in every kampong. Thus he has spoiled things

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba, and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over. This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English. Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre-Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong. He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

541 728 642 634 [562] [793 838]

The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of his status.

567 554

his status. The Kepala kampong repeated that there are M
many grades of slaves, and evidently the higher ones actually regard themselves as superior to ordinary commoners. 567
He said that formerly there were many more slaves here, but that many went away when greater freedom of movement was allowed. He added that in the kampongs near the towns there are fewer slaves than in the more remote areas. At one time a noble might have owned as many as a hundred or more slaves.

I quizzed him about the to detjeng. He said this was hard M
to explain because there were so many kinds. He agreed that 565
the crucial point is that there is some noble blood involved. 851
However, he said that one might use the term detjeng in 582
reference to slaves; all this means literally is "good" (baik). 567

I asked about class intermarriage, and Andi said that marriage of a matola with a slave woman means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. Also, the marriage of a matola man with a commoner means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. He is not too clear about all this, and it certainly could stand some case research.

In the kampong of Tolangi there are supposed to be a M
number of Toradja descendants. I saw this section of 563
Bukaka and noted that there were only about seven to eight T
houses. They are located near a mosque. The Kepala kam- 186
pong said that the Toradja there try hard to assimilate into 167
the Buginese group, and that they do not like to be called 191
"To Tolangi." They try to move out of this section so that 177
they can hide their Toradja origin. The older ones can still speak Toradja, but the younger ones are forgetting it and they try never to let it be heard (like immigrants in the United States). Today they intermarry with the Buginese. Andi said that there are plenty of Toradja people in Watampone, lots of them living near his house. They come from all over the Toradja country. By and large they are workers M
at rather poor jobs and do not mix in very much. 565

In talking about intermarriage I insisted that everyone has 582
to know whether a person has a slave background or not. They agreed to this and said that marriages are watched carefully.

We went to a cemetery where there were two beehive M
cement and brick tombs just like the Kale Goa. Inside were 764
the usual graves and on them were placed flowers. There 174
was a smell of incense in the tomb. The Kepala kampong [563]
said that people make offerings and pray here. He said that the Chinese come here too. These graves are about two

634 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man
612 in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived
621 together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua.
When he became head in that year, the members of both groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to
[361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration, the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua, as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen from at least two of these groups.

●571 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course
612 of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the
[278] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around the adat community head. The tendency toward separation is increased by the difficulty of communication across the Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie
[764] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
764 to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

532 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
612 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had
669 carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past," he wrote in 1883 (2).

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

554 /101 cont./ thought of as ridiculous by the related group.
565 They would see in it merely an affected way of distinguishing
[576] himself from those around him.

The wearing of certain ornaments by a bride, and of a kris or a headdress (sigara') of a certain color by the bride-
[585 groom, is frequently a sign of friendliness on the part of a
572] higher person. He may, as a favor, permit a lower person to adorn himself on certain occasions with things which belong to the higher group. This raises the standing of the lower person.

A woman who caused her deceased mother to be treated as though she were a relative of the Prince was regarded as arrogant. "She is daring," was the reaction of those around
[626] her. It means that what she does is dangerous, because in so doing she enters the state of "bassung"; that is to say, she can be punished for this deed with a swollen belly. Nobody, however, expresses his disapproval openly, since, after all, it is quite possible that what she does is exactly the right thing, and in that case the one who made the remarks would be punished, as happened in the case of standing on the investiture rock.

If a person conducts himself as a higher person, and if he does so with great self-assurance and with success, then these modes of conduct help to determine his social standing.

The System of Followers

• 571 The system of followers is one of the most obvious aspects of the tendency toward vertical mobility. It may be described as the /102/ totality of relationships between a higher person (karaëng, lord) and those lower, whom he calls ana' ana'na (1) or taunna (his people). The basis of this system is the

•571 /102 cont./ 1. Ana' ana'na literally signifys "his children," here, therefore, "as if his children."

awareness that a relationship of authority of high over low, accepted by the latter, exists and likewise the realization that high and low need each other in their striving for higher standing. This relationship is based upon cooperation. The relationship between (almost) equal groups, on the other hand, is best described as opposition. The next paragraph will deal with this point.

156 In addition to descent, the personal qualities of the in-
554 dividual are of importance in his striving to rise. The im-
571 portance of these qualities is reflected in the saying that a good karaëng has good followers and a bad karaëng bad ones. Qualities required for a higher person to be a good one are: courage in fighting and skill in debate. He must have the courage to undertake risks; he must be active and at the same time able to stimulate activity in others. In addition, a certain generosity toward those lower is indispensable. Such a dynamic character attracts those who are lower; They like to work for such a person. Qualities appreciated in a lower person worthy of mention are: faithfulness to the master; courage, in the sense of readiness to assist his master and to avenge insults inflicted upon the master; and furthermore, a certain initiative within the bounds of freedom permitted him.

114 Four essays written by the government official, Kooreman, which dealt with his experiences during a stay of almost ten years in South Celebes appeared in the Indische Gids of 1883. He also described the system of followers (1). Kooreman was

1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 375 ff.

114 /102 cont./ able to describe his impressions in a clear and lively manner. The conditions he sketches can still be recognized as typical of South Celebes, but at the same time it is apparent that much has changed. His description will first be reproduced here. Then my own data will follow, /103/ and in the process we will be able to point out a number of times what has remained and what has changed.

554 "...the higher the nobility to which one belonged, the
565 more did one possess the privilege of impunity. The little
571 man almost completely lacked protection against the presumptions and vexations of the Anakaraeng. As a result he was forced to look for protection from those who caused the evil condition, namely, the nobility. The latter undertook the protection, but conditionally, that is, the Anakaraeng demanded a certain measure of subjection of his protégé. From this a relationship developed to which we refer as "being a follower," but which is described more characteristically and accurately by the Makassarese word for follower, Ana ana. (Ana signifies "child," Ana ana, "little child.") Between the Anakaraeng and his protégé there existed, therefore, the relationship of a great and powerful man and a little child.

571 "The follower was obliged to recognize the Anakaraeng as
675 his master (karaeng). He was forced to accompany him while hunting and on his travels, to help him in various agricultural activities, to bring his small presents, and to perform services at his festivals. He was obligated to assist him if he was threatened or attacked, or if he had to avenge an insult. In a word, he had to follow his master (minawang) and carry out whatever he was enjoined to do. The Anakaraeng, on the other hand, assumed the responsibility of guarding his ana ana against any arbitrary treatment, and if they suffered alleged or actual injustice, he took their side. The relationship was so close that to insult a follower was equal to insulting his

/103 cont./ master, and the latter already felt offended if
571 one of his followers so much as received a poor reception. If
675 a follower's horse or buffalo were stolen, the master would say: 'My buffalo or my horse is stolen,' and he would leave no stone unturned to get back the stolen property and to avenge himself upon the culprit -- more accurately, the one who insulted him --, for he would not dream of handing over the thief to the authorized judge.

"The tie between Anakaraeng and ana ana was voluntary and consequently could be broken. The Karaeng rarely dismissed his followers because of bad behavior. As a rule he did so if the follower did not satisfy his far-reaching /104/ obligations or had been disobedient. The follower, on the other hand, would choose another Karaeng if he thought that he was being insufficiently protected, if his master demanded too many services of him, or if, in his opinion, another follower was more favored. Such a break in relations was rarely resorted to, however, because the follower would incur the hatred and vengeance of his former master.

"The Karaeng were also obligated to provide for the material interests of their followers. They helped them with paddy fields, with paddy, plowing, cattle, and sometimes with money, for instance in cases of marriages and deaths. Not all Karaeng, however, fulfilled this obligation; many were more intent upon their own interests than upon that of their ana ana.

554 "The higher the social standing of an Anakaraeng, the
565 more followers he had. Conversely, the more followers he
571 had, the greater was his standing and influence, and the anakaraeng /sic/ who had the most followers was at the same time the most prominent and the most influential.

571 "Followers consisted of distant blood relatives, people
[602] who from generation to generation had been the followers of one single kin group, and people, frequently foreigners, who

571 [607] /104 cont./ had voluntarily become followers. They lived not only in the vicinity of their master; some resided even outside the Glarangship or regency, and only came if they were called or required protection.

571 631 "If a follower found himself in a dispute, if he had committed a misdemeanor which might put him in difficulties, or else if he had been harmed or insulted, he would not turn to his head, his Glarang, or to the regent, but rather to his master, his Karaeng, who acted as his protector, safeguarded his rights, and always tried to help him out of difficulties. It is obvious that the more prominent, the more influential the person who concerns himself with the interests of his follower, the easier it was to obtain justice, the more chance there was to be judged in the right even if one were wrong. Conversely, it was all the easier to go unpunished if one had committed an offense.

"This system of followers underwent such an expansion that not only Anakaraeng, but all nobles, and even well-to-do natives had followers. Consequently, in addition to the division of the /105/ land area into Glarangships and Kalompowan kampongs, there existed a division of residents into nobles, each with his followers, so that everyone of them constituted a power in the regency."

571 648 The quotation was long but valuable. Kooreman further points out that the function of the European administration is actually that of a super-karaeng, able to provide effective protection for all who ask for it, without any obligations being attached to this. In his opinion, this had as a consequence that in the course of decades the appeal for protection to the anakaraeng decreased, so that their power disappeared at the same time. As a result, little states within the state -- in the sense of a nobleman forming with his followers a unit within the realm -- no longer occurred.

178 571 From the data available at present, it appears that in the course of the last 75 years the forms in which the system of

178 /105 cont./ followers manifested itself have changed. The
571 general characteristics to be met with today are the following:

The higher person is connected with a number of lower ones, his people. The latter work his sawahs in the broadest sense of the word, that is to say, from the first tilling to the delivery of sheaves at his house. They take care of his maize gardens and guard his langsap trees when they bear fruit. They run errands for him in the pasars; they carry wood and water for daily use, do repairs on the house, manufacture the common utensils from bamboo or wood, and finally assist at a festival held by their master by performing the innumerable little tasks. On the other hand, those inferiors who are unmarried and live with their master have their food and clothing provided for them, and there is the chance that their master will let them marry and provide their wedding feast. Once they are married, the couple is provided with a dwelling and has a number of sheaves delivered to its house after the harvest. This lower person then lives apart with his family but remains in daily contact with his master by way of the tasks which he has to perform. Since he remains closely connected with his master, he is permitted to participate in the festivals that break up the monotonous kampong existence, and he shares in the social standing which is displayed on these occasions.

There is never a question of a firm agreement at the be-
[675] ginning of the relationship. The tie may be broken at any moment. Such a rupture, however, always takes place only gradually. An abrupt break is avoided, /106/ because this indicates quarreling and because it is thought to be better if one leaves before the conflict breaks out.

178 The tie between a higher person and his people is
557 advantageous to both parties in their striving to rise. To lose
558 a follower implies a diminution of social standing for the
571 higher person. Here his generosity to his people is of importance. The superior who has a reputation for making his

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
558 his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's protection and help and at the same time the loss of social standing which the association with the superior casts on him. Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position of the lower people has become stronger.

554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
571 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower. Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary. If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relationship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends

1. In the Bontoramba census, they were included among the Rest group.

upon their personal relationship to their master whether they will continue to come and help at special events such as festivals.

571 As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
591 married couple who had committed silariang. Before reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

571 /106 cont./ and subsequently had continued to live there
591 even after the reconciliation. Furthermore, there lived in Bontoramba a young woman, an orphan who had gotten into difficulties with her parents, who lived elsewhere, and so she had been taken into the house of one of the prominent /107/ kampong residents. In the third place, a Javanese, an ex-colonist, should be mentioned here. He had come to live in the house of one of the Mangenre group to work for this person (1). Similar cases are known to occur in each kampong.

[125]

1. The two last-named individuals were registered as kinsmen of the master of the house in the census.

571 Nowadays a kampong head frequently has someone in
622 his house who carries letters for him and performs extra
202 errands. This function is created by the need for a confidential
602 messenger (2). Frequently the head will take a young kinsman

2. In Borongloë the suro (literally, "messenger") has come to have the job of attending to community labor /gemeentediensten/ -- until shortly before the war, corvée /herendiensten/. He does not run errands. This development, however, varies greatly from one locality to another.

for this purpose.

571 In principle, kinsmen are equals, and therefore there
602 can never be any question of a relationship of followers between

571 /107 cont./ them. If, for instance, a young unmarried
602 man goes to work for a prominent uncle (3), this is always a

[554
466]

3. Here used in the sense of purina, thus someone belonging to a higher generation.

temporary arrangement. For a person who helps his uncle thereby increases the difference in standing existing between that uncle and his own family. Consequently, a young man will prefer, in the long run, to work for his parents, younger brothers, and unmarried sisters rather than to help his uncle gain more social standing.

People who work for a blood relative can be called
554 followers, but this occurs only if they /108/ serve as followers
571 of one head together with non-kinsmen. In that case they
602 occupy the highest position among them. Because of their less pronounced personal qualities they are bound to obey, that is, to follow their kinsman, but with respect to the other followers they are higher, and therefore the leaders, by reason of their descent.

The dwelling of the adat community head is the center
634 of Borongloë. The adat community office is, as it were, merely one of its extensions. Matters of taxation, transferences of land and cattle, quarrels which end in fights, elopements, marriages, foreigners, and all that concerns the ornament worship are handled by the head. In the case of some problems the persons involved were referred to the office and to office hours, but the head receives most of them at his home where their problem is discussed and settled right away, if possible.
571 An active head in this way attracts much information. A
634 number of followers will regularly be found around him.

These work for him in the sawahs and in the gardens, and in addition they run errands for him. Some of them

571 /108 cont./ prefer to carry messages or summon people;
634 others are especially charged with the care of horse and gig (bendi). As good followers, however, they are at the same time the cars and eyes of their master. They report to him everything that happens in the kampongs so that he remains
571 fully informed. They may, in certain cases, proceed harshly
634 if someone commits a discourtesy against the head, for it is
626 also their task to punish a breach of authority in a manner clear to everyone. Each attempt to undermine authority must be suppressed. Not to react to it is regarded as a sign of weakness. In these times of fixed boundaries this is not so serious, but in the period before 1905, there immediately existed the threat of a defection with all its consequences.

571 The followers of the adat community head of Borongloë
634 numbered seven in July, 1948. They included, first, one of
[602] his cousins (samposikali); second, a Javanese who had remained in South Celebes as ex-romusha (1), had learned the

1. A Japanese word which acquired the meaning of "forced laborer."

language, and had come to feel at home in Borongloë; and third, five sons and sons-in-law of followers of his father when he had been head.

/109/ Another adat community head had the same number of followers, but among them were three contemporaries linked to him through personal ties that dated from previous periods of his life, among others his school period. These ties now constituted the basis of their follower relationship.

The difference between these two adat community heads is clear. In the latter case we are dealing with a head who, for the maintenance of his power, relied, at least in part, on the ties personally created by him. In the first case, the head,

571 /109 cont./ whose personal qualities were of little account
634 among the Makassarese, relied almost entirely upon ties created by preceding generations. That he was able to maintain himself as head during these times is merely due to the support of his father, the former head, and to that of the Self-government of Goa.

The kinsmen of the adat community head live distributed
554 over three kampong territories. In his group of relatives it
571 is always pretended that the number of followers living with
602 and among the kinsmen in these kampongs is very large. This
634 is done to make the social standing of the group appear as great as possible. After all, the possession of many followers indicates that a group rises considerably above those around them. In effect, in the adat community head's group of relatives only eight houses with followers were found. The occupants in each case had a special tie with one of the head's kinsmen. They performed the customary tasks for the head and cooperated at the festivals of other members belonging to this group of relatives.

According to reports, the number of followers of the
554 karaëng group is very large, especially the number of those
566 whose previous generation also worked for this group of
571 relatives. The karaëng are each supposed to have had one or more followers who frequently lived in the neighborhood of the master (1). This conception of the situation corresponds

[241]

1. It is related that here working the sawah is entirely in the hands of followers because people do not like to see a karaëng working in the sawah.

554 /109 cont./ completely to the established ideal, the more
565 followers, the greater the standing. But in view of the experience
571 with the adat community head's group of relatives who, even though on /110/ a lower level, gave the same representation of the matter, it is necessary to be careful here, too, so long as we must proceed entirely from unauthenticated reports.

178 The importance of the system of followers in the earlier
571 form described by Kooreman decreased. New forms arose; these are to be found in the big-city relationships of Macassar. In the country areas, the relationship of large landowner to day laborer is an example.

The system of followers in and around the city of Macassar
178 is observable wherever wealthy merchants earn their money
441 by means of the sale and purchase of rice and fish, sand and
571 stones. For their trade they employ a large number of people. This employment relationship can best be described as that of followers to their master in which the personal qualities of the merchant, the punggawa, are of overriding importance. Here, too, a follower avenges an insult done to his punggawa. Here, too, services performed -- frequently in addition to a fixed salary or piece wage -- are rewarded irregularly and in a general way. Here the punggawa also has a personal tie with a number of his people. When he dies his trade immediately goes down. His organization is built upon personal ties with his subordinates.

Large Landownership

491 Some characteristics of the system of followers can also
571 be found connected with large landownership (1), in the

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1. No figures are available to indicate precisely when we can begin to speak of large

471 /110 cont./ landownership. The examples given here are taken from conditions where no doubt can exist about the existence of large landownership. A single individual in each case owned more than 20 hectares.

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relationship of the large landowner to his representative (koasa), and of each of these to their respective laborers. In South Celebes there are, on the whole, sufficient grounds on the basis of which a large number of small farmers could be forced to work the land of others. The form of large landowner-
[554] ship encountered here must be understood from the point of view of relationships obtaining between high and low. The two factors, descent and personal qualities, with which we already have become acquainted above, are important in this respect.

A large landowner generally has a few hundred /111/ sawahs which lie distributed in various kampongs far removed from each other. The landowner himself, who usually lives far away from these, therefore employs someone to be his koasa in a kampong or, if this happens to be convenient, in a district. The koasa sees to it that the sawahs located there are worked. He, in turn, hires a number of people from that region as laborers. The latter receive as many sawah sections as they desire or are able to handle. The koasa's task is to see to it that the sawahs are worked, that this is done as well as possible, that the distribution of the harvested sheaves takes place according to the agreements made, and finally, that a reasonable number of sheaves reaches the landowner. The latter, therefore, must be able to trust his representatives. Consequently, he chooses by preference someone who already has a personal relationship to him and someone who

466 471 571 /111 cont./ furthermore has demonstrated that he is capable of administering and working his own lands well. A koasa is frequently an energetic personality. Such an individual in turn easily attracts laborers, either among his own kinsmen, or among the other kampong residents. Through his koasaship he gains in standing. The reason that the sunrang was higher for a girl than was customary in her group of relatives was explained by the fact that her father was a koasa.

One whose standing is solely based upon descent will not necessarily be a large landowner at the same time. After all, he frequently may not possess the personal qualities necessary to attach the best koasa to himself; inferior koasa, in their turn, attract inferior workers. The distribution of the harvest is less well organized, the number of sheaves that such a large landowner would receive in his house would therefore be scarcely worthwhile. A large landowner who might attempt to make working contracts which are too advantageous for him would find out that this is not appreciated. As a consequence of such a move workers who do not need his land to provide for their sustenance would either go to work the lands of others, or else start up for themselves.

Not every nobleman, therefore, is able to muster up the [565] initiative and the organizational ability to develop a new complex of sawahs. This can only be done by a nobleman who possesses, in addition to the necessary descent, the personal qualities required for such an undertaking. If these personal qualities are present, many people, rather than setting out for themselves, develop a tract of land for him under the leadership /112/ of one of his koasa. The tie with the superior is then regarded as of great importance (1).

1. Sometimes a person who possesses much land employs a so-called koasa-lompo ("large representative") who, in his turn, hires local

466 /112 cont./ koasa, sometimes called,
471 for purposes of differentiation,
571 "small representative"
(koasa tja'di).

One who owes his standing solely to his personal qualities
441 obtains no more in returns from his land than a person whose
471 standing is based entirely upon his descent, as might be expected
454 on rational economic grounds. During the postwar periods when many Makassarese merchants were earning large sums, one might have expected that many of them would have invested even a small part of their money in pices of land in the interior. One would have thought that they might have bought sawahs, or that at least they would have had large pieces of land entered in their name in the land-tax registers with the purpose of having them developed later. Nothing of this kind, however, appears from the Goa land-tax registers. The opinion of one of these merchants that he did buy jewelry with this money but no land because land is difficult to sell quickly if one needs money merely points to the direction in which the explanation must be looked for.

For a merchant who is not related to the nobility of Goa,
571 it is difficult to attach a good koasa to himself and through him
565 a large number of laborers. If he were to purchase several
554 pieces of land, his share in the harvest would not be worth the trouble. An ordinary kampong individual prefers to work the land of a prominent man from the karaëng group. In that he has confidence; it strengthens his position. A tie with a nobleman always appears valuable. On the other hand, so long as economic necessity is not coercive and the personality of the large landowner does not convince him of his special personal qualities, there is no reason for the kampong man to work for this wealthy stranger. In principle, this stranger is regarded as an equal with whom one can therefore

571 /112 cont. / compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the karaëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng.
[582] Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

156 The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
178 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general, " and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis
[648] figure /clerk. -- Ed. / was equipped by him with a number of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to
571 himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
634 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to maintain himself in his function.

/113 cont./
Slaves (ata)

567 Matthes translates the term ata by "slave," "servant,"
571 "subject." This translation is still correct, even today.
196 When the Prince of Goa speaks of his ata, it must be determined from the context whether he means by that his slaves, his followers, or his subjects, or possibly even his noble confederates. If someone refers to himself as ata in relation to
[554 the Prince, this is a self-abasement which -- especially if
643] an important person is involved -- /114/ frequently amounts to an excessive elevation of the Prince and thus, at the same time, of the speaker himself.

It is as difficult to translate the concept ata with a single term as it is to describe someone's social status in fixed, known terms. A translation is only possible if the relationship of the speaker to the one whose ata he considers himself to be is clear. Ata indicates a relationship. A resident of kampong Pakatto who calls himself an ata (subject) of the Prince of Goa turns out to own an ata (slave) himself.

Insofar as the term ata is translated by "slave," it appears
567 that slaves belong to the highest social class. Friedericy
[644] reports that they were generally despised, but that court slaves occupied a privileged position compared to ordinary people (1). It seems that slaves cannot be placed in a fixed

1. H. J. Friedericy,
Dissertation, p. 551.

social hierarchy. They do not form an integrated group, either. Each slave has individual ties with his master. Their position can merely be indicated by the relationship to their master.

The position of slaves in Makassarese-Buginese country does not give rise to strong sentiments. "Even

537 /119 cont./
539 Listen to the mountain, the Bawakaraëng,
643 the never-loosening anchor,
such am I, too,
and only he who can be trusted in this way,
can truly be trusted.
If the Royal Council removes to the west,
then I will also go to the west;
if it removes to the east,
I will also go to the east. /120/
But if the Royal Council resides
with you, my Prince, in the ancestral gathering hall, then I will remain below (1).

[342
645]

1. That is to say, I will not take part in the conference; I follow. Makassarese dwellings are built on posts. If the prince confers with his Royal Council, the lower people wait under the house and listen in.

Opposition

571 Fairchild's definition of the concept "opposition" gives a good picture of conditions in South Celebes. He defines it by: "resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent" (2) /cited in English/. This term will be used here.

2. H.P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, New York, 1944.

571 /120 cont./ Opposition is inherent in the relations of men among each other. In the family the relation between father [593] and son -- and to a lesser extent that between brothers -- is strongly formalized. As a result, opposition within the family is greatly reduced in force.

Opposition is observable between relatives and especially between the prominent members of one group of relatives.

554 The relation between a high and a low and, likewise, 561 between an old and a young man, is also formalized. To con- 571 tradict a higher or an older man is prohibited. To speak in his presence soon becomes a sign of discourtesy. The manner in which these social relations are conducted makes a stiff impression.

571 Opposition is further observable between groups of relatives. Where there is an ornament, the worship communities are in opposition to each other. There is opposition between kampongs, between adat communities, and among the wealthy.

Within all these groupings, there are always latent oppositions present. They are merely not always noticeable.

571 Worship communities consequently do not always conduct 643 themselves as a unit (3). The opposition can frequently be [794]

> 3. A realm, that is to say, a local administrative and political unit, and the worship community around the ornament belonging to the prince of that realm, coincide to a great extent.

traced back to the family of the prince, for instance, if the individual who has been appointed prince on the basis of his descent, does not, at the same time, possess the personal /121/ qualities necessary for the effective exercise of his office.

175 /122 cont./ When the old Prince of Sidenreng died on
643 November 7, 1831, and La Pangorisang made his appearance
669 as the new prince, a fraternal war soon broke out" (1). And

1. Eerdmans, pp. 515-516.

later:

"Through our intervention, La Pangorisang had been reinstated in 1835 in the districts taken away from him during the war. He had been reconciled with Datoe Lampoele, who was permitted to settle in Sidenreng. Quietly, however, he hoped for help from Bone in order to attain his goal sooner or later: Sidenreng's throne. Consequently, Sidenreng remained divided into two parties hostile to each other" (2).

2. Eerdmans, p. 520.

662 Signs of opposition are to be found on each level in a
557 multiplicity of forms. The system of followers strengthens
571 the position of the combatants. The striving is directed at beating a superior with the help of as many inferiors by way of followers and as many equals by way of confederates as possible. One tries constantly to become the highest among one's equals. A certain unity of territory is always maintained in the struggle; opponents and allies are found by preference among one's neighbors. In this way, the entire Makassarese-Buginese country, each kingdom, each adat community, each kampong, and even each group of relatives, as well as each family with more than one man, is potentially a theatre of battle.

/123/ In each of these groupings, several individuals strive for more power within the territorially limited opportunities existing for them. In so doing, they are always faced with the competitive efforts of their equals among each other. For if someone, in a certain situation, believes that

662 /123 cont./ he can better serve goals for himself, his kin
557 group, and possibly for his country, by not keeping to a cer-
571 tain agreement, he withdraws. One cannot count upon loyalty between equals with respect to the agreements made among them. Loyalty unto death is to be found only between high and low (1).

> 1. Here, too, there are limits. Personal loyalty of a lower toward a higher person is held in esteem. But loyalty on the part of a related group of lower people toward a higher /group/ lasts as long as the former know themselves to be dependent upon the latter, and so long as they do not have a more powerful higher /group/ to which they can turn for help and protection.

Now, if we look a little more closely at a number of opposition phenomena on various levels, it appears that a general direction can be pointed out in spite of confusing differences.

622 The kapalakampong strives to keep his kapalaship for
554 himself and his kinsmen, for the person who has authority over a non-kinsman is higher than that non-kinsman.
602 Furthermore, his kinsmen, at least those within his kampong territory, share in the higher standing which he possesses in this way. With respect to the members of his own group of relatives and with respect to that of other groups residing in his territory, the position of the kapala is different. In his own group he belongs to the prominent men. In that capacity

443 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They
462 go around alone or with a number of men of their own age. Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 The activities of men and women therefore complement
562 each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more helpless, if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding gardens.

562 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that
554 of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the
576 meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status
571 with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the
521 others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator may place himself in the center of the story since, after all, those present share in the standing he won in this manner. The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them. Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people, and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men, four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression.
562 Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and
571 go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned. Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are free in their actions and speech.

521 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally.
562 They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the
571 same time about topics which they would also discuss at an
576 ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 The forms of social intercourse between men and women
673 are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized
834 by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

These strict rules do not apply to children and older
[561 858] people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small
[689] dagger/, which frequently results in death.

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

Young women and men often evade each other
571 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
626 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
834 of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
177 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
834 new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

177 /147 cont./ store, the Arab and Chinese storekeepers in
834 Macassar know that they cannot turn directly to the young girls to recommend their wares but that, for this purpose, they have to address the escorting man or older woman, while the younger ones talk among each other and thus make their wishes known. One who does not take these feelings into account runs the risk of being passed over at a subsequent visit to the store.

571 The separate domains of the sexes in the house and the
834 division of labor contribute to the fact that the prohibition against contact is carried out to a great extent in daily life. The strict sanction imposed on their violation lends a forced
[626] character to the relations between young men and girls. Contact may only take place in complete secrecy or, by way of exception, if it is expressly or silently permitted. In that case it is still tied to special regulations. There is never any uninhibited association. Some of these occasions will be described here.

527 After harvest, so-called pounding festivals (1) are
571

1. Called Adengka ase lolo, "the pounding of the young paddy."

[374] regularly held. These take place during the evening in the yard before the house by the /148/ glimmer of an oil lamp, preferably when there is a bright moon shining. For this, the pounding block is hung up in rattan strings, and while
[533 the girls pound, two or three of their closest male relatives
534] beat with sticks against the transverse axle of the block in a rapid and powerful rhythm. This sound is audible at great distances; the purpose is to attract young people from far and near to come and look. What they see is four girls

527 /148 cont./ dressed in red jackets, nicely made-up, and
571 decked with jewelry, pounding with precise movements, eyes cast down. After some time they are replaced. Under the surveillance of a couple of older women, four others descend from the house and take over the pounders while the first team again goes up, always with an escort and with eyes cast down. From behind the barred windows of the front rooms -- on this occasion the entire house is the domain of the women -- they peep outside where in the half-light of the yard the men walk around, sit, talk, and smoke (1).

[273]

1. Little drinking is done. If there is rice wine (ballo'ase) present, the number of bottles is limited. Only the higher guests receive a bottle and share some of this with the others. Serious drunkenness does not occur. Makassarese who drink ballo' proceed to tell taller and taller tales and become increasingly provocative in their remarks. At such times they avoid the company of a higher person.

[554]

527 It is reported that formerly a group of young men from
579 another kampong, attracted by the provocative sounds, would
177 once in awhile make an attack and try to run away with one
571 of the young girls. This would then give rise to a general brawl. The young men of the house group would then defend their young sisters and cousins against an attack from outside. Nowadays such a thing no longer occurs. The festival has become a comparatively dull display since fighting and

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten.

Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
584 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
602 who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia' tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free companionship, it seems to take very little to make a Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
571 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
834 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
848 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang
583 cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

554 /210 cont./ latter case, a marriage may still take place.
684 Then there arises a relationship between "the people who feel siri'" and "the fleers," a relationship which opens up the /211/ possibility of circumventing the killing that is also prescribed in this case. Ultimately, though only after years, a reconciliation can come about. This entire complex will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

Third Part

The Siri' Phenomenon

554 Vertical mobility occurs by means of opposition relation-
571 ships. Men between fifteen and forty years, and especially the younger ones among them, must face each other in a lasting relationship of challenge and outdoing. Each challenge and outdoing demands a reaction. The person who does not react, that is to say, the one who does not participate in what is regarded as important in this culture, has little social standing. The feeling of someone who is outdone is indicated by siri' (1). Someone is siri' when his social standing is

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1. Matthes (Woordenboek, p. 583) translates the word siri' by "ashamed, diffident, shy, shame, sense of honor, disgrace." But to a Makassarese, siri' has an entirely different meaning than these words have for a Dutchman. The meaning fits equally little that of the

554 /211 cont./ Indonesian word malu. An attempt at definition will be made below. For the sake of clarity, however, I have left the term untranslated in a number of cases.
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impaired and when another person knows this.

A man is inclined to regard immediately as outdoing any accidental event at an encounter, or a lucky word on his part, by which he raises himself above the other person, at least in his own eyes. The other, when he hears this, is also siri'.

The reaction may consist of a counterchallenge, a returned insult, by which the original challenger in his turn becomes siri'. It is never possible to determine precisely who "began." The mutual opposition is sometimes explained by an event from the past that is regarded as of great importance, for instance, a murder. But with that the question concerning the origin of the mutual opposition is merely put off.

There exists the possibility that the outdone person will [578] respond by stabbing. The consequence of outdoing can therefore never be foreseen. It remains charged with real danger. Many stabbing brawls in South Celebes are proof of that.

/212/ One of the most spectacular challenges is the theft 554 of cattle, horses, or buffalo. Its purpose is, in the first instance, 571 to show one's courage (kaporeanna); only in a few cases are 685 economic motives at the bottom of this. Sometimes a warning is uttered beforehand: "I am coming" (that is to say, "to [578] steal your buffalo"). Stealing cattle is done to find a reason for a brawl. A successful buffalo theft is considered a triumph and at the same time a challenge. A cattle theft at the expense of the prince is therefore a great insult.

554 /212 cont./ The idea that the person whose social
571 standing is attacked must react, because whoever does not
177 react is low in standing, has led at present to the relative popularity of various modern sports. The English idea in sports that one should be a "good loser" in everything is foreign to the Makassarese. To lose demands a reaction. One does not like to take part in a sport where everyone can directly see by the outcome who has won. In soccer matches standing is already harmed by the first opposing goal. The desire to score with a countering point thereby becomes so excessively great that both individual achievements as well as team play suffer from it. A trailing score is therefore difficult to equalize. Soccer circles in Macassar use this fact to point out that Makassarese have poor morale in competitive situations.

554 In the previous chapter we explained that a woman
558 may not lose any standing. Her position is a fixed point for
689 the men who are constantly outdoing each other. An impair-
627 ment of her standing immediately calls for the most violent reaction, namely, the death of the challenger. Whoever does not react is "matesiri', " that is to say, "socially dead." This is expressed by saying that such a person is no longer "of use, " or that he is generally despised. Killing is used because what has happened is felt to be so bad that no other reaction is considered possible.

However, there are many reasons why a man in such a case prefers not to kill. Fear of the long prison sentence that awaits him or personal feelings of sympathy for the person who committed the transgression are among them. The tendencies to kill and not to kill are both present. And now their relationship is so much off balance that a man is not expected to go and find the person who made him siri' /213/ with the purpose of killing him, but to make a clearly observable attempt to do so in case of an encounter.

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

When she is being discussed, one of the older women,
[571] sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say,
[602] they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

155 /240 cont./ 1. For the ideas followed
867 here, see A. Kardiner, The Individual and His Society, fourth edition, New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.
●571 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same
578 descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle,
[685] and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

554 /241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely de-
612 limited group and that the standing of relatives among each
684 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
689 found -- with one single exception: the karaëng and the
[562] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.

592 /29 cont. / The Household; Composition

A household is formed by people who live together in one house. The investigation in 1948, which covered 129 houses and which attempted to obtain an insight into the composition of the household, produced the following results.

1. With one single exception members of a household were always kinsmen. 2. In the majority of cases a house was inhabited by from one to two families, and in the latter case this was almost always a parental couple with a married child living with them. 3. In most cases where other kinsmen lived in the same house as this family (or these families), they were very close kinsmen (first, second, or third degree). 4. Among such additional members of the household who are not members of the family, a /30/ certain preference was to be observed for living with a female relative. Finally, it was noted that one avoids bringing together potential spouses in one house.

Since here the occupants of the registered houses were subject of this investigation, the data did not have to be confined to houses occupied by members of the Kapala group.

The 129 houses of kampong Bontoramba comprised 787 [162] persons: 382 men and 405 women on July 1, 1948. This is therefore an average of 6.1 persons per house.

In 127 of the 129 houses, there lived only people who were related to each other. The two exceptions merely prove the [572] rule. The first concerns a friend of one of the sons of the house who had been lodging for a few months with the last named. The second concerns a childless married couple who had settled in Bontoramba after a marriage by flight and who had temporarily been taken into the house by another married couple coming from the same district as they and living under similar circumstances. Three weeks after the date of registration, this couple appeared to have moved elsewhere. The reason given for this was a quarrel that had arisen because this married couple was very lazy and gave practically no help in keeping house.

554 /101 cont./ thought of as ridiculous by the related group.
565 They would see in it merely an affected way of distinguishing
[576] himself from those around him.

The wearing of certain ornaments by a bride, and of a kris or a headdress (sigara') of a certain color by the bride-
[585 groom, is frequently a sign of friendliness on the part of a
572] higher person. He may, as a favor, permit a lower person to adorn himself on certain occasions with things which belong to the higher group. This raises the standing of the lower person.

A woman who caused her deceased mother to be treated as though she were a relative of the Prince was regarded as arrogant. "She is daring," was the reaction of those around
[626] her. It means that what she does is dangerous, because in so doing she enters the state of "bassung"; that is to say, she can be punished for this deed with a swollen belly. Nobody, however, expresses his disapproval openly, since, after all, it is quite possible that what she does is exactly the right thing, and in that case the one who made the remarks would be punished, as happened in the case of standing on the investiture rock.

If a person conducts himself as a higher person, and if he does so with great self-assurance and with success, then these modes of conduct help to determine his social standing.

The System of Followers

571 The system of followers is one of the most obvious aspects of the tendency toward vertical mobility. It may be described as the /102/ totality of relationships between a higher person (karaëng, lord) and those lower, whom he calls ana' ana'na (1) or taunna (his people). The basis of this system is the

123 /9 cont. / to look and listen. Everything that the investigator is able to carry out on top of just listening and looking without causing any damage during this time is pure gain.

Introduction

The investigator is a foreign element in the community to which he comes to work. The relationship to the individuals in his environment must constantly be adjusted. There are some manners which they accept from him. There are also manners which they find so troublesome, especially after a while, that his contact and thus his work suffers from it. Frequently the first month is decisive in this. Hence a person who feels free to show his disapproval of the stranger's behavior in a way that is comprehensible to the stranger is the best mentor.

As a Dutch official I was regarded as a high guest in Macassar
[554 country. It is discourteous to display one's disapproval of his
576] conduct to a higher person; this violates the profoundest feelings. My gratitude toward my mentor is therefore so great precisely because his personality was dynamic enough to allow him to be a bad Makassare in the sense that, contrary to his feelings, he nevertheless pointed out my mistakes.

Initially I laughed too loud and talked too loud, for loud
[517 talking and laughing really occur only when several men are
555] together. Then one of them likes to tell tall or absurd stories because the person who can do this well raises his standing. I
123 learned that as a male guest I belonged in the parlor and that I
● 574 could not walk through the back; that I could ask men or boys, and possibly also older women, something, but that young girls
[562 and newly married women landed in difficulties if I so much as
576] greeted them, because this is enough to point to a "contact" with the stranger, which is forbidden. I noticed that somebody constantly kept me company and found this troublesome. Only later did it become apparent that this belongs to the ordinary courtesies observed toward a guest. /10/ A Makassarese does not like to be alone and therefore believes that his guest would also find this unpleasant.

576 /10 cont./ One soon learns that as a distinguished guest one cannot sit down just anywhere when entering a house. It is wrong to sit down where the lowest are supposed to sit, because then the host is ill at ease. It is conceited, and that is disliked, if one sits down directly in the highest /prestige/ side of the house. It is good since it is a token of modesty, which is appreciated, if one sits down a little lower than where one would actually be allowed to take one's place. These are all mistakes which are not held against an occasional visitor, but which will be found troublesome infractions if they occur in the routine of daily life.

574 576 One further learns that, once seated, one may not leave if something is being prepared in the kitchen. It is better to be much too late for a subsequent appointment than to offend one's host by departing. When high Dutch civil and military [448] authorities, who were present at the wedding feast of one of the grandsons of the Prince of Goa in 1741, stood up during the rather long-drawn-out meal and said farewell, people spoke disapprovingly about this occurrence for weeks after in the kampongs. The offer of refreshments is a sign on the part of the host that he wants to do his guests an honor, and an early departure hurts him.

576 I learned that to shake hands does not belong to the customary greeting ceremony. Those present during a conversation or upon departure, including the host, will as much as "touch" the [778] hand of a high guest in order by so doing to obtain something of the good and fortunate, which, after all, adheres to every higher person. A Macassarese is embarrassed by a "firm" handshake.

The statement "I am leaving now" (lampama') is customary and gives one an intimate feeling. The same applies to the question addressed to a person one encounters on the way: "Where are you coming from?" A detailed answer is not expected. Indication of the wind direction suffices. The purpose of question and answer seems merely to be the creation of an intimate atmosphere. A stranger is passed by in silence, but one remains on one's qui vive.

612 /21 cont./ group. An individual has the choice, in such a case, as to which group of relatives he wants to join, and where he wants to live and work. The genealogical /22/ tie with the other group(s) remains in existence. Knowledge of this tends to disappear after one or a few generations.

574 602 It should not be expected that one would know all one's kinsmen who live in regions remote from each other. By paying visits and extended stays, the younger generation becomes acquainted with kinsmen residing in various districts. The older ones observe them through this; their character is gauged and their marriage opportunities are discussed. It depends upon the impression made by them whether they will be more or less welcome guests at a later visit.

602 It depends upon an individual himself whether in later years he will keep up the ties established in this way. Thus, while one Makassarese, questioned about kinsmen living elsewhere, is able to refer to merely one or two districts where these are supposed to live, another one, conscious of the fact that the possession of many connections increases his social standing, declares that he has kinsmen everywhere and seems to be able to cite many names of kampongs.

Endogamy

582 612 The statement that the related group is endogamous means that a great number of marriages are by preference contracted with a kinsman, and a small number with members of other groups of relatives. The figures given below are taken from a Kapala related group, that is to say, from a segment of this group living, and therefore registered, in Bontoramba.

Of the 89 married couples belonging to the segment of the Kapala group residing in Bontoramba, man and wife are related to each other in 79 cases, and in 10 they are not (1).

1. I am following the system of degree of relationship according

593 /25 cont./ 1. Talking back is referred to as nipolongi erona, "his wishes are crossed," or anempa bawa karaëng, "to slap the mouth of the master."

listening to what his father says and by answering in general, well-chosen phrases when the father is addressed. In practice the answers which a son gives are brief because he is afraid of not being able to satisfy such obligations, and of making a mistake, which might be regarded as impolite or result in ridicule. A son above the age of fourteen accordingly does not like to be in the company of his father; the relationship is too stiff for this. When his father comes in, he disappears as quickly as possible while mumbling some excuse. When a [574] father visits his married son, the latter will call his wife or his little son. The conversation then continues through them. Important matters, such as the marriage of his daughter, may be discussed by a father with his (married) son. This, too, is a conversation held in a formal tone. But this conversation merely establishes what has already been previously discussed by the father in informal conversations with his wife or his daughter-in-law.

The same relationship can be observed between brothers. Here the older one must be obeyed by the younger. Between them the opposition is greater; the older one tries to keep the leadership; the younger, especially if his personal qualities give him the opportunity to do so, tries to avoid his brother's authority. Their relationship is also stiff. The consequence is that unmarried sons in general, and unmarried younger brothers in particular, spend a great deal of time outside the house.

This does not apply to the relationship between mother and daughter, or to that between sisters. Since younger women are [562] dependent on house and grounds and away from these can only go about in company, a similar solution would not be realistic in practice.

Accordingly, a man prefers not

593 /26 cont./ to go alone with his grown-up daughter to a kampong
●574 where they are unknown, for instance, so that there they will not be regarded as a married couple and addressed as such.

593 The reason for this latter form of incest (salimara') occurring with
835 more or less regularity and that of mother and son so rarely was explained by an informant who said that in general the lower generation must obey the higher one, a son his mother and a daughter her father. So it seems generally assumed that
[833] initiative to a sexual relationship (in this case evil) originates with the man.

A sexual relationship between a man and his sister practically does not occur. I do not recall having encountered a single instance of this in the registers of the native courts. /27/

538 The brother-sister relationship is one of the leitmotivs in the La Galigo epic. The relationship of Sawerigading to his twin sister Tenriabeng is one of great intimacy (1). In the

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1. R. A. Kern, Catalogus van de Boegineesche tot den I Galigo cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek, alsmede van die in andere Europeesche biblioteken /Catalog of the Buginese Manuscripts belonging to the I Galigo Cycle in the University of Leiden Library, as well as of Those in Other European Libraries, Leiden, 1939/, Leiden, 1939.

heroic poem Datu Museng, the hero's wife I Maipa is likewise described as his twin sister. They were separated shortly after birth and did not meet again, ignorant of each other's past, until they were grown up. Datu Museng became enamored of her, and they married. So the poem is recited (2) by several

2. In the Makassaarsche Chrestomathie one finds another version. There it is

166 /54 cont./ located in another kampong emigrated there.
591 In two cases a marriage by flight was the reason for a family
592 migration, and in two others the fact that the house became severely damaged and run down. In one case a quarrel was given as the reason, but this concerns two families in one house who were not related to each other. In another case a married couple from a neighboring adat community came to live in Bontoramba in order to work for an employer. In the remaining five cases, the motives did not become apparent (2).

2. The small number of children (35) in these 22 families is due to the fact that some of these are young families who moved into a house of their own for the first time. Two recently married silariang couples likewise had (as yet) only a few children.

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While 79 persons migrated as a family unit, 66 individuals moved to other houses. The reasons given for these changes vary a great deal. An old widower lives alternately with one of his children. An orphan goes from one uncle and aunt to the other. An old deaf-mute man lives in turn with his many -- and distant -- nephews and nieces, who prefer to see him go rather than come. The contracting of a marriage, the committing of silariang, are further reasons for changing houses. A Javanese and a poverty-stricken orphan who came to live and work with people in Bontoramba raised the number of immigrants. A sickly little boy goes to stay with his grandfather for a few weeks or months./55/ The grandfather's house, incidentally, is one minute's walk away from the boy's

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591 /55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A
592 child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother
[855] or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity.
Experience teaches that in another environment such
[861] naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally, these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form
[602] a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time. Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

158 To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations
865 can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however, another element of this culture must first be described; this is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

554 /96 cont./ from marriages in which the partners are regarded
562 as equal. The marriage of a cousin (samposikali) of the adat
582 community head to the daughter of a kapalakompong /kampong head/ is called a marriage between equals, but on the part of the head, the idea of a union of his cousin with a son of the Kapala is rejected because this young man is regarded as lower than the girl.

554 One of the princes had a son called daëng Ali by a woman
565 from the kin group of one of the adat community heads. His
585 brother had a daughter called daëng Batje by an ordinary
574 kampong woman. Daëng Ali was regarded as considerably higher than his first cousin. They married and lived with the groom's father, the Prince. Now it is expected of the kinsmen of daëng Batje's mother, ordinary kampong people as we said, that they will be modest /97/ and that they will not constantly come to visit their sister (cousin or aunt, as the case might be). Of daëng Batje, in turn, it is expected that she will receive these kinsmen in a friendly way; that she will not show herself proud toward them, but will entertain them nicely. She should not entertain them too lavishly, for that would be a sign of superiority, but especially not too poorly, for that would indicate that the visitors were not appreciated. For daëng Batje the visit of her kinsmen is an agreeable matter, because people can see how the relatives appreciate her, a fact which in turn strengthens her position with respect to them. Through her, therefore, her kinsmen have a certain right to come to the palace. A couple of nieces -- the best ones are picked out for this purpose -- may temporarily come to live in the palace. There they learn the superior manners of the nobility. In so doing, they rise in standing and later have a chance of a better marriage, something which again works to the benefit of their entire group.

554 Children from a marriage of a man to a lower woman
565 are regarded as lower than their father's kinsmen and higher

177 /144 cont./
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2. As yet there is no rice mill in Goa. In the colonists' kampongs, 200 kilometers north of Macassar, the men do the pounding for the landowner, but not for their own consumption. Rice-pounding wages are high.

461 The spare time which women gained was not used
855 toward new objectives. It was devoted to small children who are not let out of sight for a moment. In the house or in the yard their own mother or one of the neighbor's girls
461 is always with them. During the rest of the time women
574 visit each other. This promotes companionship and strengthens their mutual ties. They exchange kampong and family news and drink coffee on these occasions. These visits are always paid in little groups of a number of older women and a few younger ones, nicely dressed, accompanied by one of their closest male kinsmen.

/145/ Men's work is in the sawahs in the broadest sense,
462 from manufacturing agricultural implements to carrying in sheaves of paddy. Furthermore, it is their job to work in the garden, to construct and repair the house, as well as to do all the little tasks in which wood or bamboo must be
443 cut down or worked. They run errands at the pasar (1) and
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1. In early July, 1949, the visitors to the Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) were registered as 62 women and 904 men.

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

583 /150 cont./ "Please find what is good for me." And by
584 "good" (badjika) is meant a normal marriage; "bad" (kodia) means marriage by flight. The older woman thereupon tries out the mother. Whether this couple will subsequently marry or not then further depends upon whether or not an agreement concerning marriage has been made with respect to one of the two.

584 When a marriage which she herself has desired comes
834 about, the girl shows aversion to the man, as is expected of her. Externally, nothing distinguishes this marriage from one that has been contracted against her wishes.

583 When older people act against the wishes of the younger,
584 and the young man urges a flight, the girl can consent to this. But if she refuses, he can get his way simply by
558 making her siri'. In most cases the threat of siri' alone
626 seems sufficient.

584 One who is unable to use an older woman as intermediary must find another way of establishing the desired contact with a girl. He may, for instance, seek out the company of her brother. He plays raga with him and goes with him to the movies (this example is derived from one of the kampongs
[574] surrounding Macassar). In return /151/ his friend may ask him to stay and eat or sleep. If he keeps this up long enough, he may get an opportunity to attract the girl's attention, that is to say, to perform a service for the mother or run an errand for her, even though this reaches him through a third person.

His intentions do not remain entirely concealed. If her mother likes him, if no arrangements have been made regarding this daughter, and if the information gained concerning his kin group is not unfavorable, she may very briefly let her daughter be alone with him unnoticed. But she remains watchful. "Don't make me siri'," she says to her daughter.
584 When they are alone together, there is no immediate con-
834 versation, even less is there an immediate physical contact.

595 /170 cont./ 2. Little betel is chewed by the generation that is now thirty-five to forty years of age or younger.

[178 276]

Nor does he ever name the kampong where the other wife lives as his destination when he leaves. To speak the truth would be an unforgivable rudeness. But a man who, in the opinion of his first wife, already was too much away from home was told: "When a man goes out a great deal, a wife is lazy with the cooking."

/171/ Co-wives display a stronger than normal desire to attach their husbands to themselves, in comparison with monogamously married women. They make sure that the meal is ready when he comes home, that a clean sarong lies in readiness for him, and that his guests are especially well entertained, since a man finds it pleasant if he is known as a good host. On the other hand, they know how to make their anger apparent to him by the same means, by letting him wait for his food, by neglecting to care for his clothes, and so forth. Among older men it can be observed that they stay for a longer time with the same wife. In the majority of cases this appears to be the first wife.

[593] [574]

The second wife is always lower than the first; at least she is regarded as lower. This circumstance makes it easier for the first wife to be content with her existence. The great dread of a woman who was not related to her husband appeared to be the fact that now she would become the second wife because he married one of his nieces. As regards descent, however, she was regarded as his equal, and there was in every respect an acceptable reason why his niece should not be regarded as his equal.

595 606 607

The opposition of the first wife is not the only reason why a second marriage comes about only with difficulty. Another reason is based upon the opposition of the relatives.

[185 cont.]

538 merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy: He hath not dealt with us according to our sins, nor regarded us according to our inquities; for he knoweth our frame, and remembereth that we are dust" (5). One sees that parallelism is

5. Psalm 103:8, 10, and 14.

an accumulation of attributes and [186] expressions of the same idea. This is also true of the kelong and elong, which, however, in content, are similar to the Malayan pantuns in many respects, although usually prettier and also clearer. To judge: "If a drizzling rain should fall, oh pure virgin! gather its drops in the front folds of your garment, for you know that I have changed myself into a cloud and travel in that form" (1). This is clear

1. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomatie, p. 421, col. 2, No. 8.

enough, but if the girl does not care for the young man, her answer is no less clear in the following kelong: "If you should come down as a drizzling rain, take care to avoid me. I have [539] not found it pleasant when a drizzling rain sprinkles me too often." The Buginese elong are generally just as clear as the kelong. We say generally because a peculiar language is found in many elong, known as basa to-Bakkä, that is, the language of the man of Bakkä. Bakkä is a place in Soppeng, and the man of Bakkä is a certain Datu Bakkä, Prince of Boni, who was very famous in ancient times for his great sagacity. The basa to-Bakkä is thus a kind of metaphorical language, which often consists of farfetched plays on words. Let us look at a single example. Imagine for a moment, reader, that you are in 538 Buginese country and that, tired, you arrive at the home of a 574 Buginese who welcomes you with manri manano = eat chicken feed. This sounds very peculiar. If you understand the basa to-Bakkä, however, it is clear enough. Chicken feed is

MK [186 cont.]
538 principally bänni = cracked rice, which sounds like mabanni =
[574] spend the night. The Buginese simply wanted to say "remain overnight." One can see that the play on words is farfetched.
MK The elong in the basa Bakkä cannot be understood without ex-
[539] planation. Here is another example. "Do not try to satisfy your passion, because then you always would have only bale ta-kesässi = fish without scales at home. This bale ta-kesässi in the basa to-Bakkä makes one think specifically of a fish awu-awu. This word also means "oh! alas!" The words "then you would only 'have scaleless fish at home'" are meant to express [187] then you would have only 'oh,' 'alas,' that is, distress and misery, in your house. Before taking leave of the elong, we must mention a particular kind, the so-called elong osong, war songs.

B Besides these shorter poems with four verses, the literature
RL of the peoples named has longer poems. Among the Batak,
1 538 Lampong, and Redjang, these are romantic or historical poems, which, however, are still not very well known. We are better
MK informed about those of the Makassarese and Buginese, called,
538 respectively, tolo and sinrili, which can best be compared with the Malayan sjair. The parallelism mentioned above is very much in evidence in them. Among these poems there are often very beautiful ones, especially among the Makassarese, which excel in bold images and striking contrasts. As an example, one
MK should read the sinrili No. 53 of Dr. Matthes' Makassaarsche
[764 Chrestomatie, a funeral song by a wife for her husband.
114]

Some sinrili or tolo are heroic lays, of which a few deal with subjects from modern times. For instance, a Buginese epic deals with the Boni war. There are some older ones, however, such as La Galigo, which is written in old, obsolete Buginese
MK and understood by only a few. The content is of a mythological
[773 nature and deals with the adventures of Batara Goeroe (the
776] supreme deity) and his descendants on earth, among whom is La Galigo (1). As a poetical product La Galigo is of little value

1. Wilken, Animisme, Part 2, pp. 232-233.

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 562
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197]
words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaeng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaeng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaeng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be
better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favor- [114]
ably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, 203
and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting 666
on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems 624
that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the 596
head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his
clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs.
Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like
Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc
splits.

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van 778
Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, 565
kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the
karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he
was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave.
As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next 574
door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and
the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people
around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a
broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-
Heekeren.

The store hasa brick underwall, and a house above. It
appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and
berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always ac-
cepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim
talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked be-
tween ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United 872
States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim 346
said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in 494
a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen 198
the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it ap- 435
peared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual
style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used
Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling,
but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth
grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further
schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong,
[i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa,
and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is
quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather
far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later.
That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I 212
asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim
said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general.
He added that there was a press in Makassar.

C third man in the Aru Pitu, who, together with the Arumpone
565 and the Makadangetana, form the self-government council of
634 the State. With them sits the Sulewatang Udjung, Minister of Information. The same general pattern holds in Wadjo and Soppeng. Each minister has a function, for example, police civil, etc. The Tomarilalang is a young fellow, tall, and good looking. He seems intelligent and quiet; though really dumb as I found out later.

C I talked with the Tomarilalang about changes, for example,
565 in clothing. I later found out from the Dutch police advisor
557 that the Arumpone fears the Tomarilalang, and others as
578 well, for possible intrigue. I also found out later that the Makadangetana, the old stocky fellow with a mustache who was formerly only a kampong chief, rose slowly until he became even Minister of War. So there is mobility at least within the higher class, and maybe within the middle class.

C I talked a great deal with Thierens, a young intelligent
647 Dutch controleur. He is sympathetic toward the native at-
563 tempt, and like most Dutch now working with them seems to be of the high and democratic type. For example, Thierens asked what I thought was the case among the conservatives who still hold on in Batavia. He saw much trouble ahead for the natives, and I agree. He said that now all the Dutch here are assistants to native officials. The police advisor later said that they were advisors only. I got the idea that the old ways were completely gone. I noticed the great respectful attitude of the Dutch toward native upper classes. They are now the second men. But, as far as I could see, the natives were also very polite. At least this seems to be so in South Celebes.

M Next day we went to the kampong of Bukaka which is al-
124 most inside Watampone. It has a population of about 3,000.
291 I went to the house of the Kepala kampong in my jeep with
596 Sulewatang Udjung and Andi. Sulewatang Udjung is always
609 well dressed. He wears an elaborate, ornate closed jacket
● 574 and sarong, and on his head the horsehair and gold bordered songkok. He is an old fellow with a bad case of tuberculosis and Thierens warned him to be careful. But when I visit him he offers tea and awful gummy Buginese cake, and I must eat it. A large crowd lives in his house. There is much evidence of an extended family. He said he had eight children and thirty grandchildren. It seems that most of them are here. They are pretty good looking and rather well dressed. This is an indication of why they need political jobs. Andi, for
000 example, works in the Office of Economic Affairs. The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that

M tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at
175 large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the
565 people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]
[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and
793 their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession
838 of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst]
231 This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any
881 bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati.
304 But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there
574 for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the
182 Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I re-
771 minded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own
181 idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the out- 567
side they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 535
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

House status marks: little is known about the rules con- 342
cerned with the number of piles, but much is known about 114
the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written 554
in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me 565
say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now
too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew 773
most of the names and events in the legends of origin, includ- 591
ing the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose.

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline 177
in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the paka- 535
rena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices 527
came in. For example, one of the men said that they were 574
having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between 186
Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite 173
ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is 778
only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language 197
spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much 241
of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and 262
it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Neverthe-
less, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there
203 are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The
205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoe on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. 842
But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Per- 611
haps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here?
I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They [123]
listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families.
They said there simply was no control here. The more the
better. I talked at length regarding the future decision con-
cerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather
a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of
Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that
here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children,
but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very inter-
esting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories.

We quit at 6 P.M as the guru had to go to prayer. This is 512
Friday (or maybe he goes everyday).

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The 123
people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is 574 ●
true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always 562
tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must al-
ways be served to guests, and the Kepala kampong said that
if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there
may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come
into the front when I am present, a difference from the be-
havior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served
by the Kepala kampong or his son or a retainer. The Kepala 576
kampong, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends
over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes
hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the
younger ones not so much.

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. 595
Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten 852
days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several 574
houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is
sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant.
We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a 000
house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way
we saw the kampong Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later
the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watam-
pone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a
three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children
soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim
like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they
marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau.
The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am
not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the
marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the
marriage is completed.

342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
●574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouthwash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

although he told me that they were "his people". He said 535
that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would 565
be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He 567
said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may
not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one [435
of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must 582]
pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And
even later, when they are no longer able to perform as
padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry.
The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and
he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner
who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the
kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as
padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prostitutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are
not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fifteen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot,
and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese dancing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be
a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, deadpan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They
are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and
chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fascinated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically
doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job
because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth.
The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and
their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented
out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with
cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also powdered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older
and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother
said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There 574
were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the 431
birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty 181
of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about be- 576
fore the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around
in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and 567
finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer [292]
came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very
humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been
ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought
immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I
have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic examples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684 588] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I 517
got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The 181
Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did 167
not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if 186
he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is 178
general and there is not much to say. The death punishment 681
is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even 796
included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric 805
systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They [241]
knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern.(In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: 574●
I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and 852
two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of [562]
men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear
part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much 176
new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus 874
chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third 401
grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from 403
bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

176 with ingenious gears, and two spools. It also has a circular
401 shutter in front, and is fantastically clever. The Sulewatang
403 and Andi both said it was a great pity that he had no training.
874 He is a fine lad. He had three rolls of old newsreels and travel pictures and showed them after someone lent him a few batteries. One of the films was broken. Evidently he is called upon to show the same old films quite often and as a result they are wearing out. I was quite impressed with the Sulewatang's and Andi's strong statement regarding the lack of schools for such men here. Later I told Thierens, and he said he would see if he could not send the lad to Makassar for training. His machine really works well. He even has a wheel for a string arrangement if he gets a small motor. It reminded me of the old man in Balombaru who had made a match head cap pistol for his son and also a model Makassarese prau, with a propeller, with an auxiliary motor rigged up from an alarm clock. It could run over a hundred meters. There is certainly technical skill here that could be developed.

565 We left the party and the Sulewatang came with us to stay
●574 at the local Su[illegible]ng's house (Kepala wanua Tumurun,
431 which he was [illegible]rly). This lad, a young and quite bright
156 fellow, is his [illegible]. He was going to visit the Aru Tau in Watumpone, [illegible]s wife had recently given birth to a child. The[illegible]y visit around with fellow nobles a lot, and this takes [illegible] much of their time. I tried to bring the Kepala kampong into the conversation at the Sulewatang Tumurun's house, where he was sitting to one side. However, the two uppers would not let me. They were uninterested in the Kepala kampong. This peculiar disregard for any human qualities in preference to rank is a pain to me. The old Sulewatang asked me to show him United States currency. I was sure he would want some for a souvenir. He asked me to get him a nylon shirt from the United States. I think it is because he has always been used to asking for what he could get for nothing from the poor people here. These nobles have only to ask for things from the masses and the latter dare not refuse (honor?).

696 Incidental: The Sulewatang said that the kampong where the feast is being held was not a former fugitive kampong, as Andi had told me. But at any rate they evidently had such kampongs at one time as both of them knew about the matter.

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

123 /9 cont. / to look and listen. Everything that the investigator is able to carry out on top of just listening and looking without causing any damage during this time is pure gain.

Introduction

The investigator is a foreign element in the community to which he comes to work. The relationship to the individuals in his environment must constantly be adjusted. There are some manners which they accept from him. There are also manners which they find so troublesome, especially after a while, that his contact and thus his work suffers from it. Frequently the first month is decisive in this. Hence a person who feels free to show his disapproval of the stranger's behavior in a way that is comprehensible to the stranger is the best mentor.

As a Dutch official I was regarded as a high guest in Macassar
[554 country. It is discourteous to display one's disapproval of his
576] conduct to a higher person; this violates the profoundest feelings. My gratitude toward my mentor is therefore so great precisely because his personality was dynamic enough to allow him to be a bad Makassare in the sense that, contrary to his feelings, he nevertheless pointed out my mistakes.

Initially I laughed too loud and talked too loud, for loud
[517 talking and laughing really occur only when several men are
555] together. Then one of them likes to tell tall or absurd stories because the person who can do this well raises his standing. I
123 learned that as a male guest I belonged in the parlor and that I
574 could not walk through the back; that I could ask men or boys, and possibly also older women, something, but that young girls
[562 and newly married women landed in difficulties if I so much as
576] greeted them, because this is enough to point to a "contact" with the stranger, which is forbidden. I noticed that somebody constantly kept me company and found this troublesome. Only later did it become apparent that this belongs to the ordinary courtesies observed toward a guest. /10/ A Makassarese does not like to be alone and therefore believes that his guest would also find this unpleasant.

576 /10 cont./ One soon learns that as a distinguished guest one cannot sit down just anywhere when entering a house. It is wrong to sit down where the lowest are supposed to sit, because then the host is ill at ease. It is conceited, and that is disliked, if one sits down directly in the highest /prestige/ side of the house. It is good since it is a token of modesty, which is appreciated, if one sits down a little lower than where one would actually be allowed to take one's place. These are all mistakes which are not held against an occasional visitor, but which will be found troublesome infractions if they occur in the routine of daily life.

574 576 One further learns that, once seated, one may not leave if something is being prepared in the kitchen. It is better to be much too late for a subsequent appointment than to offend one's host by departing. When high Dutch civil and military [448] authorities, who were present at the wedding feast of one of the grandsons of the Prince of Goa in 1741, stood up during the rather long-drawn-out meal and said farewell, people spoke disapprovingly about this occurrence for weeks after in the kampongs. The offer of refreshments is a sign on the part of the host that he wants to do his guests an honor, and an early departure hurts him.

576 I learned that to shake hands does not belong to the customary greeting ceremony. Those present during a conversation or upon departure, including the host, will as much as "touch" the [778] hand of a high guest in order by so doing to obtain something of the good and fortunate, which, after all, adheres to every higher person. A Macassarese is embarrassed by a "firm" handshake.

The statement "I am leaving now" (lampama') is customary and gives one an intimate feeling. The same applies to the question addressed to a person one encounters on the way: "Where are you coming from?" A detailed answer is not expected. Indication of the wind direction suffices. The purpose of question and answer seems merely to be the creation of an intimate atmosphere. A stranger is passed by in silence, but one remains on one's qui vive.

576 /11/ A stranger is first stared at quietly, "in order to get used to him," as it is said; one looks at his face and judges whether he is "good" or not. Once established, this judgment, whose criteria have not become clear to me, is not subject to much modification.

123 576 Nobody seemed to find it strange that I participated at a festive meal in long trousers and not, like the others, in a sarong; but it was regarded as impolite that I kept my shoes on, and it was found odd when, at a subsequent time, the sarong fit was "wrong." I am left-handed and therefore ate with that [264 514] hand, but the touching of food with the left hand was observed with disgust, because it is considered that one uses one's left hand in cleaning after defecating.

In themselves these are all small things, but they concern forms of social intercourse which are carried out as a matter of course and thereby furnish emotional security. The foreigner who takes no account of this is offensive, and it is impossible to say beforehand which offense will be felt as so troublesome that his work will suffer from it.

Informants

123 [576] [166] The strict separation of the sexes in this society makes it difficult for a male investigator to work regularly with a female informant. The great mobility of the men also makes regular work with a man difficult. For instance, it was impossible for me to have daily contact with a number of individuals over a long period of time in order to give an account of their life.

[115] The men who functioned best as daily informants were not those who were of the highest standing in their community, but precisely those who, afflicted with a "clerical" mentality in the good sense of the word, were in a position to work regularly and possessed a sense of actuality and detail. Since my stay in Borongloë after the war lasted for only six weeks both times, it was possible for me to adapt myself to this typical mobility by not residing longer than six days in a row with one and the

/47 cont./

539 773

3. Naandjo taua ammantangi ri birinna agang lompoa.	This man lived along the large road.
4. Naandjo aganga, punna nia' tau ammalo na'bongong iareka nammake pajung, andjo taua balalo mate karampasang.	Now, whenever there were people who came along the way with their sarong over their head or with a pajong /parasol/, these people soon died (1).

[554 576 689]

1. A lower person who appears before a higher one with a sarong over his head or with a pajong, or who simply walks past his house, in so doing shows little respect for him. He can always expect punishment.

5. Nasiapa are sallona andjo taua appakamma naniareng tommo tau tabesse-besse panggaukanna;	And thereupon this man who had that on his conscience was called an evil man in place of a courageous one.
6. Sanggenna andjo taua appasang angkana:	Finally, the following statement was issued to this man:
7. Punna salllang tenama' anrinni (sajanga') punna eroko assarea', nia' antu batu ritangngana pa'rasanganga, andjoremmako sarea';	If in future I will no longer be here (if I will have risen up to heaven) and if you want to give me something, there is a stone there, situated in the middle of the land, there you must then give that to me.

554 565 576 /100 cont./ A favorite's daughter who temporarily resides in the house of her father's master may learn to make little cakes of a certain name and form, known only among the higher people. In that house she also learns the forms of social intercourse observed among household members and at daily meals. Upon returning home, her altered manners are immediately conspicuous. She addresses her mother only in a soft tone of voice, she does not eat as ravenously as the others, and she conducts herself completely like a well-brought up girl from the better social circles. At least in the beginning, she is also treated differently from the other children. "She bears the sign of daëng X" (2), it is said

2. Bata piarana daëng X, literally, "the etiquette of nurture by daëng X."

[582 557] approvingly of her. As a result, she has a chance of a better marriage, that is to say, of a marriage to a higher man than any of her sisters would be entitled to, since they did not enjoy the privilege of staying temporarily in the house of daëng X.

/101/ When the seven-year-old son of my host offered me cigarettes and when he came to tell me that dinner was ready, he briefly dropped to his knees in so doing. This is a custom completely unknown in his father's group of relatives and borrowed from the karëng's kin group in whose house the father had lived in his early years. The custom was then taught to the son. The father laughed happily; "He knows his manners," and by this he meant that his son had appropriated good manners, namely of those who are higher. It is a sign of politeness to treat a higher guest with his own forms of social intercourse. The lower person who shows that he is familiar with these forms gains in standing in so doing. If this were to become a daily practice, his conduct would be

554 /101 cont./ thought of as ridiculous by the related group.
565 They would see in it merely an affected way of distinguishing
[576] himself from those around him.

The wearing of certain ornaments by a bride, and of a kris or a headdress (sigara') of a certain color by the bride-
[585 groom, is frequently a sign of friendliness on the part of a
572] higher person. He may, as a favor, permit a lower person to adorn himself on certain occasions with things which belong to the higher group. This raises the standing of the lower person.

A woman who caused her deceased mother to be treated as though she were a relative of the Prince was regarded as arrogant. "She is daring," was the reaction of those around
[626] her. It means that what she does is dangerous, because in so doing she enters the state of "bassung"; that is to say, she can be punished for this deed with a swollen belly. Nobody, however, expresses his disapproval openly, since, after all, it is quite possible that what she does is exactly the right thing, and in that case the one who made the remarks would be punished, as happened in the case of standing on the investiture rock.

If a person conducts himself as a higher person, and if he does so with great self-assurance and with success, then these modes of conduct help to determine his social standing.

The System of Followers

571 The system of followers is one of the most obvious aspects of the tendency toward vertical mobility. It may be described as the /102/ totality of relationships between a higher person (karaëng, lord) and those lower, whom he calls ana' ana'na (1) or taunna (his people). The basis of this system is the

/132 cont./
Acculturation Phenomena

177 Cultural elements derived from western Europe and based upon the principle of equality cause difficulties when they are introduced into South Celebes. Only a few of these elements will be mentioned briefly to illustrate their conflict with the class structure. The most important of these are the public auction, soccer games /voetbalspel/, and the parliamentary form of government. Here we shall only indicate one aspect of this matter.

For colleagues to consult each other on a basis of equality,
177 /133/ independent of status, cannot be reconciled with the
554 idea that it is impolite to tell a higher person that one does
576 not agree with him. A school inspector is higher than a teacher and so he knows better, such is the train of thought. At a conference convened around 1940 on behalf of the Department of Education, a Makassarese school inspector introduced a topic. The answer to the question whether there was agreement with what had been said consisted merely of a general "jo karaëng" (yes, sir). None of the teachers present dared to voice a different opinion for fear of being regarded as impolite.

The presence of two persons, one higher and one lower, who had been invited for the same meal by a Dutchman, produced various difficulties. The lower person waited until he was addressed before saying anything, and then he merely expressed agreement with what had been said. At most he would repeat the same thing in other words with a tone of assent. He would not take a single dish on his own initiative, but would wait until his host or the higher person pushed one in his direction, and even then he would eat only a few mouthfuls. As a result he had eaten practically nothing, when he rose from the table.

177 554 576 /133 cont./ Even modern Makassarese find these forms of conduct stiff. They make fun of them but are incapable of changing them, and rather than be impolite they leave the table hungry.

177 554 576 437 A public auction in the Makassarese environment is merely a caricature of what the Western jurists who initiated it had in mind. If a higher person bids, lower person does not dare to outbid him. Accordingly, he asks a man of higher status, an equal of the first bidder, who is favorably inclined toward him, to make a bid for him.

177 554 576 622 437 The head of the community concerned does not like to participate in the bidding personally. He runs the chance of being unexpectedly outbid by an ignorant stranger in Makassarese country. This signifies a challenge to him, and he must continue to bid much more than the object is worth to him in order not to suffer a defeat in the eyes of his subjects. And if the competitive bidding is done by a Dutch lady, as might occur in a small administrative settlement, then he is left merely with a laugh about such a "challenge."

177 554 576 626 A soccer game is based upon the equality of the players. But if a karaëng takes part in the game, there can no longer be any question of equality /134/ (1). When the karaëng

1. The fact that, according to a newspaper report from the Netherlands, Prince Bernhard had gained third prize in a steeplechase was regarded as a gross discourtesy on the part of the two winners.

shouted "Run out" (bakkai) to his goalkeeper, the forward of the opposing team who was running toward him interpreted this as a command directed at him; he stopped, and the

177 /134 cont./ goalkeeper of the karaëng's team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaëng had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaëng
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he, and not the karaëng who was the loser in this collision. It is understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
576 showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams, high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive" in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaëng can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

864 /141 cont./ Not until he is circumcised, at the age of seven to eight years, will a boy always wear a pair of pants under [304 his sarong. Adult men bathe in the nude, but in so doing 852] cover their genitals with the hand. Women keep their sarong on when they bathe. One of the first things that a Makassarese woman observed with surprise on Java was the fact that there the women bathe naked in the river. A girl always appears before her mother with her sarong. Young girls do tease each other at the well, "almost," when a sarong almost slips down. But if the sarong had really slipped off, the other would have denied this and would not have [576] spoken about it any further. This is how a girl knows her friends. Only those who do not like her would talk about it to others and make her ashamed (siri').

857 Children play "marriage." They put on rags and cloths. /142/ One of them is the bride's mother and helps the others, and they make sand cakes. The children may begin to quarrel and the matter often ends by a girl getting a shove or a blow which hurts so that she cries and runs away angrily. Sexual activities were definitely not observed. When an almost three-year-old boy was asked: "Why don't you play bridegroom" (buntimmako), he closed his eyes and stood motionless. The picture of the bridegroom, but above all, that of the bride, who, dressed in her most beautiful clothes, remains seated motionless for hours on end with cast-down eyes, had made the strongest impression on this three-year-old.

857 Boys and girls tend to play together up to the age of eight 858 to ten years so long as it works out. Up to that age girls 867 are also allowed to run around freely in the yard. But even before the appearance of puberty the separation is intensified. Boys learn that they must sit still and be quiet when the old 858 men speak. "After all, you are no longer a little child," 867 they are told. Around the same time, thus long before the

443 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They
462 go around alone or with a number of men of their own age. Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 The activities of men and women therefore complement
562 each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more helpless, if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding gardens.

562 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that
554 of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the
576 meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status
571 with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the
521 others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator may place himself in the center of the story since, after all, those present share in the standing he won in this manner. The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them. Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people, and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men, four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression.
562 Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and
571 go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned. Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are free in their actions and speech.

521 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally.
562 They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the
571 same time about topics which they would also discuss at an
576 ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 The forms of social intercourse between men and women
673 are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized
834 by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

These strict rules do not apply to children and older
[561 858] people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small
[689] dagger/, which frequently results in death.

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

595 578 /170 cont./ which this rule was taken could not be traced down, just as it was not possible to find the Makassarese text.

595 The two wives each has her own house. In 24 of the 27 polygamous marriages, the two houses were even in different kampongs. If it is said of a man that he owns two houses, this means that he has two wives. The wives live each in her own house together with their children and a single kinsman, leading their own lives. They never see each other. They are thought to ignore each other. When they go to pay visits, kinsmen take care that the one does not come where the other is. At festivals the second wife always yields to the first, but in actuality she always gets just as much of a chance to be present, even though it is just for a short period of time. In practice, the two women know everything about each other that can be regarded of any interest at all. [521] Female "friends" tell the news, especially the bad news, that each wife wants to hear about the other. In the course of many years the sharpest edges are often worn off this relationship. The children of the one go to the house of the other with their father. An instance where the two women at a greater age visited each other from time to time remains an exception, however.

It is expected that the husband takes his first wife's feelings into consideration and that he will do nothing that could remind her of her rival. An old example is that a man must [593] put away the contents of his betel box before he comes to the [576] other wife, because filling this box is, all the way up to the 276 highest social circles, a special task that a woman performs for her husband, so that a woman, upon seeing the fresh betel leaves, is immediately reminded of the other woman (2).

585 /196 cont./ ordinary life. In reality, however, they all
833 hope that bridegroom and bride will be "good" with each other as soon as possible, that is to say, that coitus will take place. The old women listen at the walls.

If the young man expressly refuses to enter and join his wife, the older people rest satisfied, at least for the time being.
[626] But they show their disapproval and renew, possibly even the following evening, their attempts to make him go in. The same situation obtains if the bride resists once the bridegroom has been led in to her. If she knocks violently on the door, she is let out.

585 The older people talk to the marriage partner who seems
833 to refuse sexual contact with the other. They point out that in
626 previous marriages young married couples again and again submitted to what is now demanded of him (her). The bride is told in such a case that all women have at one time undergone this experience, that her mother was also married in this way. The end of the conversation frequently consists of the questions so difficult for younger people to answer: "Surely you don't want to make your aunt (that is, the speaker) ashamed?" (namely, by sticking to the refusal /197/ and thus causing to fail the marriage that she is trying to bring about). To
[888 contradict an older and sometimes at the same time a higher
576] person is discourteous. The individual who does not wish to capitulate in such a situation can do nothing but remain silent.

Because of the strictly maintained separation of the sexes,
834 young unmarried men and women live in separate worlds.
585 When they are brought together, it is to be expected that it
521 will be difficult for them to talk to each other. Whatever they have learned and applied up to that point is no longer of any use. The prepared questions and answers thus serve, one could say, to facilitate the very first contact. Formally, they are an element of the ritual to bring man and wife together and to get them used to the fact that now other forms of social intercourse obtain between them than before. In

565 /206 cont./ value is placed, as they say, upon keeping the
582 blood pure and the goods together. There this marriage is therefore not regarded as unfavorable. In the higher classes, one can observe the tendency toward contracting marriages between closer relatives.

587 A marriage to someone who has already been married (a widower or divorced man) is regarded as unfavorable. The fact that the first marriage failed is ascribed to a lack of "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means), unless a special reason can be shown. The idea that an individual is as he is, and [828] that he himself can change little about this, explains fears that the second marriage will fail for the same reason. Attempts are made to dismiss any thoughts of the first marriage by having the second marriage take place from another house, by choosing another bride's mother, and by making other changes. The best attitude imaginable is therefore thought to be that of a remarrying bridegroom who said, "I am going to begin a new life." This man was prepared to react differently in this second marriage than in the first, at which time he submitted with great aversion to all the ritual, gave his bride a rough tap on the back at the first touch, and in all possible ways made his dislike of this marriage apparent.

A woman prefers not to marry a man who has already been married, as the following verse (kelong) testifies, where a young woman is introduced saying:

[539]

> "I would rather be a fallow
> piece of land, an unplowed
> sown field, than having a
> buffalo run over me who has
> already been under the yoke
> once."

Actually, it would be very crude if a girl were to recite [576] this verse. This is only done by older people when it suits them at a certain moment in their marriage policy.

588 /231 cont./ Rappung shook hands with those present (a'djama taëng) in the order of rank and status, first the Imam [554 who urged him to go to his wife, who remained seated motion- 576] less. He just touched her hand. He then went to the two witnesses, first the oldest, then the Imam's younger brother, and finally to his two kinsmen who had come along.

The Imam opened the round copper box (kampu) in which the sunrang was contained. In it were: two kalomping (betel leaves folded in a special way), two pieces of areca nut, a few grains of rice, and 4.25 guldens. Of this, 0.25 gulden was designated for the Kali of Goa, and 0.25 gulden for each of the witnesses. The rest was for the Imam. And finally there was a small lump of earth symbolizing the sawah transferred as sunrang. The money was taken out of the box and distributed. Thereupon, the couple left, and with them their companions.

[493] Two three-wheeled bicycles with baskets (tallu roda) stood in readiness. Rappung and his wife sat down on the one in front. "They find it pleasant to sit close together" (nangai siampika), those on the second tallu roda shouted, but Djawi turned her back to him /232/ and by this demonstrative aversion showed that she knew how a just-married woman should behave.

Reconciliation

602 627 The reconciliation can be defined as the solemn arrival of the two tumannjala together with the man's kinsmen and acquaintances at the house of the father or one of the brothers of the wife. There many of her kinsmen are gathered for the occasion. Wife and husband ask for forgiveness from all those present and offer the sunrang, the fine, and cookies.

622 627 The kampong head, or a higher functionary, is always present on such an occasion. He is the one under whose authority the reconciliation comes about. In his presence the

155 /240 cont./ 1. For the ideas followed
867 here, see A. Kardiner, The Individual and His Society, fourth edition, New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.
571 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same
578 descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle,
[685] and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

Javanese OE5
Sumatra OD1
Redjang-Lampong OD12
MaKassar OG6
Gorontalo OG4

I J 291 [41 cont.]
highly developed people of the archipelago, the men make their appearance at ceremonial functions, such as weddings, with the upper body bare, and this is also done in the court costume. In the Palembang Highlands, too, the bridegroom S [291] makes his appearance with the upper part of his body bare (1).

1. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 26.

G M R-L 291 576
Also, for example, in the Lampong districts, when boys and girls gather to sing pantun to each other, the adat prescribes that the boys appear with bare upper bodies or be fined. The Makassarese and Buginese uncover the upper body as a sign of respect (2), which also seems to be the case among the

2. Indische Gids, 1880, Vol. I., p. 970; Vol. II, p. 327.

Gorontalese. Leaving the upper part of the body bare is therefore truly national. The peoples of the Malay Archi- I 291 pelago adopted the garment that covers the upper body from the Arabs, if not earlier from the Hindus. This is a kind of jacket of various cuts. As a rule it closes around the neck with a stand-up collar and otherwise hangs open and loose down to the hips, while the wide sleeves barely extend over the elbows. Frequently, however, it is closed in front and open only at the neck so that it must be pulled on over the head. The Malay name is badju [baju], from which our M [Dutch] baadje (incorrectly baaitje) is derived. The word I badju is probably derived from the Persian bāzu (3); the Javanese J 291

3. Van der Tuuk, Tobasche spraakkunst, p. 403, note.

Ng. name for this garment is klambi or kulambi; in Kr. it

[375 cont.]
642 like. The way the liege lord summons his feudal tenants for a
423 festivity or war is peculiar. The invitation or summons is made
211 by means of bila-bila. Such a bila-bila is a strip of lontar leaf, in which a certain number of flat knots are tied. There are as many knots as there are days before the war starts or the festivity is to begin. There is a great difference in the way the feudal
● [576] tenant must take the bila-bila from the hand of the messenger or envoy of the liege lord, depending on whether it is a summons to war or an invitation to a festivity. The bila-bila for a festivity is taken by the royal feudal tenant with his right hand, while with the left hand he makes the motion used in dancing. The bila-bila for a war is accepted with the left hand, while he touches the kris with the right hand, the object being to demonstrate his devotion to the liege lord by dancing or swinging the kris. According to Dr. Matthes, bila-bila is a corruption of bilang-bilang, from bilang = to count, since the number of knots in the lontar leaf serve for calculating the number of days before the festivities or war will begin.

643 Otherwise, the government is organized the same as in
645 the Malay states. At the head stands a sovereign who is assisted by a state administrator and a state council. The general name in Makassarese for sovereign is karaëng, and in Buginese arung or patta (1). This is also the title, however, for a nongoverning

1. Since the type for the Buginese sound ᨅ is not in stock, the Buginese words that have this sound are spelled as above.

[376] prince. A ruling prince is karaëng mágaú (from gaú = deed, affair, and ágaú = to be active, to manage, and in Buginese, aru or patta mangkaú (the same radical gaú = deed, affair, and mágaú = to be active, to manage). The name of the state administrator is different in the various states and so is the composition of the state council. We shall now discuss the

124 Levij of the Voorlichtings Ministerie (Kementerian
Penerangan Indonesia Timoer) [Ministry of Information for
the State of East Indonesia] offered to do this providing I
would pay the expenses, using his office staff. I went with
361 Rahim and van Heekeren to Balombaru this morning.
491 Balombaru is in the adatgemeenschap [native community]
Karawisi, in which there are perhaps six other kampongs
(check). To get to Balombaru we went out [south] on the Goa
road for about six kilometers, then turned right on a side
road, and finally again on a dirt road. As the limits of the
municipality are reached the road at once appears to be full
of holes; and in the dry monsoon period there is terrible
dust. We were stopped by a police cordon and later found
out that the reason was that they expected to have a meeting
of the police school (I think) in the afternoon and wanted to
keep cars out so that there would be less dust! We went by a
side route, and first stopped at a stucco house with an office
which belonged to the district head, the Karaeng. He is an
important man in Goa. He was not in. His assistant im-
pressed me by his poise and by his quiet manner. We went
363 on, and got to the village [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] itself,
going around a plaza, a dusty kind of turnabout with the enter-
ing road coming in at right angles to the "main street" of the
kampong. Rahim said that there were side streets too. It ap-
peared that most of the houses were located along the roads.
I will see. We stopped (before this, and outside the kampong
proper) at the house of the Imam, near the mosque (I must
check the name of the main kampong where the Karaeng and
342 the Imam and the mosque are located). The Imam lives in a
very nice Makassar type house. We went upstairs to the
main room, which was large, and in which there was a bed
with a klambu [mosquito net]. There seemed to be several
other rooms in the rear. The floor was of wide planks not
placed too close together so that the air could come up into
the room. The house itself was of wood with atap thatch [i.e.,
of palm leaves or the like]. The Imam said he had seven chil-
156 dren. He married in 1929 in Mecca, and seemed very proud
562 of this. He brought it in at the very first chance. He is a
576 small, quite handsome man, perhaps forty years old. His
wife is pretty, has gold teeth, and looked as if she were
dressed in Javanese style. She is evidently modern in a
sense, as she came right up to us, and shook our hands.
Rahim said this was not the old style, as ordinarily women
would stay behind. She also broke into the conversation
from time to time. However, she did sit at another
table, listening. We sat at a table in the middle of

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 562
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197] words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaëng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaëng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaëng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favorably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when [114] in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaeng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had
576 a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
593 an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).
123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is
177 evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaeng stands there but says nothing. Beside

South Celebes: Kuurman said that the league of three (Bone, Soppeng, Wadjo) was the most powerful unit here. It is headed by Bone. In the past, Goa was next to Bone, or at times vice versa. Now the Bone ruler is the kepala daerah, and Goa furnishes only the second man. (There must be an interesting psychological relationship here.) C 634

[Makassar] Abdul Rahim is not a Christian. He is a Mohammedan. But he told me that he was not too devout, as he sees good in all sects. He reads the Bible, for example. He is evidently one of the people in Makassar who belongs to a kind of "ethical culture society" which studies and discusses all religions, taking good points from each. I have heard about this in various quarters and wonder if they are mostly natives, mostly Christians, or what. M 115 795

Second trip to Balombaru, Tuesday, August 16th, 1949: When we left there last Friday, I asked when we should go again; maybe Saturday or Sunday? He [Abdul Rahim, the author's assistant--Analyst] said "No, Monday." Maybe this was so he could find an assistant, but I wonder if it may not have been to give the people a chance to talk the project over. I doubt the latter. Anyway, we went there and tried to see the Karaëng, but he was not in yet. Incidentally, I had to see the people today, as tomorrow is Independence Day and everything will be closed. There were lots of people in the Karaëng's office and a distribution of clothing was going on. But there were also many people coming in to see about something, possibly taxation. They all had a paper, which may have been a form or a type of bill. There was much talk regarding money, and I thought this was like the government in general. As a rule there is always some charge. I left from the Karaëng's place saying that I would return later and went to the Kepala kampong [head of the native village]. He lives in a pretty good house such as all notables seem to own. It is built in native style. He is a fine lad, young, good looking, pleasant, and gay. He is also well dressed. In the house there were also several others. I sat to the right of the Kepala kampong at the table. Rahim sat in front of him. The lad who is to be my assistant sat to the left of the Kepala kampong, and then there were about three other individuals sandwiched in. Everyone was ready to talk and the whole atmosphere was informal and impressively pleasant. Around the room sat young lads, girls and women. One older boy spoke up once or twice and received no rebuke. Everything was serene and there was no squabbling. Children behaved very well. The Kepala kampong has, I think, four or five children. M 124 M 124 576 855

124 They are small and pretty. They came from time to time to
●576 sit on his lap and looked at me. He was serene and his
855 children were wonderful in behavior. Rahim got to the point at once and the Kepala kampong said that this fellow was the man. He indicated a rather angular fellow perhaps twenty-five years old, the kind of Adam's appled type. However, he seemed keen enough. He attended school (lower school only)
463 with Rahim. Then he [i.e., assistant to author--Analyst] got
311 into a trade working with a gold and silver smith. This happens to be one of the main trades of the village. Rahim said there were some farmers in the village, but there was not much wet rice land in the area. However, many people have sawah in other kampongs. Other trades in the village involved commercial enterprises, and being a prau man. A river runs by here and it is mentioned in Friedericy as the one where Goa once levied a river mouth tax on all praus. I
124 later found out that the lad was willing to give up his trade
465 for a while and work for me. He was somewhat ashamed
156 when Rahim asked him about a salary. He said he would leave that matter up to me and Rahim said that this was acting as a typical Makassarese, that is malu [timid, shy, ashamed], although I wonder if he would be so malu when talking about pay with the Chinese who runs the gold and silver business. Later I talked with Rahim about the matter of salary for this man. He told me that things were expensive now, the man had to give up his work, and so forth. He added that he needed more than three to four guilders a day
[593] for his family. And he added that if he did not receive enough his wife would complain. Evidently he must keep his wife happy. So even among the Makassarese a wife nags. Rahim is very strong on the point of getting and keeping in the good graces of one's wife. This is a revelation to me, as I thought women in Mohammedan lands kept their mouths shut. But here, perhaps, is an indication of the underlying qualities of Malayo-Polynesian women. Rahim finally said that one hundred rupiah per month would be all right. I asked about the regular pay which a smith might receive. He said that it was very good, as much as f.10 or f.15 per day. I then said that maybe f.100 was too low, and that I would go up to f.150. He seemed pleased that I was not going to be a chiseler, and said that I could pay a reasonable salary and then if I wanted to, at the end, I could give a bonus. I asked if I had better not give some sort of advance, and he agreed. Hence I gave f. 30 to be given to the assistant (named Mohammed Saleh) who will call on Rahim Thursday after Hari Merdeka.

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of
162 Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts
were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
● 576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper 665
administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there 668
are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an
eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad ex- 668
periences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't 663
keep their word, and although he is a conservative, he keeps 576
his word. Thus he is disgusted with politics. Nevertheless, 178
he has a great deal of influence even with those who are relatively radical. When a blazing representative of the Republic here meets the Radja he gives him sembah [homage, respectful greeting with hands placed together on the forehead]. And this is true also in Makassar. But the new and radical politicians are also still caught in the web of the rigid adat of South Celebes. As for the exiled Arumpone, the Controleur said that if the Dutch were to leave, there is a good chance for a coup d'etat here, and in other places as well. He also agreed that if in the Republic, with freedom the radjas will suffer with a resultant political upsurge. As 648
for the point that many of the people think that the Dutch and 663
the radjas are working together, I get the impression that it 178
is partly true, and the Dutch I meet constantly rationalize 565
this by saying that all would fall apart here if the traditional custom law, the adat, which depends upon the ordered,ranked universe were to be suddenly abolished. But, says the Controleur, the people do not know how much the Dutch keep the radjas from excesses both diplomatically and behind the
scenes. Still, he said that it is difficult now because the 661
Dutch are only here as helpers and can work only through the 656
radjas. In previous times if there was a bad fellow high up in the state, the Dutch could jail him. But now, for example in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use anyway because the replacements would probably be just as bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating the size of the family. For example, they will list a family as consisting of nine members when it really has only five. Then they will give out the ration for five members, keeping the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the Chinese.

Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that 665
if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties 521
would get much support. He also said that the relatively

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. 842
But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Per- 611
haps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here?
I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They [123]
listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families.
They said there simply was no control here. The more the
better. I talked at length regarding the future decision con-
cerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather
a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of
Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that
here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children,
but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very inter-
esting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories.

We quit at 6 P.M as the guru had to go to prayer. This is 512
Friday (or maybe he goes everyday).

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The 123
people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is 574
true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always 562
tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must al-
ways be served to guests, and the Kepala kampong said that
if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there
may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come
into the front when I am present, a difference from the be-
havior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served
by the Kepala kampong or his son or a retainer. The Kepala 576●
kampong, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends
over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes
hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the
younger ones not so much.

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. 595
Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten 852
days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several 574
houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is
sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant.
We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a 000
house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way
we saw the kampong Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later
the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watam-
pone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a
three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children
soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim
like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they
marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau.
The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am
not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the
marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the
marriage is completed.

342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
● 576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouthwash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

although he told me that they were "his people". He said 535
that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would 565
be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He 567
said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may
not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one [435 582]
of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must
pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And
even later, when they are no longer able to perform as
padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry.
The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and
he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner
who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the
kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as
padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prosti-
tutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are
not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fif-
teen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot,
and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese danc-
ing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be
a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, dead-
pan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They
are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and
chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fasci-
nated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically
doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job
because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth.
The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and
their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented
out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with
cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also pow-
dered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older
and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother
said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There 574
were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the 431
birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty 181
of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about be- 576
fore the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around
in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and 567
finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer [292]
came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very
humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been
ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought
immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I
have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic ex-
amples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f.88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f.12 and a commoner might pay
567 f.22 or f.44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
588 must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampong wears one. However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it. In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles. Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
● 576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem to be alternates of all sorts. They call me padika tuan, as I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone. (This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Makassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was formerly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when approaching their superiors or when passing them. They squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with them. They wait until they are asked a question. And every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the Kepala kampong meets me or says goodbye he holds our right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very best place. The Kapala kampong and other common guests sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked the Kepala kampong who was waiting in the car to come onto the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate. One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese this

789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier, and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage between higher women and lower men. To compensate for this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Tomarilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something between the states. There are frequent marriages in the noble class between the states, and thus it is something like the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

Regarding sex, Thierens said that the extreme repression of it and the lack of open relations of a social sort between boys and girls here causes a high rate of homosexuality among boys. He said that nearly all boys are so. This may also link with the wandu custom, or at least the prostitute part of it. The boys are used to homosexual practice in youth, and like it. Also, perhaps the women, so bound by adat, are cold. Thus the homosexuals may be an attraction. The whole dead business has paralyzed these people even down to the simple sex matter. I remember the homosexual practices in Bontorio. But that was in the court, where there were girls. Maybe even there it was hard to get girls, and there may have been little in the way of social relationships. I remember that Bontorio had to get his slave girls on the sly. That is what Andi said, things must be kept in the dark. M 831 838 181 154

In regard to the Toala and the To Patuntung, I went to Soppeng on Sunday. We took one route down and another one back. It is in a rather mountainous section but Soppeng itself is a large and attractive town. On the way we could see the remoteness of many of the people here, even those on the road. In Soppeng I met Denzo, the Christian leader. He is young and good looking, much like Lethe in type and manners. His family comes from Saleier, but also from Bone. He was born in Saleier. He was baptized in 1937 although coming from a Mohammedan family. His mother is also a Christian and so is at least one sibling. He said that this resulted in some trouble with his father. By 1939, he had 800 Christians. During the Japanese time this number shot up to 2,000 and now he has about 3,000. This is the only place in the Buginese country where there are Christians. He has a church which is a part of the Protestant Church of Indonesia. But it is not a mission proper. He said that he converted from all classes, including at least one high fellow. He said that there are more women than men which did surprise me. I asked him how to approach women. He said that one must first ask the man. If the man is converted, then one can work on the woman, and usually the whole family becomes Christian. But one may not talk to the woman without the man's consent. Denzo said there was some trouble with the radja and with the nobles and with the fanatic Mohammedans. But after a while there was not so much trouble because they found out the Christians did not break up the adat and so they could not be too bad. Again we see the point that adat comes first, the Mohammedan practices being secondary. M 797 562 M [576] M [181]

Then I asked about the To Patuntung. He said there are not so many of them. They are ten kilometers walk south of C 563

627 /214 cont./ One who acts in this manner does not do so
684 in blind rage. He knows exactly whom he wants to stab. In such a case one speaks of adjallo' (1). A man whose sister

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1. See above, p. 74. It is completely incorrect to speak in such a case of "amuck"; this term covers an entirely different psychic state. Compare Professor van Wulfften Palthe, "De psychologie van de amok /The Psychology of the Amok/," Fakkel, 1941.

fled years ago and who stabbed her to death at an accidental encounter showed no remorse for his deed, but nonetheless was saddened about her death. He lamented the fact that he /215/ had encountered her. Given this encounter, however, he had been unable, as he saw it, to act in any other way unless he wanted to be regarded as a man without honor. Thus he was in a situation in which he saw no other way out than to kill.

Led before the judge, a defendant in a similar case
627 generally confesses without hesitation. In answer to the
671 question how he came to do the deed, he reports that the
682 victim -- in the most fortunate case the maltreated person --
684 made him siri', and he regards this as sufficient motivation because every Makassarese immediately understands this involves his female relatives, and, on the basis of that, sympathizes with his deed.

Once they are sentenced by the judge, the defendants
[695] rarely appeal. They accept the decision without further ado. They regard their deed as an honorable male act and not as a misdeed. Toward the judge who must sentence them they want to confess nobly, and they do not want reduced

627 671 682 684 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation. Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she [626]

1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often remarried very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lale).

A man and a woman who flee together generally get 588 married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet "a socially recognized union between members of the opposite sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question. The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter, and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from [428] her parents (1).

622 /232 cont./ siri' feelings must be repressed. It is also always
627 a superior who makes the first attempts at creating a reconciliation. The tumasiri' cannot oppose his clearly expressed wishes, unless they have special reasons for doing so. However, the tumasiri' can only be expected to begin by fighting [577] against a reconciliation, because this is masculine, and it is therefore appreciated if one adopts an unconciliatory attitude and pretends that this siri' can only be reconciled by death.

But there are limits to the pressure which a superior can exercise in such an instance. If the pressure is too strong, his wish is not accepted by a number of tumasiri'. At most, the one who during preparatory conversations had personal contact with the superior feels obligated toward the superior. Opposition grows between the tumasiri', and through "incorrect understanding" the reconciliation ceremony ends in failure. In that case the tumasiri'-tumannjala relation continues to exist. This was the case when the brother of a woman who had fled yielded to the pressure of the gurukampong to agree to the reconciliation. At the hour that had been fixed, none of the other kinsmen was present in the house to which the tumannjala were supposed to come. Previously the rumor had circulated that difficulties were to be expected. For that reason the adat community head had sent a representative. Since the personal authority of the gurukampong was insufficient, someone higher than he had to be present in order to prevent bloodshed.

The two tumannjala were received by the representative of the /233/ head, the gurukampong (the mediator), and the wife's brother. The situation was extremely difficult for the [626] brother . He was present in order not to be impolite toward the gurukampong, but among his kinsmen he was regarded as the one who had shown insufficient awareness of the disgrace that had been inflicted upon them. He was spared being asked for forgiveness by the couple and having his hand grasped by

835 /35 cont./ occur at the courts of princes without being further discussed in public, even though they led to pregnancy.

684 In the same manner the court of justice handled a case of a man's relations with his stepdaughter, and that of a man
835 with his stepgranddaughter. The court of justice declared
593 that although no blood relationship existed between the accused,
608 these two young women were nevertheless regarded as daughter and granddaughter respectively, because they had lived with their stepfather and stepgrandfather from childhood on and had been reared by them. Here there exists a certain doubt, therefore, whether the case can be regarded as salimara'.[1]

608 Cases of sexual relation between a woman and her stepson
835 were not registered. This does not mean that these do not occur. At the most it may mean that these cases occur less frequently than those in which the man belongs to the higher generation (1).

587 1. The idea exists that when a
593 widower remarries, his second wife treats her stepchildren with less kindness than her own. No heart-rending examples of this could be noted, however. In
[754] one case the hostile attitude originated with the two girls who suspected their stepmother of having killed their own mother by means of a formula (pangassengang), in order to be able to marry their father.

The relationship of a man
• [578] with his stepson is a tense one. Quarrels occur that lead to physical violence and fights such as are unknown between a man and his own son.

1[i.e. incest. - Aug/7st]

587 /35 cont./ In several cases a man married the younger
835 sister of his deceased wife. One likes to see sisters "succeeding each other on the pillow" because it is believed that the children from the first marriage will be better taken care of by someone who already knows them well than by a stranger, and also because by such a marriage existing ties in the family are continued. At the same time, several cases were
[837] registered in which a man made his wife's sister pregnant.

Such a relationship generally is not regarded as salimara'. /36/ It does, however, cause a great deal of commotion because, according to the decrees of Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at one and the same time. In such a case the man must first oust his wife, therefore, and only after the iddat period has elapsed, may he marry her sister. During the entire period, he, like the pregnant woman, is tumannjala (1) with respect to her brothers and other male

1. See Chapter III, third part.

relatives.

[578] It is said that this man has made two women unhappy at once. Reconciliation takes place less readily, and the commotion is greater than in the case of an "ordinary" marriage by flight. In a verdict handed down by the Sawitto
[684] Native Court, a couple was sentenced for salimara' in such a case. In his opinion on this verdict, Dr. A. A. Cense called this interpretation incorrect. He thought that only after the decrees of Moslem law became known did the notion arise that this relationship should also be regarded as salimara'. I cannot declare myself in entire agreement with him on this point. The interpretation does show, however, that, just as in the cases of sexual contact between a man and his stepdaughter, here, too, a doubt exists as to whether or not this

158 /56 cont./ According to reports, adults are also subject
626 to such attacks, however, I never witnessed this. To be sure, an adult sometimes uses it as a threat, for instance, when he (she) has set his (her) mind on something that seems unattainable. A woman from Macassar who had caused a drum (ganrang) to be played at a festival of her kin group in Goa was questioned about this by the kapalakampong /kampong
[533 head/ concerned, since playing the ganrang is a prerogative
565] of the nobility in Goa. She threatened with adjallo' if the use of the drum should be forbidden her, and finally a decision was made that the drum could be played because she did not live in Goa and at home in Macassar she was allowed to play the ganrang.

In Macassar a girl who was sixteen years old and still at school threatened adjallo' because she wanted to continue attending school in spite of obvious disapproval on the part of her mother and aunts. A man arranged his second marriage behind the back of his first wife because, as he said, he was afraid that she would adjallo' and in so doing might well prevent his second marriage if she heard about it beforehand.

The reaction of others to such fits of temper was one of aversion. People turned away; no one made an attempt to help, nor did anyone appear angry. It was believed that nothing could be done about it.

158 Both phenomena, mobility and adjallo', in my opinion
578 should be regarded as expressions of a conflict for which the individual sees no other solution, a conflict which is based on personality structure. It was impossible for me to do any further investigation along these lines. The fact that both sexes participate in mobility to the same extent might suggest the /57/ necessity for an analysis of the "basic personality structure" /cited in English/ (1) of the Makassarese.

1. For this term see A. Kardiner, most recently in The Psychological Frontiers of Society, New York, 1945.

554 /92 cont./ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status, or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
554 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of
578 this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage
602 candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang,
557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
602

595 /169 cont./ latter, after a certain period of time had elapsed,
[586] asked for a divorce on the grounds that she was no longer being supported by him. In another case, the second wife escaped with another man (1). But sometimes the man

[684]

1. Officially this is called adultery, and the man should behave as though he were siri'. In reality he agreed to the divorce nor did he make an attempt at stabbing; nor do his relatives expect him to take the initiative which might lead to her being sentenced by the judge for adultery.

chooses the second /wife/.

595 In the majority of cases, however, the first wife accepts
●578 the new state of affairs. But her relationship with her rival remains notoriously bad. Abuse, hateful remarks about the stupidity, the low blood, or about certain physical characteristics of the other woman, are common expressions of her feelings. These she airs more to her female housemates, however, than to her spouse. Older women teach her that the latter is inadvisable. In one of the old lontar of the Prince of Goa there occurs the following rule which aptly characterizes
[682 the conditions /170/: "This is the rule concerning murder.
672] If we murder our co-wife, no matter where, and if we tell this to the people who come running to the scene, saying, 'I have killed my co-wife,' then there will be no revenge taken upon us." (1)

1. This translation was saved as part of the prewar manuscript. The lontar from

595 /170 cont./ which this rule was taken
578 could not be traced down, just as it was not possible to find the Makassarese text.

595 The two wives each has her own house. In 24 of the 27 polygamous marriages, the two houses were even in different kampongs. If it is said of a man that he owns two houses, this means that he has two wives. The wives live each in her own house together with their children and a single kinsman, leading their own lives. They never see each other. They are thought to ignore each other. When they go to pay visits, kinsmen take care that the one does not come where the other is. At festivals the second wife always yields to the first, but in actuality she always gets just as much of a chance to be present, even though it is just for a short period of time. In practice, the two women know everything about each other that can be regarded of any interest at all.
[521] Female "friends" tell the news, especially the bad news, that each wife wants to hear about the other. In the course of many years the sharpest edges are often worn off this relationship. The children of the one go to the house of the other with their father. An instance where the two women at a greater age visited each other from time to time remains an exception, however.

It is expected that the husband takes his first wife's feelings into consideration and that he will do nothing that could
[593 remind her of her rival. An old example is that a man must
576] put away the contents of his betel box before he comes to the
276] other wife, because filling this box is, all the way up to the highest social circles, a special task that a woman performs for her husband, so that a woman, upon seeing the fresh betel leaves, is immediately reminded of the other woman (2).

554 /211 cont./ Indonesian word malu.
571 An attempt at definition
[114 will be made below. For
196] the sake of clarity, however, I have left the term untranslated in a number of cases.

impaired and when another person knows this.

A man is inclined to regard immediately as outdoing any accidental event at an encounter, or a lucky word on his part, by which he raises himself above the other person, at least in his own eyes. The other, when he hears this, is also siri'.

The reaction may consist of a counterchallenge, a returned insult, by which the original challenger in his turn becomes siri'. It is never possible to determine precisely who "began." The mutual opposition is sometimes explained by an event from the past that is regarded as of great importance, for instance, a murder. But with that the question concerning the origin of the mutual opposition is merely put off.

There exists the possibility that the outdone person will [578] respond by stabbing. The consequence of outdoing can therefore never be foreseen. It remains charged with real danger. Many stabbing brawls in South Celebes are proof of that.

/212/ One of the most spectacular challenges is the theft 554 of cattle, horses, or buffalo. Its purpose is, in the first instance, 571 to show one's courage (kaporeanna); only in a few cases are 685 economic motives at the bottom of this. Sometimes a warning is uttered beforehand: "I am coming" (that is to say, "to [578] steal your buffalo"). Stealing cattle is done to find a reason for a brawl. A successful buffalo theft is considered a triumph and at the same time a challenge. A cattle theft at the expense of the prince is therefore a great insult.

588 /219 cont./ Along with the request for consent, the wali is frequently asked whether he wants to receive the sunrang. And his answer that he does not wish to receive the sunrang must be interpreted in the same way as his statement respecting the consent he is asked for: he desires to deny [578] every tie with the woman who has made him siri'. She should be dead; for him she does not exist. At the nikka' the wife therefore receives the sunrang herself. Later, at the reconciliation, the sunrang is then offered to her kinsmen after it has been freshly prepared. Thereby one maintains the fiction that only then does the ordinary marriage take place.

Independent of all rank and status, the amount of the [583] sunrang at the marriage of a woman who has fled is always 20 reals (1).

[183] 1. Of the total number of marriages (107) contracted over a period of time of one year (from January 7, 1948 to January 7, 1949) in Borongloe, there were 19 silariang marriages, or around 18 per cent. This percentage seems to be normal for Goa. In 1947, 1492 marriages were registered in the entire province of around 200,000 residents. Of these, 283 were silariang marriages. According to reports, the percentage [184] of silariang marriages is much higher in other districts, such as Djeneponto.

155 /240 cont./ *1. For the ideas followed
867 here, see A. Kardiner,
"The Individual and His
Society, fourth edition,
New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years
571 of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.
Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same
578 descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle,
[685] and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

we went to de Graaff's house for a conference. He called in the information man who was also in noble dress. He was old and lean and impressive. His name is Sulewatang Udjung. There were a few others including his son, Andi Pabara. They decided that the best kampong would be near Pampanua, but I said that that would be too far so they then decided on one on the border of Watampone, Bukaka. Andi was chosen as an assistant. There was much talk and the controleurs came in, Kollewijn and Thierens, both fine men and the Buginese should be glad they have them. M 124 [115]

I made long speeches in Dutch and Malay (how silly of me to have thought that I could use English here!) regarding the need in the United States of knowing more about Bone, United States customs, my project, and so forth. Everyone seemed well impressed. The Dutch acted very fine and spent all morning helping me. After much encouraging talk we went to the Arumpone the biggest "medicine" in South Celebes. He lives in a not too impressive house. There is no palace here. The Sulewatang said later that he formerly had the present house of the Assistant Resident. And that house was also not up to Standard Oil standards. The Arumpone's house has an equally large pavilion separated into two parts, in one of which sits the great aradjang and in the other the guests. The Arumpone talked quite a bit of American journalists, especially those who had visited Bone before dying in a plane crash in India. He showed me a photograph of himself taken with them. The Assistant Resident said later that the Arumpone said he was impressed by my speaking in Indonesian and had been critical of the journalists who come here and do "research" without any language facility. The Arumpone is a dignified fellow about fifty, wearing a uniform which looks somewhat like a general's, and a fine yellow songkok. He had two gold pens. He said he was going to Buton tomorrow, and seemed very proud. He said I must come again and take a photograph (that camera!). He is reputed to be a conservative. Also, he is not up to the blood of the deposed and exiled-to-Rantepao former arum. Later Thierens said to me that the Arumpone here lived in fear of intrigue, and that when one of the Aru Pitu [the seven princes of Bone] was around, he shuts up. Thierens also said that this was not too different from the intrigue against the arumpone in Bontorio. The present Arumpone is the head of the Hadat tinggi (House of Lords with veto power) in Makassar. This Hadat tinggi is for all of South Celebes (Sulawesi Selatan). The second man in the Hadat tinggi is the Gowa radja. I met the Tomarilalang, the M 123 565 M 565 292 578 C 565 634

the others did not. They said that relatively few, except 203
school children (they are always mentioned as exceptions) 186
could draw a map of Celebes, Indonesia, and the world. But 829
some of them have seen maps in the schools.

As for the population of Indonesia, the Kepala kampong could tell me nothing, but Andi and the teacher knew something about this. This was also true with most of the others, except for a few school children; that is, they do not know even approximate figures for Indonesia at large. As for the population of the world no one had any ideas. However, Andi knew that China was largest, and India next largest. They were impressed that Indonesia is the seventh largest country in population in the world. Later I found out that the Sulewatang has quite an extensive knowledge of international relations and of the world. And Andi knew the capitols of Ireland, Finland and other countries. As for local patriotism, Andi said there was no real 186
pride in Bone. They are not sombong [arrogant, conceited, 181
presumptuous], but have hormat [honor, respect, distinction]. And adat is everything. I asked about the big speeches of loyalty formerly made by chiefs going to war. I also asked, in this connection, about the jumping and kris waving. Andi said that this was just adat. He keeps on saying that there is nothing here except adat and that the people are backward. He seems disgusted at times. He said they simply do not progress, and seems to doubt that they ever will. As for rela- 578
tions with other villages and neighborhoods or areas, there is 721
exceedingly little. Formerly something along this line could be said about friendly or warlike relationships with Wadjo, Goa, and so forth. Nothing, however, is left of this. As for war, they can not carry on their former practices because the Dutch took their weapons.

Bukaka, September 8, 1949. Second day: The people here 157
know very little even about local historical events. This re- 114
minds me of Abdul Radjab, the Minangkabau, who is gathering local tales in Makale for Balai Pustaka. He was here once and said that he thought that he could get plenty of material in Wadjo, but after long talks with the important people who said it would be all right, he did not succeed in getting even one story. In the Toradja country, he got plenty, and even in Paloppo (but it is a part of Toradja). It is his idea, that the Buginese are helpless and hopeless. He said that a psychologist should study them. They are so bound up with fear and backwardness that there seems to be nothing here. He later took a bus for Tanette but it stopped at Balannipa which is twenty-five kilometers short. The driver said "all out", even though he and the others objected. However, the driver

and the five days circulate around them. Then, another 443
circle runs east into the Tanette Riatang wanua, where there 366
are four markets in different kampongs. That circle gears in with the big market at Watumpone too.

I asked whether the range of distance from which the people 489
come to market has increased with the use of buses. They 493
said that it probably had. They also mentioned bicycles as another easing factor in getting to the market place.

As for education, much discussion resulted. Andi in 871
particular seemed to be critical of the educational possibilities 434
here. He said they would like to progress, but were unable to. 464
They have only lower, and I think, middle schools in Watumpone. However, they are building another school now. Up to this month schools have been free, and the children have thronged to classes. But Andi said that now they expected a sharp drop. He said that if they charged even five cents a month it would be too much for many. (Later Thierens said that he doubted this and also that there was so little money in the kampong. He added that they could get jobs as coolies as there was a big demand for this type of labor. For example, they could work on roads at f.50 a month. The point seems to be, however, that they do not want to. He has a dim view of their energy, and perhaps he is right.) No one in the kampong has attended the University. Some have gone to middle school and many have attended lower school. Quite a few (?), relatively speaking, have gone to Makassar, and they must do so if they wish to get further education, for example, by going to normal school (except for the teachers school for the villages in Watumpone). Evidently, few, if any, go outside of Indonesia for education. There are Mohammedan schools in 871
the village. I asked about their support. They said that the 578
arus gave money from their own funds, and also got some contributions. They received no money from the Bone treasury. At this point they became irritated, saying that in South Celebes if schools are Christian they get a subsidy from the treasury, but this is not so if the schools are Mohammedan. (Maybe they meant that the government schools should be included too when they said, "why should not the religious (Mohammedan) schools get funds too, since this is a Mohammedan country?") Anyway, there is a great deal of feeling on this matter. Formerly there was much feeling against education, and there still is to some extent, especially by the lowers. But, increasingly, more and more want it. I told what I had heard about even the radjas not wanting their children to go to Makassar for more than a few years. They said that that was generally so, and Andi again said that Bone is quite backward.

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. 000
During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today. The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and [439]
import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is hardly worth speaking of.

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. For- 436
merly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C. [pro- 178
bably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East India Company)--Analyst]coins and also kepeng. Now they still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me.

As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including 177
four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were 489
three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. 493
There is much travel by bus today.

As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic 428
and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main 562
thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance 591
it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that 611
the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one. But the girls generally get the house. This is important because the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more property than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Nevertheless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he [578]
might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really excited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would fight, and even knife him.

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Minangkabau ODID Toradja OB11
Bali OF7 Makassar OB6
Borneo OC1

the individual body, health and the rules of magic in life, the possession of goods, the relationship to offspring and to married couples, belong practically everywhere to the life-circle of persons, which is protected against encroachment.

B. INDONESIAN TERMINOLOGIES

The various injuries have their own names—sometimes original names, in the case of a closely related group of actions, such as all sorts of theft, although the native names for delicts are very elastic in their meanings, such as "dago dagi" (Minangkabau), meaning disobedience toward those in adat authority, and "kagau gau" (Buginese), meaning to do something bad.

The fines for delicts are established in a specific relation to the offense, which cannot be further explained; for example, three plates for an ordinary insult, three plates and a pig for a serious insult, ten plates for insulting a chief (among the Lawangan Dyaks). This is one sample of the relation between the delict and fine taken at random from thousands of others, all as inexplicable as this.

The fines for delicts frequently show their magic character in their insistence in naming the goods which are owed by the delinquent (so many buffaloes, so many slaves, for instance) and then, without objection, allowing these goods actually to be replaced by objects of small monetary value or by a sum of money.

The fines for delicts have their specific designation in various law-areas, for example: "bosi sebelas kepala tajau" (West Borneo), a pot of the value of ten heads (kepala—head, in Malay) and twelve detached heads, which is the fine not for one sort of delict but for a group of various delicts (probably equal in degree). The Toraja distinguish between offenses committed with the mouth, for which the fine is based on payment in chickens; offenses committed with the hand, for which the fine is based on the value of goats; offenses committed with the whole body, where the fine is based on payment of buffaloes. According to the seriousness of the offense, the actual fine for delict consists, for instance, of a chicken with three things in addition, or of a buffalo with five things added to it, etc. In the Balinese desa, many offenses are punished by a money fine. Thus each law-area has its specific delict and reaction pattern. It seems to be a general characteristic that in cases of theft (and other offenses against property) the fine consists of a payment of twice or several times the value of the stolen property.

175 /130 cont./ In the period after 1905, when complaints
177 registered with the officials of the Inland Administration were
648 acted upon, the leaders of such groups, even those of high
669 nobility, were increasingly restricted in their movements. It became apparent that they were not safe before the administration officials if someone had registered a complaint about them. Very slowly, often unconsciously, the realization must have dawned upon them, that they had to choose between submission to the rules of the new order, which the government upheld, and resistance against this same government.

175 The activities of those who chose resistance became
648 increasingly more distinct from those of the first mentioned.
669 Those who continued to resist were forced to withdraw gradually with their followers into districts beyond easy access until they were finally taken prisoner or killed, after having been forced completely into the defensive and having been labeled bandit chieftain or gang leader. Such was the end of men like daëng Pabarang in the western part of Bone around 1910, and like Tolo (1) in Polombangkeng /131/ in 1915.

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● 579
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1. "In the second quarter of the year mentioned (1915), the number of robberies increased disquietingly through the appearance of a number of notorious gang leaders in the former province of Goa. Among these leaders there belong Tolo and his dreaded lieutenants, Basareng, Baso Patjiro Daëng Mapata, (constituting part of the Goa royal family) Radjamang,

175 /131 cont./ Djappa, Bakka (the two
177 last mentioned had been
579 armed police servants and
565 instructors in the use of
firearms), and Abbassa
Daëng Manromo Karaëng
Biladji, stepbrother of Goa's
previous prince. In a
comparatively small region,
these persons committed no
less than 130 lootings over
a period of a few months.
The brutalities frequently
committed by them in
broad daylight were
indescribable since they
were convinced that,
even if they were recognized,
nobody would dare betray
them. The native heads,
including many regents, paid
them royal respects, presented
them with horses, and
organized feasts at their
arrival for which buffaloes
and horses were slaughtered.
In many districts a system
of contributions, a tax,
was even introduced which
safeguarded the payer against
inconvenience." Eerdmans,
p. 1078.

175 They had become figures who no longer fitted into a social
177 system that was based on the ideas of peace and order, legal
security, and personal safety, upheld by the government (1).

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1. Through a series of special

527 /148 cont./ dressed in red jackets, nicely made-up, and
571 decked with jewelry, pounding with precise movements, eyes cast down. After some time they are replaced. Under the surveillance of a couple of older women, four others descend from the house and take over the pounders while the first team again goes up, always with an escort and with eyes cast down. From behind the barred windows of the front rooms -- on this occasion the entire house is the domain of the women -- they peep outside when in the half-light of the yard the men walk around, sit, talk, and smoke (1).

[273]

1. Little drinking is done. If there is rice wine (ballo'ase) present, the number of bottles is limited. Only the higher guests receive a bottle and share some of this with the others. Serious drunkenness does not occur. Makassarese who drink ballo' proceed to tell taller and taller tales and become increasingly provocative in their remarks. At such times they avoid the company of a higher person.

[554]

527 It is reported that formerly a group of young men from
579 another kampong, attracted by the provocative sounds, would
177 once in awhile make an attack and try to run away with one
571 of the young girls. This would then give rise to a general brawl. The young men of the house group would then defend their young sisters and cousins against an attack from outside. Nowadays such a thing no longer occurs. The festival has become a comparatively dull display since fighting and

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

554 /211 cont./ Indonesian word malu. An attempt at definition will be made below. For the sake of clarity, however, I have left the term untranslated in a number of cases.
571
[114
196]

impaired and when another person knows this.

A man is inclined to regard immediately as outdoing any accidental event at an encounter, or a lucky word on his part, by which he raises himself above the other person, at least in his own eyes. The other, when he hears this, is also siri'.

The reaction may consist of a counterchallenge, a returned insult, by which the original challenger in his turn becomes siri'. It is never possible to determine precisely who "began." The mutual opposition is sometimes explained by an event from the past that is regarded as of great importance, for instance, a murder. But with that the question concerning the origin of the mutual opposition is merely put off.

There exists the possibility that the outdone person will [578] respond by stabbing. The consequence of outdoing can therefore never be foreseen. It remains charged with real danger. Many stabbing brawls in South Celebes are proof of that.

/212/ One of the most spectacular challenges is the theft
554 of cattle, horses, or buffalo. Its purpose is, in the first instance,
571 to show one's courage (kaporeanna); only in a few cases are
685 economic motives at the bottom of this. Sometimes a warning is uttered beforehand: "I am coming" (that is to say, "to
[578] steal your buffalo"). Stealing cattle is done to find a reason for a brawl. A successful buffalo theft is considered a triumph and at the same time a challenge. A cattle theft at the expense of the prince is therefore a great insult.

114 /82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from
174 an exogamous kinship grouping.
565 The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articulation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came into existence, is not clear.

128 The connection established by Friedericy between class and kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As
565 much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used
554

2. F. van Heek, op. cit., p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing" /aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be feasible.

182 It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes
554 signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage
582 is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment. Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two elements which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

554 The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's
[581] children because this establishes the standing gained by one personally, within the bounds set by descent.

557 /83 cont./ A certain equality of marriage partners is
581 assumed. One who has gone up in standing through personal qualities and who on the basis of this is able to marry off one of his children to a member of a group that is actually regarded as a little higher has attained the highest goal. It becomes apparent to everyone that through this marriage he has risen in standing. The standing that he has thus built up is, as it were, fixed by this circumstance. In a later social evaluation of his children, his achievement is used as a basis of judgment. His kinsmen honor in him the man who has raised the standing of their group, for as kinsmen they are, and remain in principle, his equals and thus rise with him. Compared with other
[585] festivals of the Makassarese, wedding feasts are the most valuable in view of the economic capacity of the group. More than any others, they are the gauge of social standing.

584 The choice of a marriage partner is an affair which cannot
557 be left to the young people themselves. It is a matter for the elders and, preferably, the prominent elders of the group of relatives. They look for what they consider the best solution; they weigh and balance the possibilities, and through their collaboration the marriages finally come about. In all this, a certain marriage policy is apparent.

557 In the marriage policy of the elders, two opposing
581 tendencies are to be found. On the one hand, there exists the striving for a closely cohesive related group whose members
612 marry each other as much as is possible. On the other hand, there is the striving to establish relations with members of other groups of relatives, preferably those who rank just a little higher. A successful policy is achieved by the person who is able to realize his aim in both directions and who, at the same time, /84/ is able to bring about harmony between the two. Those who constitute the average in the group of relatives as regards their social standing, soon satisfy themselves with the first-mentioned aim. The prominent members of the group tend, rather, to direct their interests outside their own group.

557 /84 cont./ The marriage policy of the elders is, therefore,
581 to be regarded as a part of their striving toward raising the
612 standing of the group. As an example we shall here give the policy conducted by the adat community head of Borongloë in bringing about the seven marriages of his children solemnized between 1938 and 1948. The marriage policy is never formulated in this form. Those who conduct it are not conscious of it. They merely do what seems best to them in given circumstances.

The adat community head himself was married to a daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community, situated outside the kingdom of Goa. His eldest son was the first to be married, to a girl from this group of relatives, a sixth-degree cousin. The already existing tie with his wife's kin group was thereby strengthened.

His second son was married to the daughter of a well-known tradesman, a hadji, from Macassar, a business contact and at the same time an old friend with whom he had made an agreement at an early age to have their children marry later. When this marriage appeared to be rather unsuccessful after a number of years, it was dissolved. A new marriage was subsequently contracted with the daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community. In this case a member of the Self-government of Goa gave his cooperation.

The third son, who was employed as a provincial official in Buginese country, married there after his own choice. Such an alternative will be described later.

The fourth, as a favor to his father, had been taken, as a young man into his house by a member of the Self-government of the kingdom of Goa, who had subsequently arranged a marriage with the daughter of one of his other favorites, a wealthy Buginese merchant. The father had, in effect, given this son to the member of the Goa Self-government. He had no further influence on the latter's choice of a marriage partner.

557 /84 cont./ The fifth child, a girl, married her eighth-
581 /85/ degree cousin, a grandson of the old Imam of Borongloë.
612 In so doing, the kin-group tie with the first religious official of the adat community was established on a firmer basis.

The members of the adat community head's widespread group of relatives reside in almost three kampong territories. The sixth child, again a son, married the daughter of the head of one of these kampongs. In this case the adat community head and the kampong head were first cousins.

Finally, the seventh child, a girl, married one of her sixth-degree cousins residing in one of these other kampongs.

584 On the basis of this example, a number of comments can
612 be made.

1. The adat community head, the father, was in this case the central figure who brought about the various marriages of his children. But this is not necessarily always so. If one witnesses several weddings successively in various houses of the same kampong and in one and the same related group, one will be struck by the fact that in each case the same elders are instrumental in arranging all details of the ceremonies. The parent concerned is consulted, but the actual leadership is in the hands of others. The same seems to be the case, if one investigates who brought the marriage partners together. The matter, to be sure, is discussed with the children's own parents, but it is of such importance to the related group that it cannot simply be left to them. If they make suggestions, these are taken into account. If they come to talk, they are given advice. But if they do nothing, other prominent members of the group take the initiative.

584 2. Just as the marriage of the fourth son was organized,
565 regulated, and paid for by a member of the high nobility, the adat community head in his turn likewise brought about a large number of marriages of his subordinates in the course of the years, sometimes after they had made their preference apparent to him, sometimes on his own initiative (1).

554 /92 cont. / leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status, or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
554 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of
578 this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage
602 candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang,
557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
602

582 /94 cont./ last-mentioned case, we may speak of a drop in
602 standing, even though the sunrang is maintained at its former level. If there are individuals who have become separated from a well-integrated related group, this means that they were quite unsuccessful in their striving to rise; if they had been successful, the other members of the group would have endeavored to bring about a marriage with one of them, since success attracts kinsmen as well as non-kinsmen.

Vertical Mobility of Individuals

554 The level of an individual is determined by his descent
562 as well as by his personal qualities. It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall. Striving to rise is not a primary requirement for women.

554 A man is able to increase his standing through personal
581 qualities. The acquired standing may be consolidated in a marriage. The outcome of all striving is, with a single exception, marriage with a woman of approximately equally high position.

554 The marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly
565 forbidden. The only case in which it is directly apparent that
582 the woman is higher than the man is a marriage of a woman of the nobility to a man who is not of the nobility. The qualities in which a man must excel in order to be able to contract such a marriage are clearly stipulated.

Such qualities are given as learnedness, courage, and wealth. It is told of Sjech Jusupu, a highly venerated saint in South Celebes whose grave is always visited by crowds of people and whose life history people like to recite, that he, as an already recognized sage /95/, asked for the hand of the daughter of the Prince of Goa. The Prince would gladly have consented to this, but the members of the Royal Council (Hadat) of Goa,

554 /95 cont./ were against it. They only yielded when the
565 Prince drew their attention to the fact that in the old lontar
582 the three above-mentioned qualities are already named as qualifications for a man to be permitted to marry a higher woman.

In the few historical writings that I was able to consult, I did not find examples of war lords who were able to contract marriage with a higher woman on the basis of successes gained in battle.

The present-day generation is acquainted with the case of a wealthy merchant from Macassar, a hadji, who married one of the female followers of the Queen of Goa. This man was a favorite of the Prince, who followed his advice in many cases. He therefore owed his rise in standing entirely to personal qualities. In addition, the case is well known of a young man born in an ordinary kin group but employed as a tax official and very influential at the same time, who married a daughter of one of the adat community heads. The sunrang in these cases remained the same as the one that had
[583 been paid for the mother and sisters, but an exceptionally
585] large amount was asked for, and paid, to cover the expenses of the feast. This is called the buying of blood (ammalli tjera').

In these very rare cases, the difference in descent be-
554 tween man and wife, according to general opinion, was great.
581 But even in the more or less regularly occurring cases where
582 these differences are small, learnedness, wealth, and courage are of importance. An imam or a revered guru ngadji (1),

1. One who instructs children in the reading of the Koran.

may contract a marriage, or he can cause his son to contract one, of a type which a brother who remained an ordinary kampong

554 /95 cont./ resident would have no chance of contracting.
581 In one of the fights that arose in Goa in 1946, a man saved a
582 number of his wife's kinsmen by his courageous behavior.
His wife should not have been allowed to marry him, because
[626] she was higher than he, and for that reason her kin group had
declared her dead (2). As a result of his bravery, the wife's

2. See Chapter III, third part.

kin group was persuaded /96/ to agree to a reconciliation. In cases where the differences in social level are small, there may be hesitation as to whether the man and woman should marry. If both parties are agreed, and the marriage is brought about, it is not possible for an outsider to disapprove. It is believed that the reasons leading to the marriage could not be evaluated (1).

1. A discussion of the cases in which there is a difference of opinion, will be found in Chapter III, third part.

554 Children from such a marriage, even where the difference
565 in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded
562 officially as equals in their mother's group of relatives,
582 because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not
fall /in social standing/. Daughters marry by preference in their mother's group; with respect to the sons there is some hesitancy. Factual data are lacking. I was unable to discover any terms used to designate these children (analagous to ana' tjera').

In cases of marriages between a man and a lower woman, only those where the difference in level is great deserve mention, for marriages in which the man is a little higher than his wife are normal marriages. They should not be distinguished

/139/

Chapter III

Sex

593 In the chapter concerning kinship, the relationships of the members of the family among each other were treated separately. The relationship of brother to sister occupied a special place in this connection.

Their separation implies that their interests lie in different areas, that is to say, that both their activities as well as the places where they reside are different. These differences also form the pattern for the relationship between men and women in general.

562 The vertical tendency described in the previous chapter demands of the men that they be in a constant relation of opposition to other men. The violent actions and responses [831] that are expected of them go hand in hand with ideas about great sexual potency, which is ascribed to them. The high [157] demands made of men coincide with anxieties about not being able to fulfill these demands. A sense of inadequacy can be observed repeatedly.

157 In the first part of this chapter, modes of conduct, attitudes, and personality norms of the two sexes will be 562 described. After that, a number of inadequacy phenomena will be discussed. Prostitution as an expression of maladjustment on the part of women, and polygamy as an actualization of the vertical tendency by a man with exceptional personal qualities, will be briefly mentioned at the end.

581 In the previous chapter we referred to the central position which marriage occupies in Makassarese society. In the choice of marriage partners, the older people apply standards of selection based upon kinship, status, and personal qualities. They intend to bring about a normal sexual union between man and wife. The description of the marriage

581 /139 cont./ feast, in which this purpose finds expression, and the difficulties which crop up on this occasion are the topic of the second part.

558 /140/ As a companion phenomenon, the vertical
562 tendency includes the sense of siri', that is, the sense of going down in social standing in relation to someone else. The fact that a woman must not go down in standing means that the slightest impairment of her social standing arouses the most violent reactions. There are various ways of escaping such a reaction. Marriage by flight is an example. It will be discussed extensively, among other things, in the third part of this chapter because it forms a spectacular phenomenon in Makassarese society, one that constantly leads to difficulties in the practice of administration and jurisdiction.

First Part

852 Immediately at birth a difference is made in the ritual between a boy and a girl. The parappo, the essence of the offering to be presented, differs with respect to the number of betel leaves of which it consists, depending on whether it is intended for a boy (6) or for a girl (7). Children play
857 together up to the age of eight to ten years. Informants
855 said that girls were always treated more gently than boys, for instance, that they were not beaten.

857 Not until the age of six years, so far as I was able to observe, were little boys taught that they are not allowed
867 other things than girls /sic/. Boys of that age accompany their father to the pasar; girls stay at home. Boys are sent away when young girls (tau lolo) are getting dressed and making themselves up. When little girls are naughty, they are threatened with: "I'll make you sit with the boys." Boys are not threatened with having to sit with the girls. They would find it momentarily unpleasant, so I was told, but they are freer in their movements and would therefore

589 /161 cont./ In the 1930 census report, the suggestion is
114 made with respect to the "East of the Archipelago," "that the continued unmarried state of a woman in the native society is regarded as more or less undesirable or dishonorable" (3). I

3. Volkstelling 1930,
Part 5, p. 66.

have been unable to find a single indication in South Celebes pointing to the correctness of this last qualification. For the
581 woman concerned it is regarded as "undesirable" that she does
589 not marry. It is believed that only through marriage does one become a "complete person." Attempting to bring about someone's marriage signifies that one means well for this person. But one prefers to see a young woman unmarried rather than to see her marry a man who is not regarded as suitable.
[554] Suitability is judged almost entirely on the basis of his social standing.

By the same token people prefer to see their son unmarried than to see him contract a marriage contrary to parental wishes. Not to marry may be undesirable for an individual, but it is always regarded more highly than to marry an undesirable partner.

114 "Among the Makassarese," the report goes on (4), "who
583
589

4. Ibid., p. 67.

565 have strict difference between the social classes, the number of unmarried women /162/ among the higher classes is great because there the bride price and the "balandja" (the expenses of the wedding feast) are so high." Now this "bride price" among the kinsmen of the Prince of Goa amounts to 28 reals or 56. -- guldens, and that of the small man to 20 reals or 40. -- guldens. The difference of 16. -- guldens does not

589 /163 cont./ Today, just as fifteen to twenty years ago, a comparatively large number of men and women remain unmarried. The above-mentioned reasons may be of influence upon the number of those who remain unmarried during a certain period of time and in a certain group. An explanation of the same phenomenon during this period in the lower classes must be attempted separately.

●581 Marriage seemed to be one of the most important events in the related group. The older people who bring about the marriages unconsciously apply a criterion of selection in the choice of those they are bringing together in marriage. The young man of whom they expect that he will contribute to the standing of their group has preference. This must be someone, therefore, who is always prepared to outdo others /164/ and to guard against the impairment of his own standing. Outdoing
156 other men and the conquest of women are two matters which in
584 the Makassarese conception go together in a man. The young men who possess these qualities to a strong degree frequently take the initiative toward marriage themselves, however limited the opportunities for this may be. Furthermore, there is a large number of men who do not get to take the initiative and begin to refuse when their marriage is announced to them, but who in the end let themselves be persuaded. There are those who externally let themselves be persuaded but who continue to refuse sexual union and in so doing cause the marriage to fail (1).

1. See below, pp. 273ff.

156 Finally, there are a number of men who refuse to marry and upon whom the parents exert little further pressure. These
589 are the ones of whom it is believed that they would contribute little to the standing of the related group. Their fear of being inadequate in sexual relations with their wife, just as they are

156 /164 cont./ inadequate in their social relations with other
589 men, could be the reason for their refusal to marry. The fact that the older people do not consider these individuals capable of contributing to the standing of the group could be the reason why they are satisfied with their refusal.

[584] No initiative toward marriage of any kind may ever proceed from a woman. The docile, withdrawn girls are set up as an example. I believe, but would like to see this confirmed by further investigation, that among the unmarried women these docile types are still the most frequent. The more aggressive personalities who possess to a lesser degree the qualities most valued in this society seem to marry sooner. An old woman explained why a particular girl had been allowed to marry by reasoning that otherwise one might have difficulties with her later. By this, the old woman most probably was thinking of the possibility of siri' problems arising. The fact that these characters marry, while docile individuals frequently remain unmarried, points to the fact that the older people in their selections follow the path of least resistance. The types from whom the most difficulties are to be expected have a better chance of marrying.

[581] The men with the personal qualities that are most /165/ appreciated and the women with the personal qualities that are least appreciated have the best chances of marrying.

565 It is believed that the karaeng always possess a high de-
156 gree of the personal qualities appreciated in a man. Their
581 opportunities to marry are greater than those of an ordinary man; a marriage to a lower woman is a frequent phenomenon. Figures dealing with the unmarried in this group are not available, however.

The Koro Phenomenon

826 Koro is the Makassarese name for the disease symptom in
158 which a man believes that his penis is shrinking and will turn

595 /168 cont./ In view of the fact that according to Moslem law the conclusion of a second marriage is just as simple as the first, there must be other reasons why so few polygamous men were registered in this region. Such a reason is, in the first place, the opposition of the first wife.

One of the worst things that can happen to a woman is [581] that her husband takes a second wife. One of the wishes for [558] a newly married couple is the hope that they will grow old together. It was said of a childless old couple who had been together all their lives that this was proof that they were happy together, and it was regarded as a cause for rejoicing and an example for the younger generation. In the "little [585] games" /169/ that take place during the wedding festival, the woman must win. This reflects the wish that later she [593] will also have the upper hand in her relationship with her husband. And in answer to the question what this referred to mostly, it was stated that one thought of the provision of the necessities for daily meals and the taking of a second wife.

The reaction of the first wife is very violent. She declared that she would rather be cast out than suffer a co-wife (maru) by her side. She leaves the house without the knowledge of her husband -- which under normal circumstances would weigh heavily against her -- and returns to her parents, preferably with her children. In such a case there is no intention of leaving the man permanently. A statement by one of these women leaves no room for doubt about that. When she heard that her husband had contracted a second marriage, she did not leave for the distant kampong of her parents until she had made the vow: "If I come back here, I shall sacrifice a hen to you (ancestors)." In such a case it is possible for the woman to return only if her husband comes to implore her to do so. Her desire to come back prevailed. Sometimes, especially if the second marriage comes about through silariang, her negative attitude is successful. In one [586] case the man went to visit his second wife less and less. The

595 606 607 /171 cont./ The latter feel responsible for the successful course of affairs in his first marriage, and accordingly they have an attitude of disapproval toward a second marriage, since a lasting monogamous marriage is, after all, regarded as one of [581] the ideals of a successful marriage. When a second marriage has come about through silariang, they show their disapproval and frequently support the first wife. They yield only if the man appears to have enough authority to prepare and to carry [554] out his second marriage independently with his "own people." That is to say, he has a house built for his second wife, or else he buys one; and secondly, he is able to organize a wedding festival on his own, even if it is a small feast. If a man enjoys that much standing and if he possesses that much organizational talent, then his relatives are not merely content [557] with this second marriage. On the contrary, then they even prize him because the festive celebration of a second marriage is a sign of his personal standing by which his kinsmen also rise in standing. /172/

In such a case, therefore, the first spouse can expect little support from his relatives, and only consolation from her own closest kinsmen. The latter merely try to minimize the importance of this event, which is sad for her personally, and to make her accept it as well as possible. There is no question of any moral disapproval of the man's action. Such is the situation in the adat community of Borongloë.

565 595 In the karaëng related group, more second marriages are contracted, especially with women of lower blood. These men have less resistance to overcome. In the kampongs of the ordinary man everyone wages his struggle to gain more standing, and thus for a good marriage for his children. In general, common people do not like to have a girl marry a man who is already married. But if the difference in blood is generally recognized, as it is between a karaëng and a girl [557] from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in

standing.

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;

[589] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should [581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will be come apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse 581 only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For 833 a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

[155] With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those [156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

585 /195 cont./ is not the issue, but rather the tactfulness in
833 getting the wife to perform the sexual act. They had thus satisfied the wishes of those around them. Their masculine pride
[156] was flattered because they had shown that they were good conquerors of women. This characteristic is particularly prized in Makassarese. A woman always shows herself averse to a man, even to her husband. It is the latter's art to win her for himself through a pleasant outward appearance, a well-chosen word, a strategic touch, and very little physical force. That is how the ladies' man Sawerigading (1) does it.

1. See R. A. Kern, I La Galigo, p. 333.

The art of conquering women that Sawerigading possessed to the highest degree is at most held up as an ideal to the young Makassarese. Even before the wedding ceremony takes
581 place according to Moslem rite, one of the older women con-
593 ducts a number of conversations with the bridegroom. She talks,
521 and the young man listens. She tells him that it will be difficult for him to make his wife happy, but that his happiness in his future life will be dependent upon this. She also tells him that he must not be rough with her. She asks him whether he knows what he must say to his wife later on and whether he knows what to answer when she asks him something. She tells him what questions he can expect and what his answers should be to them. They do not like to talk about this. I could only obtain a single example of this. "Where do you place me?" (Keremaë nupatinro) was given as an example of such a question, and the answer was supposed to be: "I place you above me" (Irateangkuko) (2).

2. It is possible that the only informant who drew my attention to these questions

521 /195 cont./ and answers owed them to
●581 tarekat influence, and that
593 therefore they are not in general use. Elsewhere, people denied knowledge of their existence. Nevertheless, a report of these questions and answers seems to be in place here.

521 Such a conversation between older woman and bridegroom
585 bears an intimate character; it is regarded as of great importance for the future /196/ life of the bridegroom. The older one must have the confidence of the younger. The bride learns the questions and answers from one of her kinsmen, suitable for this instruction, and if the man and woman concerned are not related to each other, the older people establish contact concerning this matter in order to be sure that enough of a connection exists between the questions and the answers.

This conversation conducted in whispers between older and younger persons is not so intimate that an older man might not interrupt it with the question, "Are you being examined?" And there is general laughter. All the older people know what
[831] the two are discussing there. The instruction given to the young man is not so serious that an obscene remark could not be interjected.

585 Frequently as soon as the evening following the nikka',
833 when the guests have already returned to their houses, the bridegroom is taken by the older aunt to the partitioned-off shed where his bride is. The old women are still awake at this time. Some of them urge him to enter. They call him "my cock." Others try to hold him back from it, but this is mere make-believe. In so doing they are holding on to the idea that they must protect the young girl, as is the case in

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
●581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely, there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal,
562 and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

[567]
612 /20 cont./ households are the only non-kinsmen who live in
621 their kampong territory. /21/ In each case, therefore, one encounters two more or less strongly integrated groups of relatives per territory, with, in addition, a nonintegrated Rest group regarded as small and insignificant.

612 Furthermore, it appeared that members of one and the same related group lived scattered all over South Celebes. In this respect, too, there is therefore no question of unity between a related group and its territory. The reason for this is evident. For this it is first necessary to show how a related group should be conceived.

The territorial division taken as a starting point in the investigation described above has the advantage of making a sharp demarcation possible, namely a division between houses inside and outside the kampong border. The related group as a genealogical unit lacks these sharply defined boundaries. An individual frequently belongs to more than one group of relatives, and people who are closely related to each other, first cousins, for instance, thus often belong not only to a common kin group, but also to mutually distinct ones. This is a direct consequence of the fact that marriages are regularly contracted between people who are not of the same kin group.

582 A child resulting from such a marriage may contract an
611 endogamous marriage either in his father's group of relatives
612 or in that of his mother, because through his father he belongs to the latter's related group, and through his mother to hers. And where father and mother in their turn were born to a man and wife who were not related to each other, the same child can contract an endogamous marriage in any one of the four different groups of relatives of the four grandparents. After all, he belongs to four different groups of relatives.

612 It is clear that a division of the Makassarese into sharply distinguished groups of relatives is fully imaginary.. Each individual belongs to more than one group of relatives and would therefore also have to be apportioned to more than one such

612 /21 cont./ group. An individual has the choice, in such a case, as to which group of relatives he wants to join, and where he wants to live and work. The genealogical /22/ tie with the other group(s) remains in existence. Knowledge of this tends to disappear after one or a few generations.

574 602 It should not be expected that one would know all one's kinsmen who live in regions remote from each other. By paying visits and extended stays, the younger generation becomes acquainted with kinsmen residing in various districts. The older ones observe them through this; their character is gauged and their marriage opportunities are discussed. It depends upon the impression made by them whether they will be more or less welcome guests at a later visit.

602 It depends upon an individual himself whether in later years he will keep up the ties established in this way. Thus, while one Makassarese, questioned about kinsmen living elsewhere, is able to refer to merely one or two districts where these are supposed to live, another one, conscious of the fact that the possession of many connections increases his social standing, declares that he has kinsmen everywhere and seems to be able to cite many names of kampongs.

Endogamy

582 612 The statement that the related group is endogamous means that a great number of marriages are by preference contracted with a kinsman, and a small number with members of other groups of relatives. The figures given below are taken from a Kapala related group, that is to say, from a segment of this group living, and therefore registered, in Bontoramba.

Of the 89 married couples belonging to the segment of the Kapala group residing in Bontoramba, man and wife are related to each other in 79 cases, and in 10 they are not (1).

1. I am following the system of degree of relationship according

582
612

/22 cont./ to which the parent-child relationship counts as one degree; brothers are therefore related in the second degree, and cousins /neven, French cousin/ in the fourth degree, and so on.

582
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If one pursues the reasons why these 10 married outside their related group, it appears that in 5 cases the marriage occurred after the couple had carried out silariang (2). In

2. A marriage by flight. For details of this, see Chapter III, third part.

this case the individuals concerned do not pay any attention to the existence of kin group ties. In the 5 other cases, the reason always given was that the strangers belonged to groups of relatives with which /23/ the older generation who brought about the marriages gladly entered into marriage ties in view of their social standing.

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582

In 2 of these 5 cases, a female member of the related group married a stranger. In the other 3 cases, a man married a girl from outside. In the chapter on status we shall return to the marriage policy carried out by the older people. At present it is only necessary to point out that no special preference to marry either a boy or a girl outside the related group can be indicated, but rather that closer attention is paid with a girl than with a boy that she does not marry someone who is regarded to be even a trifle below her in standing.

582

The statement that the related group is endogamous signifies, therefore, that marriages are by preference contracted between kinsmen, but it says nothing further concerning the kinship connections which are regarded as important in this

582 /23 cont./ case. Upon analysis of these connections, there appears a clear preference for marriages with members of the same generation, and among these the most important place is occupied respectively by those between sampopinruang (sixth-degree male and female cousins) and by those between sampopintallung (eighth-degree male and female cousins).

Expressed in figures, this means that of the 69 ordinary, or festive, marriages (1) contracted between members of the

1. The total number of 89 must be reduced not only by 10 non-endogamous but also by 10 silariang marriages. A marriage is brought about either in a festive way or by way of silariang. In this latter case there is no question of a reasoned-out choice.

related group, in 60 cases the marriage partners were members of the same generation, and in 9 cases they were not. Of these 60 marriages, 8 were contracted between samposikali [601] (children of brothers or/and sisters; thus male and female cousins in the fourth degree), 30 between sampopinruang (children of samposikali, thus sixth-degree male and female cousins), and 22 between sampopintallung (children of sampopinruang, thus eighth-degree male and female cousins).

In the 9 marriages contracted between kinsmen of a different generation, the age difference of the spouses, with one exception, was no greater than that between members of the same generation. In the case of these marriages, a certain preference is to be noted for the marriage of a man to a woman of a lower /24/ generation over that of a man to a woman of a higher generation.

Marriages between children of brothers, between children of sisters, or between children of a brother and sister, are

582 /24 cont./ likewise contracted without any definite preference for one of these marriages being apparent.

582 602 Knowledge of kinship relationships does not go beyond the eighth- and ninth-degree kinsmen. Relatives further removed are "distant" (bella). If in rare cases people speak of a marriage between sampopingappa (tenth-degree male and female cousins; children of sampopintallung), one will probably hear the opinion expressed that this is an undesirable marriage. Others, however, do not seem to be aware of this.

Among the marriages contracted between sampopintallung (eighth-degree kinsmen), there probably also exist marriages of sampopingappa (tenth degree) or of kamanakang sampopintallung (ninth degree, thus, not members of the same generation). In such cases people are not certain any more about the exact relationships. Statements contradict each other, and in such cases of uncertainty there is a tendency to settle on that kin relationship which one regards as the proper and normal one for a marriage between kinsmen as the correct one.

The most common marriage is, therefore, the marriage between sampopinruang and sampopintallung (respectively, sixth- and eighth-degree male and female cousins) who at the same time are members of the same generation. Of all other marriages it is said that they are unfavorable or unlucky, or [565] else that they are forbidden. In the nobiliary related group there is a tendency to shift to samposikali and sampopinruang (the fourth- and sixth-degree male and female cousins respectively).

593 The Family

Two functions of the family /gezin/ will be discussed here.

The father officially occupies a predominant place in the family. The relationship to his sons is based upon the notion that he is in command and that it is impolite to contradict him (1). /25/ A son is supposed to know what is fitting, by

835 /34 cont./ frequently than those between members of the same family. Such relationships are sometimes also regarded as incest (salimara'). Irrespective of kinship relationship /sic/ these /sexual/ relationships are always considered especially reprehensible.

[583 588] In a case where a man fled with his wife's niece (kamanakang), this was the reason that the reconciliation, otherwise customary after a flight, could not be brought about (1).

1. Compare Chapter III, third part. See pp. ff.

582 835 A marriage between children of the first marriage of a widower and a widow who later married so that their children came to belong to one household was forbidden in rural areas. In Macassar such a marriage was contracted. The person performing the marriage ceremony took the point of view that no objections were to be found against such a marriage under Moslem law.

835 Relations of a man with his brother's daughter or sister's daughter, or with his father's sister or mother's sister, is regarded as salimara'. The native courts punish these cases [684] with banishment for the same number of years as was cited above with respect to relations between a father and daughter. The first mentioned, that between a man with a woman of a lower generation, occurs much more frequently than the last named, that with a woman of a higher generation. The reason for this difference in frequency is said to be /35/ that a young girl has greater difficulty in resisting her uncle than a woman with regard to her nephew. From this it may again be concluded that the common opinion is that the evil initiative toward sexual contact proceeds from the man. [538] Myths or other stories concerning such relationships are unknown to me. According to rumors, such relationships did

592 /39 cont./ cases without children, or only a few as yet. Furthermore, such houses are occupied by a widow whose husband died before the reconciliation necessary after a marriage by flight and by a number of other such cases.
512 There exists a clear preference for kinsmen living together
602 in one house, and an aversion to non-kinsmen living together.
609 In the latter case there soon develops a relationship of followers (2), and that is disliked by those who realize that they will

2. See pp. 52 ff.

be in a lower place. Lonely parents who in a large related group would have been taken into the house of a nephew or niece now continue to live by themselves. They, together with the couples who fled and married, reduce the mean population per house.

The number of endogamous marriages appears to be higher
582 in the Kapala group than in the Rest group. In the Kapala
602 group, 79 endogamous marriages were registered (around 89 per cent) as against 10 marriages with strangers (around 11 per cent). In the Rest group these figures were: 15 endogamous marriages (around 45 per cent) as against 13 marriages with strangers (around 46 per cent).

612 It was noted that the Kapala group was better provided
556 with rice blocks, weaving looms, and plows. The first and last-mentioned objects are directly connected with the sawah area. The average sawah property of the Kapala group members is greater than that of the Rest group members (3).

3. See p. 52.

These figures, however, for the moment prove no more than that the members of the Kapala group have more goods than those of the Rest group.

Compared with the Rest group, therefore, we see the Kapala group as the more cohesive and wealthier one, in which

563 /59 cont./ Many young colonists return to the homeland
582 in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

In addition the small percentage of silariang marriages
563 is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible
583 to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find silariang so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of silariang marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on
342 lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong
563 residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the
184 Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the com-
186 mon language constitutes a unifying element for these
563 colonists.
621

The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

1:Chabot--80 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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	Total Number of Registered Houses	Total Number of Individuals	Men	Women	Festive Marriages	Silariang Marriages	Married Couple Related to Each Other	Married Couple Not Related to Each Other	Average Number of Individuals per House	Place of Origin	
										Galesong	7
Kape	25	133	80	53	27	1	19	9	5 1/3	Lebakkang	10
										Pangkadjene	4
										Maros	4
Langa	28	165	85	80	22	7	26	3	5.9	Galesong	28
										Lebakkang	9
										Segeri	2
Paria	15	80	34	46	16	1	8	9	5 1/3	Pangkadjene	1
										Maros	2
										Djeneponto	1
Total 1949	68	378	199	179	65	9	53	21	5.56		
Bontoramba 1948	129	787	382	405	105	27	104	28	6.1		

565 /78 cont./ the other groups, and that it has the power to enforce this prohibition /79/ The special characteristics of the nobility serve as class prerogatives.

Among the lower /people/, this rarely gives rise to difficulties because in the majority of cases no one values the idea of taking over a special characteristic from just any other group.

565 582 The noble groups of relatives which live in the respective provinces are, like the nonnoble ones, not completely endogamous. Marriages between members of these groups who therefore live in two or more different provinces occur regularly. In this respect the noble related group acts like the lower ones.

114 565 The prince's group of relatives constitutes a well-integrated group whose efforts within the province is directed at maintaining the existing balance of power. Friedericy gathered his material among the nobility. His description of the organization of the classes is in many respects the picture which one obtains of the society if one views it through the eyes of the nobility. He thus places great emphasis upon the characteristics which distinguish the nobility from the other groups, and upon the "intermediary classes" with terms applying to them. One of these terms is ana' tjera'. Among the nobility this designates a child of the marriage between a man of the nobility and a woman from the people.

565 602 Among the nobility class and kinship coincide to a great extent. A commoner can only be admitted into the nobility by way of kinship, that is to say, by marrying into the nobility. Such a marriage, however, does not immediately lead to complete admittance. Terms such as ana' tjera' regulate this. Admittance is accomplished only after several generations. These terms are therefore only in use among the highest class. They have a negative emotional quality. These terms are never heard among the people. To them a child of a mixed marriage is someone of noble blood, even after two or three generations. Such a person has standing just through "blood" alone.

114 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he
174 then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of
565 divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all
586 even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba, and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana
[567] (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." Before the war the government linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves. As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement loses its force.

114 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of
174 earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes.
565 Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that,
582 simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 Of the four common characteristics, the mention of
174 patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding.
565 My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).
[591]

1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure, superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

114 /82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from
174 an exogamous kinship grouping.
565 The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articulation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came into existence, is not clear.

The connection established by Friedericy between class and
128 kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As
565 much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used
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2. F. van Heek, op. cit., p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing" /aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be feasible.

182 It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes
554 signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage
582 is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment. Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two elements which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

554 The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's
[581] children because this establishes the standing gained by one personally, within the bounds set by descent.

584 /85 cont./ 1. At one count, he arrived
565 at 18, not counting the
marriages of his own children.

In so doing, the existing tie between high and low is greatly strengthened. The person who has brought about one's marriage /86/ is never forgotten. Such a marriage ceremony is on a much smaller scale than the higher person would have for his own child; nevertheless, it is always more expensive than it would have been had it been given by the kinsmen of the marriage partners themselves. Hence, the lower person
[554] receives as festive wear, for instance, a headdress of a certain color or a kris of a certain type, to which he actually has no right, but whose use is granted for the occasion by the higher person. As a result his standing rises.

554 3. From this example it appears further that the general notion that all kinsmen should be each other's equals is incorrect.
602 It is clear that the adat community head, who is a prominent
582 man in his group, insofar as he chooses them from among his kinsmen, favors children of other prominent members of his group as spouses for his children. Accordingly, a tendency toward endogamy exists among the prominent members of the related group. Furthermore, even among kinsmen such great differences in standing may exist that a marriage bond is regarded as undesirable by one of the parties.

The conflict of these tendencies becomes most clearly apparent in a well-integrated related group through the marriage policies of its prominent members. For the ordinary members this conflict is less urgent. They find sufficient possibilities for marriage within the group.

The Bride Price (sunrang)

554 For a Makassarese, the marriage of his child is an extreme-
585 ly important event because it demonstrates the standing that

554 /92 cont./ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status, or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
554 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of
578 this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage
602 candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang,
557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
602

582
583 /93 cont./ 1. Not, if one asks this
557 information of the Prince.
602 He gives the list as it is
fixed by him. But
lower people are less positive.

can only be understood on the basis of the conflict of tendencies indicated above. The amount of the sunrang is never completely fixed. A small increase is always possible, so people do not like to be rigid about certain marriage possibilities within the group of relatives. There are, to be sure, always kinsmen with whom a closer tie is not desired at that moment. [554] Where people proudly point to their extensive kin group, this does not signify mutual equality of the members, but it is a sign of social standing, and people do like to talk about that.

In the previous chapter it became apparent that marriages 582 between kinsmen of the eighth degree occur regularly, and 602 those between relatives of the tenth degree, very rarely. There is, therefore, a point at which the knowledge of the kin relationship has disappeared, namely, when for three successive generations no marriages have been contracted between the descendants of two brothers and/or sisters. If this fact is considered in relation to the preference for endogamy among the prominently placed kinsmen, then one can see how it is possible that some gradually drop from the circle of those known as kinsmen, through the lack of desired personal qualities or through a poorly executed marriage policy. /94/ If someone likes a kinsman of the sixth degree, and both of them allow their children to marry, this ties remote lines together, and the striving for a cohesive group of kinsmen has then been realized. But if such a marriage (between eighth-degree male and female cousins) does not come about, this means that a small number of individuals come to be separated from this large group and are either absorbed into another group or else continue to lead their own life as a small group. In the

582 /94 cont./ last-mentioned case, we may speak of a drop in
602 standing, even though the sunrang is maintained at its former level. If there are individuals who have become separated from a well-integrated related group, this means that they were quite unsuccessful in their striving to rise; if they had been successful, the other members of the group would have endeavored to bring about a marriage with one of them, since success attracts kinsmen as well as non-kinsmen.

Vertical Mobility of Individuals

554 The level of an individual is determined by his descent
562 as well as by his personal qualities. It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall. Striving to rise is not a primary requirement for women.

554 A man is able to increase his standing through personal
581 qualities. The acquired standing may be consolidated in a marriage. The outcome of all striving is, with a single exception, marriage with a woman of approximately equally high position.

554 The marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly
565 forbidden. The only case in which it is directly apparent that
582 the woman is higher than the man is a marriage of a woman of the nobility to a man who is not of the nobility. The qualities in which a man must excel in order to be able to contract such a marriage are clearly stipulated.

Such qualities are given as learnedness, courage, and wealth. It is told of Sjech Jusupu, a highly venerated saint in South Celebes whose grave is always visited by crowds of people and whose life history people like to recite, that he, as an already recognized sage /95/, asked for the hand of the daughter of the Prince of Goa. The Prince would gladly have consented to this, but the members of the Royal Council (Hadat) of Goa,

554 /95 cont./ were against it. They only yielded when the
565 Prince drew their attention to the fact that in the old lontar
582 the three above-mentioned qualities are already named as qualifications for a man to be permitted to marry a higher woman.

In the few historical writings that I was able to consult, I did not find examples of war lords who were able to contract marriage with a higher woman on the basis of successes gained in battle.

The present-day generation is acquainted with the case of a wealthy merchant from Macassar, a hadji, who married one of the female followers of the Queen of Goa. This man was a favorite of the Prince, who followed his advice in many cases. He therefore owed his rise in standing entirely to personal qualities. In addition, the case is well known of a young man born in an ordinary kin group but employed as a tax official and very influential at the same time, who married a daughter of one of the adat community heads. The sunrang in these cases remained the same as the one that had
[583 been paid for the mother and sisters, but an exceptionally
585] large amount was asked for, and paid, to cover the expenses of the feast. This is called the buying of blood (ammalli tjera').

In these very rare cases, the difference in descent be-
554 tween man and wife, according to general opinion, was great.
581 But even in the more or less regularly occurring cases where
582 these differences are small, learnedness, wealth, and courage are of importance. An imam or a revered guru ngadji (1),

1. One who instructs children in the reading of the Koran.

may contract a marriage, or he can cause his son to contract one, of a type which a brother who remained an ordinary kampong

554 /95 cont./ resident would have no chance of contracting.
581 In one of the fights that arose in Goa in 1946, a man saved a
582 number of his wife's kinsmen by his courageous behavior.
His wife should not have been allowed to marry him, because
[626] she was higher than he, and for that reason her kin group had
declared her dead (2). As a result of his bravery, the wife's

2. See Chapter III, third part.

kin group was persuaded /96/ to agree to a reconciliation. In cases where the differences in social level are small, there may be hesitation as to whether the man and woman should marry. If both parties are agreed, and the marriage is brought about, it is not possible for an outsider to disapprove. It is believed that the reasons leading to the marriage could not be evaluated (1).

1. A discussion of the cases in which there is a difference of opinion, will be found in Chapter III, third part.

554 Children from such a marriage, even where the difference
565 in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded
officially as equals in their mother's group of relatives,
562 because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not
582 fall /in social standing/. Daughters marry by preference in their mother's group; with respect to the sons there is some hesitancy. Factual data are lacking. I was unable to discover any terms used to designate these children (analagous to ana' tjera').

In cases of marriages between a man and a lower woman, only those where the difference in level is great deserve mention, for marriages in which the man is a little higher than his wife are normal marriages. They should not be distinguished

554 /96 cont./ from marriages in which the partners are regarded
562 as equal. The marriage of a cousin (samposikali) of the adat
582 community head to the daughter of a kapalakompong /kampong head/ is called a marriage between equals, but on the part of the head, the idea of a union of his cousin with a son of the Kapala is rejected because this young man is regarded as lower than the girl.

554 One of the princes had a son called daëng Ali by a woman
565 from the kin group of one of the adat community heads. His
585 brother had a daughter called daëng Batje by an ordinary
574 kampong woman. Daëng Ali was regarded as considerably higher than his first cousin. They married and lived with the groom's father, the Prince. Now it is expected of the kinsmen of daëng Batje's mother, ordinary kampong people as we said, that they will be modest /97/ and that they will not constantly come to visit their sister (cousin or aunt, as the case might be). Of daëng Batje, in turn, it is expected that she will receive these kinsmen in a friendly way; that she will not show herself proud toward them, but will entertain them nicely. She should not entertain them too lavishly, for that would be a sign of superiority, but especially not too poorly, for that would indicate that the visitors were not appreciated. For daëng Batje the visit of her kinsmen is an agreeable matter, because people can see how the relatives appreciate her, a fact which in turn strengthens her position with respect to them. Through her, therefore, her kinsmen have a certain right to come to the palace. A couple of nieces -- the best ones are picked out for this purpose -- may temporarily come to live in the palace. There they learn the superior manners of the nobility. In so doing, they rise in standing and later have a chance of a better marriage, something which again works to the benefit of their entire group.

554 Children from a marriage of a man to a lower woman
565 are regarded as lower than their father's kinsmen and higher

554 /98 cont./ As regards these ana' tjera', it is immediately
562 apparent that the interests of sons and daughters are distinct.
565 The former are dependent for marriage upon their mother's
582 group, the latter upon their father's group.

Vertical Mobility of Cultural Elements

565 Sorokin has pointed to the fact that not only individuals
626 or groups, but even cultural elements may rise or go down (1).

1. P. Sorokin, Social Mobility, New York and London, 1927, p. 133.

Each status /stand/ /group/ has its own external characteristics by which its members are differentiated from the others. Forms of social intercourse and clothing, mode of eating and celebrating festivals are the most spectacular of these. The higher groups constantly strive to preserve their own forms for their members. Lower groups constantly strive to take over elements belonging to the members of the higher status, since by this alone their standing rises.

Attempts to adopt their ways is opposed by the higher groups. On the one hand, their adoption is regarded as ridiculous, on the other, it arouses the anger of those higher; sometimes punishment is meted out. Adoption of elements from the highest status is not carried out directly by the lowest of the people, but takes place gradually. First those just below the highest adopt their forms, and so on down. It appears that not only the higher, but sometimes even those lower resist adoption of their forms by another socially lower, that is to say, they fight against a rise in social standing by a competitor.

554 /100 cont./ A favorite's daughter who temporarily resides
565 in the house of her father's master may learn to make little
576 cakes of a certain name and form, known only among the higher people. In that house she also learns the forms of social intercourse observed among household members and at daily meals. Upon returning home, her altered manners are immediately conspicuous. She addresses her mother only in a soft tone of voice, she does not eat as ravenously as the others, and she conducts herself completely like a well-brought up girl from the better social circles. At least in the beginning, she is also treated differently from the other children. "She bears the sign of daëng X" (2), it is said

2. Bata piarana daëng X, literally, "the etiquette of nurture by daëng X."

[582 approvingly of her. As a result, she has a chance of a better
557] marriage, that is to say, of a marriage to a higher man than any of her sisters would be entitled to, since they did not enjoy the privilege of staying temporarily in the house of daëng X.

/101/ When the seven-year-old son of my host offered me cigarettes and when he came to tell me that dinner was ready, he briefly dropped to his knees in so doing. This is a custom completely unknown in his father's group of relatives and borrowed from the karëng's kin group in whose house the father had lived in his early years. The custom was then taught to the son. The father laughed happily; "He knows his manners," and by this he meant that his son had appropriated good manners, namely of those who are higher. It is a sign of politeness to treat a higher guest with his own forms of social intercourse. The lower person who shows that he is familiar with these forms gains in standing in so doing. If this were to become a daily practice, his conduct would be

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the kataëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng.
[582] Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

156 The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
178 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general, " and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis
[648] figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
571 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to
634 maintain himself in his function.

178 /116 cont./ 1. Legally, of course, such a declaration of emancipation has not the slightest significance since the official emancipation of all slaves by the government.
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cases, however, the emancipation was brought about by the fact that children of slaves moved to other regions and there obtained the same opportunities as other independent individuals in their striving to rise. A family can be said to be still regarded as slaves in the kampong only if it is generally known that the respective parents were slaves, that at their marriage the slaves' sunrang was paid, and that this marriage was entirely regulated and provided for by the master, and if this couple has then continued to live in the same kampong, does not own any land there but works the land of the master, and further performs the customary tasks for him.

Put in general terms, this implies that in Borongloë, at present, contempt is expressed only when marriage possibilities are discussed. Then it appears that ordinary people (tau samara') prefer not to enter into marriage ties with such people. Their marrying chances -- and this applies particularly to the young men -- are limited. Further, I noticed a certain contempt only when, as an investigator, I made inquiries concerning their official position. The work that the slaves perform is the same as the work performed by many others who are regarded as followers.

In 1883, Kooreman did not mention slaves in his definition of the concept of followers. For him, slaves form a group apart. Friedericy (2) in his analysis of Makassarese-Buginese

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2. See Friedericy, idem., p. 582.

177 /125 cont./ Makassarese forces, but had to be approved by
634 the officials of the Inland Administration. This administration
648 in practice only rarely permitted boundary alterations. It preferred to hold fast to the boundaries fixed in the years after 1905.

622 The kapala can also seek to establish contact with the kin
662 group of the /126/ adat community head. A marriage between members of the two groups of relatives seems to be possible (1).

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1. In this connection one can remark that it is always a man from the adat community head's group who marries a girl of the kapala group. Some difference in standing is always considered to exist between adat community head and kampong head, and therefore between their groups of relatives. Through the marriage, the implication is avoided that a man is marrying a woman from a group of relatives with higher standing than his own. A cousin (samposikali) of the adat community head was thus joined in marriage with a daughter of the kapala of Bontoramba.

622 In the succession to the kapalaship, a clear preference for the son, at least for a close

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583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
589 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
[582] in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary argument to explain the fact that a large number of women remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also used as an "explanation" for the existence of marriage by flight. It is safer to assume that in times like those after 1929, the number of marriages by flight increased somewhat through a gradual adjustment toward new relationships with regard to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance, cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts, and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
178 previous one.
435 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
583 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
585 same amount as a number of years before. The members of

565 /172 cont./ standing. This is what underlies their thoughts
595 when members of the karaëng's kin group declare that lower people consider it an honor to give away their daughter in marriage to a nobleman.

A border line where people like to see their daughter or sister marry a superior who is already married, and where the superior is actually regarded as almost an equal and therefore the marriage is not desired cannot be exactly determined. The boundaries between the classes /standen, here statuses?/ are too vague for this.

554 Exceptional qualities are therefore demanded of a man who has two wives. Through the conclusion of a second
595 marriage he shows that he raises himself above his other relatives. This fact is not appreciated and is therefore counteracted unless he otherwise contributes particularly to
[626] the social standing of the group. If this should be the case, and and if he is able to show this through organizing a second marriage independently, then it is even accepted with a certain pride. There are always a number of men with less exceptional characteristics who wish to take a second wife. The silariang institution gives them the opportunity of doing so without their having to ask the help of their relatives. In these cases, however, his relatives accept this marriage with greater hesitation.

/173/ Second Part

Sexual Union in Marriage

582 In the first part of this chapter, the criteria of selection were pointed out which the older generation applies on the basis of younger people's personal qualities in the choice of

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;
[589] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should
[581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will be-
581 come apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse
833 only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

[155] With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those
[156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaëng related group, that only a small number are contracted in that of the adat community heads, and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives.
582 The marriage registers are particularly useless for this purpose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling out the marriage registers know that the administration does not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this girl, a very special figure ahead of his time, had recorded the birth dates of his children in a notebook, and therefore a check was possible in this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

582 /199 cont./ cohabitation, frequently with permanent physical
593 or psychic injuries for the rest of her remaining life. By child marriage, therefore, we understand here a marriage in which at least one of the two partners is not sexually mature. But then the conception of the matter given above is incorrect in two respects as regards South Celebes. In the first place, the bridegroom as well as the bride is not yet sexually mature in two of the four cases at my disposal. After the sealing of the marriage, the children did not live in the same house. They are supervised by the older people, and not until the girl has menstruated and the boy has begun to "crow" -- and this is sometimes the case only after several years, -- does ordinary cohabitation take place.

In the second place, even if the man is sexually mature and the girl is not, it is not necessary to be too fearful of the evil consequences of a child marriage. A man, after all,
[832] is /200/ taught that he must be tender and loving to his young wife, and that he must try to win her for himself gradually. Rough conduct in this respect on his part is disapproved even in an ordinary marriage.

582 It is clear that in child marriage in South Celebes the possibility of ill-treatment of the overly young girl is not excluded, nonetheless the possibilities for this are very limited. Child marriage has not been institutionalized here. It is contracted in cases where the older people have a stake in keeping the influence of the young individuals upon the choice of their marriage partners to a minimum.

However, in so doing, they still do not have the certainty that this marriage will also become "good." A girl
[833 who was not yet sexually mature at the contracting of her
593] marriage to an adult man resisted him for a number of years after menstruation had already set in. This was accepted by the husband as well as by her kinsmen. This is a case of a married couple where one partner desires no sexual union, and thereby causes the marriage to fail. In a section concerning

582 /200 cont./ child marriage this means merely that a child marriage does not necessarily have any particularly bad consequences.

Refusal of Sexual Union in Marriage

586 We have only spoken above of a marriage where the prescribed Moslem rite has taken place. In the same way, we shall now mean by divorce the separation of the marriage partners according to the rules of Moslem dogma. However, only a certain aspect of the Makassarese ideas concerning these subjects is reproduced by this.

585 At the wedding feast, the elders concentrate their efforts upon the bringing about of sexual union between man and wife. Not until this has taken place, is it really believed to have been brought about.

After some time it appears that in a number of these 593 marriages the partners nonetheless are not "good," that is to 833 say, that they do not have sexual intercourse. In the present-day stage of observation, however, this comes to light only if they do not live together for extended periods, and avoid each other. This state of affairs may last until the death of one of them. Only in a few cases, generally if one of the two [586] wants to remarry, does divorce according /201/ to Moslem law take place. This is not much more than a formality which legalizes an already existing situation. The "being good" of man and wife constitutes the center of Makassarese married life. The difficulties seem to lie there.

833 Only after the normal festivities have been concluded can it become apparent whether the goal has been reached or not. The pabadjikang ritual in itself provides no guarantee that sexual intercourse of man and wife has actually occurred. It is possible that the young man or woman goes through the entire wedding festival in the customary fashion, that is, more or less tacitly, but continues to refuse the sex act and

586 /204 cont. / Of the total of seven marriages in which the
593 partners did not live together, though they were not divorced
162 according to Moslem rites, four were childless.

Four of these seven married couples belonged to the Kapala group (525 persons) and three to the Mangenre group (90 individuals).

The number of divorces among people residing in the adat community of Borongloë (around 14, 000 persons) who were recorded in the registers designed for this purpose from July 1, 1948 to July 1, 1949 amounted to seven. The percentage of divorced adult women was, according to the 1930 Census Report 1.7 per cent for the whole of Goa (1). My

1. Verslag van de Volkstelling, 1930, Part V, p. 69.

figures are too small to be expressed in percentages./205/ However, they show clearly that even in comparison with other districts, the number of divorces in this region is small.

Selection of Marriage Partners on the Basis of Kinship

● 582 We have already pointed out that marriages between members of the same family /nuclear family/ are forbidden.

Marriages between housemates are regarded as unfavorable (1). The marriage of a widow's son to the daughter of a

1. Unfavorable in this section is a translation of the Makassarese word, bambang, which means "warm."

582 /205 cont./ widower, where the widow and widower had remarried and lived together in one house with the children from their respective first marriages, was not carried out in the city of Macassar until the Kali of Macassar declared that no Moslem legal objections existed against this marriage. In Goa, after some hesitation, such a marriage was not sealed. The chance for an unfavorable outcome was regarded as too great.

[584] Where two young people living in the same house have a chance of being married, as happens once in a while in the populous houses of headmen, one of them is sent elsewhere beforehand and is made to marry from there.

A marriage between relatives who do not belong to the same generation is regarded as unfavorable. Husband and wife are regarded as belonging to the same generation. If, [601] genealogically viewed, they belong to a different generation, [593] there arises in the beginning of the marriage an uncertainty with respect to social forms and terms of address, which after a while disappears as forms and terms are adapted to the new relationship. Where man and wife stated that they were members of the same generation, whereas later it appeared that a difference of generations existed between them, it was found unpleasant to be reminded of this irregularity in kinship relations. The conflict which had already become buried revived, as it were, by such an observation.

Where a difference in generations between man and wife is observable, in almost all cases the man belongs to the older generation.

The marriage of a man to a cousin of the fourth degree (samposikali) or to a cousin of the tenth degree is regarded by many as an "ordinary" marriage, but a few regard it as [565] unfavorable. In /206/ the karaeng group of relatives, marriages between relatives of the fourth degree occur with greater frequency than in Borongloë. In these circles greater

565 /206 cont./ value is placed, as they say, upon keeping the
582 blood pure and the goods together. There this marriage is therefore not regarded as unfavorable. In the higher classes, one can observe the tendency toward contracting marriages between closer relatives.

587 A marriage to someone who has already been married (a widower or divorced man) is regarded as unfavorable. The fact that the first marriage failed is ascribed to a lack of "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means), unless a special reason can be shown. The idea that an individual is as he is, and
[828] that he himself can change little about this, explains fears that the second marriage will fail for the same reason. Attempts are made to dismiss any thoughts of the first marriage by having the second marriage take place from another house, by choosing another bride's mother, and by making other changes. The best attitude imaginable is therefore thought to be that of a remarrying bridegroom who said, "I am going to begin a new life." This man was prepared to react differently in this second marriage than in the first, at which time he submitted with great aversion to all the ritual, gave his bride a rough tap on the back at the first touch, and in all possible ways made his dislike of this marriage apparent.

A woman prefers not to marry a man who has already been married, as the following verse (kelong) testifies, where a young woman is introduced saying:

[539]

> "I would rather be a fallow
> piece of land, an unplowed
> sown field, than having a
> buffalo run over me who has
> already been under the yoke
> once."

Actually, it would be very crude if a girl were to recite
[576] this verse. This is only done by older people when it suits them at a certain moment in their marriage policy.

● 582 /206 cont./ The marriage of an oldest son in a family to the oldest daughter of another is regarded as unfavorable (1), even if both are cousins of the sixth degree, for instance.

1. Makassarese:
Ulua siagang ulua
nabambang.

/207/ If a couple is married, the marriage of the husband's brother to a sister of his wife is considered unfavorable. This is called "piling up bamboos" (tambung palapa). This [565 184] marriage occurred in the karaeng group of relatives. The marriage partners were first cousins, probably a sign of a limited choice of marriage partners. It is unclear whether this marriage was also regarded as unfavorable by karaeng.

When a couple is married, the marriage of his sister to a brother of the wife is considered unfavorable. This is called "the closing of the crossbeam" (sisuluru palangga). Instances of this in Borongloë are unknown to me.

The marriage of a man to the sister of his wife is forbidden. This prohibition is based upon Moslem law (1).

1. See T.W. Juynboll, Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet volgens de leer der Sjafi'itische school /Guide to the Knowledge of the Mohammedan Way according to the Dogma of the Shafiite School/, third edition, 1925, p. 185.

The marriage of a man and woman who as children were nursed by the same woman is regarded as prohibited in some cases. The prohibition is based upon Moslem dogma (1).

1. Ibid.

582 /207 cont./ Suckling kinship is thought to exist where a child under two years of age has been nursed by a woman five times to its full satisfaction. Among the Makassarese, nursing
853 by the mother occurs at irregular times. If the child so much
582 as makes a sound, it is put to the breast. If the mother does not have enough milk, she is helped out. Preferably a sister or a cousin (samposikali) of the mother takes the child to her breast. Under these conditions it is difficult to prove that a young man or a young woman some twenty years before were both nursed by one and the same woman. Among religious families in the city of Macassar, women take care that they do not nurse a child of a sister or cousin lest difficulties arise later when they arrange marriages. In one of these kin groups, a marriage did not go through even though preparations were far advanced, because the suspicion had been uttered that bride and bridegroom had both been nursed by the bridegroom's mother. The young man was then married to a younger sister
[184] of the bride. /208/ In Borongloë nothing was noticed by me of the awareness of this marriage prohibition based upon suckling kinship (1).

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1. A mother of several children whose milk had continued to flow frequently nursed her grandchildren of approximately the same age as her youngest children. The nipple of an old woman who no longer produced any milk was used by the recently born child of her daughter as a pacifier. When a woman is pregnant (when the menstruation has stopped for several months),

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853 /208 cont./ amma'daëng (mother daëng). Being a wet nurse is called hereditary, in the sense that one likes to see that where a woman has a nurse, the daughter of this nurse is again the wet nurse for the daughter of this woman. A young mother of high nobility is said to be modern if she nurses the child herself. A marriage of a noble person with someone who is related by suckling kinship to him is out of the question.

[565]

[582]

582 Finally, it is considered natural to marry a kinsman. In the case of marriage to someone who is not related there is mutual insecurity. Such a marriage always has a practical purpose. People want to extend the circle of their connections, and sometimes it is believed to serve one's aspirations to rise best of all in this fashion. But in the case of such a marriage, the chance of failure is considered greater than in that to a kinsman. "Do not creep out" (teako alamba' assulukii) is said to one who has plans of marrying off his child outside the kin group.

[557]

Since a marriage to a non-kinsman, to a person of a different generation, and to a contemporary of the fourth and the tenth degree, is always regarded as unfavorable, there remains merely the possibility of marriage between contemporaries of the sixth and eighth degree. That is the marriage which, according to the figures given above (see pages 29 and 30), is, at the same time, the most frequent.

582 /208 cont./ In case of a marriage which is regarded as
585 unfavorable, extra ritual is performed in order to assure a favorable outcome nonetheless. /209/

Selection of Marriage Partners according to Status (Hypergamy)

554 Marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden.
582 It is simply regarded as impossible. "It cannot be" (tena nakulle) is the reaction to such a suggestion.

835 Any contact of a man with a higher woman is also strictly
554 prohibited. This is indicated by the same term (salimara'), used to denote a sexual relationship between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ which is known as incest.

It is believed that if salimara' takes place the country will be overcome with misfortune. It is said that the paddy will no longer grow and that no more children will be born in
[731] such a case. In the case of crop failure or an epidemic, one accordingly looks for people suspected of having committed salimara'.

684 The guilty couple must be punished by death. In the old lontar one reads that the blood of these people may not touch the earth; they must be drowned. The hadat (native court of
[692] law) punished this offense during the last decades with the banishment of the couple for a few years to different places outside the realm. After the period set by the court of law had elapsed, these people did not return to their kampongs; the danger of being stabbed to death in spite of the judge's sentence still seemed to be too great (1).

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1. This is a direct consequence of the fact that under the influence of the administration these offenses were always very lightly

684 /209 cont./ 692

punished by the native courts of law. Incest and, a fortiori, the contact situation of a man with a higher woman is not entered as an offense in the Penal Code. As a result, persons guilty of incest cannot, on the whole, be punished through government jurisdiction. In these districts the administration gives them protection in the form of a very brief punishment pronounced by the magistrate's court (elsewhere the district court, old style), coupled with the advice not to return to the kampong. This applies equally to violation of rules concerning contact between a man and a higher woman.

554 582 Prohibition of hypergamy is a well-known phenomenon in many cultures. In South Celebes the sharp reaction to transgression is the only striking thing. An explanation of this circumstance therefore will only be attempted.

554 A Makassarese occupies toward his equals and near equals a position of constant opposition. A fixed vertical articulation has not come about. His female relatives, and primarily his sister, constitute for him the point of departure in his striving to /210/ rise. They are a fixed point for him in this respect.

177 /220 cont./ for means to limit this number. In 1906,
627 Governor Kroese issued a circular letter in which he made the
648 suggestion designed to cause the fine to be paid directly at
684 the nikka' and to be accepted by the wife's wali, in cases of silariang marriage. He hoped that the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship would be directly removed in this way.

However carefully the suggestion may have been handled, the pressure that was exerted was nonetheless too strong. Since that date the fine has in fact been paid at the nikka' in a great many districts, but the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship nonetheless has remained in existence. Only when we keep in mind these historical facts can we understand why, in a certain region where the wife's father accepts the fine at the nikka' but the sunrang not until the reconciliation, 'making blunt what is sharp' now indicates this sunrang.

684 /221/ According to Moslem law, the wife's wali may
582 refuse his consent to a marriage on the basis of the fact that the woman is of a higher status than the man. In an ordinary case such a difference is reason for refusing a marriage request, even if a different reason is given: "It is not seeming that they should marry" (taena nasiratang), is the usual
[588] expression. If the wali in a case of silariang refuses to give his consent on these grounds, the imam separates them, unless the couple desires to carry through the marriage. In that case the affair goes before the judge. If the decision states that the woman is higher than the man, they are separated. Rather than seeing her married to a man of lower blood, the kinsmen will take her back again though she made them siri'.

684 After such a separation by authority of the imam or judge,
695 there no longer exists any tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship. The functionary concerned reports to the tumasiri' that the

[95 cont.]
793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These orna-
[293 ments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of
778] the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was
[774] the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his property. [96] His power was extended more and more because he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was prob-
[636 ably the only native jurisdictional community on southern
634] Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people, however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their position from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornament-
[631] ships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.

565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes, the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature
644 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treatment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng, sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became. The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary and could be severed by either side.

[614] Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the
● 582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy
583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

[96 cont.]

M 582 parental [bilateral] or parentage rights system prevails. Never-
583 theless, the bridegroom still pays a bride price, which here, of course, has nothing of the character of a purchase price for the girl. It is divided, together with other presents, among the
M relatives of the bride, who, for their part, also give presents
586 and return a part of the bride price. Divorce is rife, and divorce can be instituted by both the man and the woman. A peculiar institution is the mapoewé awo, "to divide a bamboo into two equal parts," which refers to the [97] distribution of the children between the parents with the understanding that, in the case of divorce and provided the bride price has been paid, the first child, then the third, and so on, go to the
M mother, the others to the father. As is always the case with
562 eleutherogamy, the position of women is not lower than that of the men; rule by women is common in southern Celebes.

B d. Bali. Among the Balinese the interests of the individ-
621 ual are primarily concentrated in territorial jurisdictional com-
631 munities, the Balinese dèsa; in former times they were combined into even larger territorial units, not always to their advantage or satisfaction, for example, the former Balinese principalities which were subdivided into districts.

B It is noteworthy that neither the family nor the household
592 [gezin, or nuclear family] is a jurisdictional community, in
594 view of the fact that the Balinese have a strong family sense,
B which expresses itself, for instance, in a veneration for the
[769 place from which the family traces its origin. A special temple
778] is erected and pilgrimages are made there for giving offerings.
B Only the dèsa, however, the territorial region, is a jurisdictional
631 community, and, besides that, the soebak, the Balinese polder.

B Although one can thus say that the dèsa communities
621 represent the pivot around which the interests of the individual revolve, this must be qualified to apply to the particular situation on Bali.

B The whole life of the Balinese is very strongly influenced
[771 by his religion, an animism that has been greatly modified by
174]

Makassar OG6
Minangkabau OD10
Javanese OE5
Ambon OH4
Kubu OD8

I [295 cont.]
585 their virginity to a stranger in the temple of Mylitta.
836 It should suffice to note here that I have tried to give an
121 explanation of this matter in my essay on the primitive forms of marriage.

We thus find as a rule among most of the peoples that the girl does not marry as a virgin, either as a result of the jus primae
MK noctis of the father or because she is permitted to surrender her-
Mn self to utter licentiousness before marriage. There are some
J peoples, however, who are an exception to this rule among whom
836 maidenly chastity is prized and even required as a condition for
582 marriage, for example, among the Javanese, the Malays of the Padang Highlands, the Makassarese and Buginese, etc. Among a few of these peoples, it is even customary to verify the woman's virginity publicly. Among the Madurese, for example, two women, after an examination, state that the bride is still a virgin, after which, among prominent people, cannon shots are fired, whereas in the opposite case, the young man has the right to terminate the marriage. Among the Makassarese, too, something similar takes place. [296] The cases where virginity is prized, however, are limited to only a few peoples; the opposite, as we have said, is the rule. We can therefore say that
A the latter must have formerly prevailed in general as we still
582 find it among the Batak. We learned from the Ambonese that even Christianity and Islam have failed to alter this.

I While chastity before marriage leaves much to be de-
837 sired, it seems that as a rule strict morality is observed during marriage, at least the men demand this of their wives. This is the case among nearly all peoples, and adultery is punishable, or at least was formerly, by death for the guilty parties, or, more precisely, the husband has the right to kill the man whom he catches in the act of adultery with his wife. Not all peoples,
K however, value the woman's chastity during marriage. Some
837 see nothing wrong in their wives' association with others. Among
574 some one even finds the peculiar custom of relinguishing the

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friedericy). This
565 fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to
another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded.
582 But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman.
829 I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States, something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indonesian man in the United States could marry an American woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed. Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the
567 Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I des-
427 cribed the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?) The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens, and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food. When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that formerly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they were.

000 One thing about education: the business man asked if I could take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told him to write the Institute for International Education in New York.

769 Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of the old belief in present practice, including information concerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the countryside people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a sense, were ancestors.

126 I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in
124 the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the women were very proud. Also the children remained pests.

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
●582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard
563 something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
161 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly
582 had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

M 665 521 conservative PNI [PartaiNasional Indonesia, i.e.,Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic l life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare, There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

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are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.
842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
641 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

although he told me that they were "his people". He said 535
that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would 565
be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He 567
said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may
not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one [435
of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must 582]
pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And
even later, when they are no longer able to perform as
padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry.
The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and
he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner
who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the
kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as
padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prostitutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are
not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fifteen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot,
and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese dancing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be
a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, deadpan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They
are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and
chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fascinated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically
doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job
because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth.
The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and
their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented
out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with
cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also powdered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older
and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother
said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There 574
were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the 431
birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty 181
of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about be- 576
fore the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around
in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and 567
finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer [292]
came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very
humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been
ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought
immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I
have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic examples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair
565 there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate.
One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and
not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when
I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from
heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese
this

789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And
it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages
to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
● 582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all
right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier,
and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage
between higher women and lower men. To compensate for
this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone
that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for
example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand
this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no
change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Toma-
rilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to
a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as
I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As
far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something
between the states. There are frequent marriages in the
noble class between the states, and thus it is something like
the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

his status. The Kepala kampong repeated that there are M
many grades of slaves, and evidently the higher ones actual- 567
ly regard themselves as superior to ordinary commoners. He said that formerly there were many more slaves here, but that many went away when greater freedom of movement was allowed. He added that in the kampongs near the towns there are fewer slaves than in the more remote areas. At one time a noble might have owned as many as a hundred or more slaves.

I quizzed him about the to detjeng. He said this was hard M
to explain because there were so many kinds. He agreed that 565
the crucial point is that there is some noble blood involved. 851
However, he said that one might use the term detjeng in 582
reference to slaves; all this means literally is "good" (baik). 567

I asked about class intermarriage, and Andi said that marriage of a matola with a slave woman means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. Also, the marriage of a matola man with a commoner means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. He is not too clear about all this, and it certainly could stand some case research.

In the kampong of Tolangi there are supposed to be a M
number of Toradja descendants. I saw this section of 563
Bukaka and noted that there were only about seven to eight T
houses. They are located near a mosque. The Kepala kam- 186
pong said that the Toradja there try hard to assimilate into 167
the Buginese group, and that they do not like to be called 191
"To Tolangi." They try to move out of this section so that 177
they can hide their Toradja origin. The older ones can still speak Toradja, but the younger ones are forgetting it and they try never to let it be heard (like immigrants in the United States). Today they intermarry with the Buginese. Andi said that there are plenty of Toradja people in Watampone, lots of them living near his house. They come from all over the Toradja country. By and large they are workers M
at rather poor jobs and do not mix in very much. 565

In talking about intermarriage I insisted that everyone has 582
to know whether a person has a slave background or not. They agreed to this and said that marriages are watched carefully.

We went to a cemetery where there were two beehive M
cement and brick tombs just like the Kale Goa. Inside were 764
the usual graves and on them were placed flowers. There 174
was a smell of incense in the tomb. The Kepala kampong [563]
said that people make offerings and pray here. He said that the Chinese come here too. These graves are about two

E. Interclass Marriages: Aberrant (13) (cont.) 162 565

	Ages	Trade	Number of case
NM-SW (2)	60-50	None	E 1
	30-30	Unknown	D 2
CM-SW (None)			

F. Interclass Marriages: Taboo Cases (3)

NW-CM (2)	40-45	Peddler	C 6
	20-25	Goldsmith	A 21
NW-SM (None)			
CW-SM (1)	70-85	None	D 4

G. Class of Children of Aberrant and Taboo Marriages

NM-CW	N	But before, commoner.
NM-SW	C	Before, same.
CM-SW		No cases.
NW-CM	C	Taboo before.
NW-SM		No cases.
CW-SM	C	But before, slave.

Formerly, in allowing a higher man to marry a lower woman, the rule was that children would be dropped one class. Now the same is done for a noble man marrying a slave woman, although the child of a noble man-common woman marriage is a commoner. There are no cases of a common man marrying a slave woman. 565 851 582

Formerly marriage between a lower man and a higher woman was taboo. Now such marriages result in the lowering by one class of the status of children resulting from such a marriage, if the man is a commoner and the woman a noble. However, the class of the children follows that of the higher parent if the man is a slave and the woman a commoner. The marriage of a slave man to a noble woman is evidently still taboo. 162

H. Sailors

Former	10
Still	4
Total	14

I. Moved into Kampong

From other Makassarese areas	61
From Buginese areas	2
From Java	5
Total	68

J. Working or Have Worked outside Kampong

In other Makassarese areas	7 (except sailors)
In other Celebes areas	0 (except in-migrants)
In Java	2
In Borneo	3
In Ambon	1
In other Moluccas	1
Total	14

582
612 /22 cont./ to which the parent-child relationship counts as one degree; brothers are therefore related in the second degree, and cousins /neven, French cousin/ in the fourth degree, and so on.

582 If one pursues the reasons why these 10 married outside
583 their related group, it appears that in 5 cases the marriage occurred after the couple had carried out silariang (2). In

2. A marriage by flight. For details of this, see Chapter III, third part.

this case the individuals concerned do not pay any attention
557 to the existence of kin group ties. In the 5 other cases, the
582 reason always given was that the strangers belonged to groups of relatives with which /23/ the older generation who brought about the marriages gladly entered into marriage ties in view of their social standing.

In 2 of these 5 cases, a female member of the related group married a stranger. In the other 3 cases, a man married a girl from outside. In the chapter on status, we shall return to the marriage policy carried out by the older people. At present it is only necessary to point out that no special preference to marry either a boy or a girl outside the related group can be indicated, but rather that closer attention is paid with a girl than with a boy that she does not marry someone who is regarded to be even a trifle below her in standing.

582 The statement that the related group is endogamous signifies, therefore, that marriages are by preference contracted between kinsmen, but it says nothing further concerning the kinship connections which are regarded as important in this

835 /34 cont./ frequently than those between members of the same family. Such relationships are sometimes also regarded as incest (salimara'). Irrespective of kinship relationship /sic/ these /sexual/ relationships are always considered especially reprehensible.

[583 588] In a case where a man fled with his wife's niece (kamanakang), this was the reason that the reconciliation, otherwise customary after a flight, could not be brought about (1).

1. Compare Chapter III, third part. See pp. ff.

582 835 A marriage between children of the first marriage of a widower and a widow who later married so that their children came to belong to one household was forbidden in rural areas. In Macassar such a marriage was contracted. The person performing the marriage ceremony took the point of view that no objections were to be found against such a marriage under Moslem law.

835 Relations of a man with his brother's daughter or sister's daughter, or with his father's sister or mother's sister, is regarded as salimara'. The native courts punish these cases [684] with banishment for the same number of years as was cited above with respect to relations between a father and daughter. The first mentioned, that between a man with a woman of a lower generation, occurs much more frequently than the last named, that with a woman of a higher generation. The reason for this difference in frequency is said to be /35/ that a young girl has greater difficulty in resisting her uncle than a woman with regard to her nephew. From this it may again be concluded that the common opinion is that the evil initiative toward sexual contact proceeds from the man. [538] Myths or other stories concerning such relationships are unknown to me. According to rumors, such relationships did

563 /59 cont./ Many young colonists return to the homeland
582 in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

In addition the small percentage of silariang marriages
563 is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible
583 to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find silariang so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of silariang marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on
342 lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong
563 residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the
184 Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the com-
186 mon language constitutes a unifying element for these
563 colonists.
621

The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

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	Total Number of Registered Houses	Total Number of Individuals	Men	Women	Festive Marriages	Silariang Marriages	Married Couple Related to Each Other	Married Couple Not Related to Each Other	Average Number of Individuals per House	Place of Origin	
										Galesong	7
Kape	25	133	80	53	27	1	19	9	5 1/3	Lebakkang	10
										Pangkadjene	4
										Maros	4
Langa	28	165	85	80	22	7	26	3	5.9	Galesong	28
										Lebakkang	9
										Segeri	2
Paria	15	80	34	46	16	1	8	9	5 1/3	Pangkadjene	1
										Maros	2
										Djeneponto	1
Total 1949	68	378	199	179	65	9	53	21	5.56		
Bontoramba 1948	129	787	382	405	105	27	104	28	6.1		

554 /86 cont./ he has built up in his life. The more days and
585 nights the festival lasts, the more guests (largely kinsmen) present, the more buffaloes slaughtered, and the more spacious the pannjambungi (the extension built onto the front of the house for this occasion), the higher is his standing. But the
[583] bride price, sunrang, is the element of marriage which permits the clearest measurable evaluation.

The sunrang is not simply handed over to the wife's kin
583 group by the man and his kin group. It is present at the contracting of the marriage (nikka'). The marriage official records the amount in the marriage register in reals (1), an

[435]

1. A real was, and still is, valued at 2 guldens. The coin itself, the real, is not seen at these payments. It became too rare for that.

old species of coin which has long disappeared from /87/ circulation. The woman's kin group frequently demands that the sunrang be paid entirely in specie (rix-dollars or guldens), but usually this happens only in part. The balance is paid by giving a sawah or a buffalo. As a symbol of such a transaction, a handful of earth (from the sawah) or a nose ring (of the
[415] buffalo) is added to the specie, which is contained in a flat, round copper box (kampu), used only at a marriage. The kampu also contains various kinds of leaves and a piece of wood, whose names signify "high," "rich," "rising," and "expanding." That is what one wishes for the sunrang and, at the same time, for the woman's group of relatives, the best possible wish.

The sunrang cannot be just any amount; it is always an
[659] even figure. It is fixed by the local authorities, in this case, the Self-government of Goa. In part it is linked to a specific status (ordinary people), in part to a certain function (the adat

583 /87 cont./ community head), and in part to kin relationship (kinsmen of the adat community head). By juggling these unequal amounts, it is possible to obtain a higher sunrang according to one rule than one is entitled to according to another.

The amount of the sunrang is in principle linked to the
554 level of the woman's group of relatives. Her standing and that
583 of her group is made known by the sunrang paid at her wedding. It is therefore important for her kinsmen that she command as high a sunrang as possible. On the other hand, for the man's kinsmen it is just as important to pay a high sunrang on the basis of the principle that in effect man and wife are equal in standing. It is therefore comprehensible that the sunrang has a tendency to rise.

In his kingdom, the prince is the highest. He, and with
554 him his kinsmen of the same blood, should therefore have the
565 highest sunrang within that kingdom. As a result he is concerned
583 that the sunrang in his region be clearly established according to
[643] rank and status, and known to everyone, so that his subjects will not pay or receive a higher sunrang /88/ than he himself. Hence, one repeatedly encounters prescriptions concerning the amount of the sunrang in lontar. Nature, however, seems to be stronger than rules. There always arises, some time after the amount has been officially established, the tendency to surpass the prescribed limits. Rules are only too gladly forgotten. As time goes on, more and more people seem to have paid and received a sunrang that was higher than they were permitted. Consequently, a new sunrang edict must be issued periodically. The last such regulation in the kingdom of Goa dates back to 1940. This sets the sunrang for

kinsmen of the Prince	at 28 reals
for the adat community head	at 26 reals
for the latter's kinsmen	at 24 reals
for ordinary people	at 20 reals
for slaves belonging to the Prince	at 12 reals.

554 /88 cont./ It is interesting to see how this regulation was
555 applied in practice. To this end, I examined the marriage
583 registers of the adat community of Borongloë for 1946 and 1947 to trace the reasons that led to the establishment of a sunrang of 26, 24, or 22 (!) reals, where the parties seemed to have a right only to 24 and 20 reals, respectively. The result is as follows:

The sunrang of 26 reals, according to the regulation covering only the adat community head, was first paid on the occasion of the marriage between two descendants of the former head of the adat community of Bonto. Karaëng Bonto was, as recently as the beginning of this century, the head of a small, but more or less independent, adat community which subsequently became amalgamated with Borongloë. His descendants still have something of his standing. At present they live in Borongloë territory and therefore are unable to get a higher sunrang than the adat community head. Here it seems that they were permitted an equal sunrang. A sunrang of 26 reals was further paid at the wedding of a first cousin of the adat community head to the daughter of one of the head's followers of good standing. Twenty-four reals should have been the maximum here.

A sunrang of 24 reals, designated according to the particular regulation for kinsmen of the adat community head, was likewise paid, first, at the wedding of a daughter of one of the /89/ followers of this head, secondly, at the wedding of a sister of one of the kampong heads, thirdly, at the wedding of the daughter of a follower of a descendant of Karaëng Bonto, and fourthly, at a wedding between Buginese residing in Borongloë. The latter, to explain the fact that they wanted to see a sunrang of 24 reals registered, declared that in their own homeland they were entitled to a sunrang (Buginese: sompa) of 44 reals. A sunrang of 22 reals was finally conceded to a couple of strangers who declared that they received a sunrang higher than 20 reals in their own land.

583 /89 cont./ If one wants to obtain a general view of the amount of sunrang paid in the course of one year, the following figures will serve that purpose. In Borongloë (a good 14,000 inhabitants), the Imam, charged with keeping the marriage registers, had to record 107 marriages between July 1, 1948 and July 1, 1949. Of these, the sunrang amounted:

in 2 cases to 26 reals
in 24 cases to 24 reals
in 2 cases to 22 reals
in 77 cases to 20 reals
in 1 case to 12 reals
in 1 case to 5.00 guldens.

563 583 The amount of 5.00 guldens was registered at a marriage between Javanese who were part of a group of approximately 200, living together in kampong Pakatto. This low sunrang, for the Makassarese regard the amount as such, is one of the reasons why the latter are inclined to regard the Javanese as people of the very lowest status.

567 583 The sunrang of 12 reals was paid to the father of a woman who was regarded as a slave of the adat community head.

665 583 602 Nine of these 107 marriages were contracted between individuals from the kampong Bontoramba. In seven of these nine cases, the sunrang was not 20 but 24 reals, and in only two cases was it 20 reals. This situation which, if one considers the total number of marriages for which 24 and 20 reals were paid respectively, is very unusual and can only be partly interpreted. For each of the seven cases the people were able to give a certain reason. These follow here.

/90/ Both a son as well as a daughter of the Kapala of Bontoramba were married in this year. For both a sunrang of 24 reals was regarded as appropriate. In the case of one couple, the mother of the wife had Buginese kinsmen among whom, in their own country, a much higher sunrang than that of 20 reals was always paid. In the case of another couple, the woman was regarded as related to the adat community head; "she was not equal" (tena nasangkamma), said the Imam, and therefore

565 /90 cont./ she was not allowed to receive 26 reals (!), but
583 this kin relationship was nevertheless sufficient to raise her
602 above the normal 20 reals. In the fifth case, the man was a kinsman of the Imam himself. It was an act of friendliness on the part of the bridegroom's kinsmen to offer the bride, who actually was regarded as lower, the sunrang customary in his group, because, in so doing, they showed that they accepted her completely as an equal (sunranna bura'ne naerang). In the sixth case, kin relationship with the ex-kapala of an adjoining kampong (Buttadidi) was given as the reason why 24 reals were paid, and in the last case, an aunt of the girl declared that a sunrang of 24 reals had always been customary in her kin group. The curious thing in this case was that this aunt herself had contracted a marriage by flight with a man who was regarded by her kinsmen as so much lower that they had never been willing to agree to a reconciliation (1).

1. For further elaboration of this case, see Chapter III, third part.

With the exception of this last-mentioned case, the first six marriages involved individuals of the Kapala group. It is not impossible that the marriage ties established by the Kapala with the kin group of the adat community head (2) constituted

2. A daughter of the Kapala married a kamanakang (French: neveu /nephew/) of the adat community head.

a reason for the Imam to record a sunrang of 24 reals in a number of cases for the kinsmen of this Kapala, against which he would have had objections in other cases. Finally, the adat community head is the one who must guard against the sunrang

565 /90 cont./ of his subjects approaching too closely his and
583 that of his kinsmen. The differences must continue to exist.
602 Everyone is convinced of this.

A number of observations can be made in relation to these
554 data.

583 1. It appears that in stating the reasons why /91/ a certain sunrang is paid at a certain wedding, the primary consideration concerns the woman. "The sunrang of the woman may never go down," it is often said. This means that the sunrang of a girl may never be lower than that which was paid for her mother. At the wedding of a woman to a lower man -- the exceptional case will be discussed below -- the latter always pays the sunrang of the woman. In addition, he makes a large number of other extra payments. In the case of the marriage of a man to a lower woman, the man's party likewise frequently pays the sunrang that is customary in the woman's group. Sometimes, however, the man wants it to be apparent that he is very favorably inclined towards his in-laws, and then he pays the sunrang customary in his own group, but this is a favor on his part. In the ordinary case, that is to say, at a wedding between two people who are regarded as equals in standing, the woman is, as it were, the gauge of value of her group. Her sunrang must not go down because her standing, which finds its most important expression in the sunrang, must not go down thereby, since this would lower, in turn the standing of her group of relatives.

554 2. Being a follower (1) appears to be a reason for raising
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1. See pp. 133 ff.

the sunrang above the level of the group to which this follower belongs, another example showing that being a follower raises a person's standing.

554 3. The office of kampong head appears to be a reason
583 for receiving a higher sunrang for one's sister and daughter.
[622]

554 /91 cont./ The same can be said of the imam's office. The
583 Imam of Borongloë, who furnished information concerning the amount of the sunrang, explained several times that in a certain case a higher sunrang had been paid than was prescribed because the woman in question was related to him. This illustrates the
[602] advantage of kinship, for the woman was honored by the Imam with a higher sunrang than would otherwise have been possible. He would not have been able to refuse the request to record a higher sunrang without being accused of snobbery, for this would have shown that he no longer wanted to recognize his kinsmen as equals and thus no longer as kinsmen. /92/

4. The sunrang appears to be locally bound. Buginese
563 who have a regulation in their own country by which a much
583 higher sunrang is paid have to submit to the local regulations.
631 It is a public secret that actually they frequently pay their own sunrang of 44 reals but that in the registers an amount of 24 (22 or 20) reals is recorded. The marriage official knows about this and silently acquiesces. Officially there is no violation of the principle that the head of a certain territory is entitled to the highest sunrang.

5. It is necessary to be acquainted with the period when
554 the regulation was issued (1940) in order to understand how it
583 is possible that in spite of the existing regulation a higher
659 sunrang was paid for a sister of the adat community head than by the head himself. For the sister, who married in 1939 (before the new regulation came out), a sunrang of 28 reals was received, but when this head himself married fully a year later (after the new regulation), he was not allowed to pay more than 26 reals. There was no getting around the recent prescription issued by the Prince. Considering this situation, the somewhat annoyed remark of this head that in future he would take good care that no one received more than 26 reals was quite understandable.

554 6. The sunrang is not always equal even for people who
583 are kinsmen. A little leeway is possible, and it is just this
602

554 /92 cont./ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status, or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
554 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of
578 this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage
602 candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang,
557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
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/93 cont./ 1. Not, if one asks this information of the Prince. He gives the list as it is fixed by him. But lower people are less positive.

can only be understood on the basis of the conflict of tendencies indicated above. The amount of the sunrang is never completely fixed. A small increase is always possible, so people do not like to be rigid about certain marriage possibilities within the group of relatives. There are, to be sure, always kinsmen with whom a closer tie is not desired at that moment. [554] Where people proudly point to their extensive kin group, this does not signify mutual equality of the members, but it is a sign of social standing, and people do like to talk about that.

In the previous chapter it became apparent that marriages 582 between kinsmen of the eighth degree occur regularly, and 602 those between relatives of the tenth degree, very rarely. There is, therefore, a point at which the knowledge of the kin relationship has disappeared, namely, when for three successive generations no marriages have been contracted between the descendants of two brothers and/or sisters. If this fact is considered in relation to the preference for endogamy among the prominently placed kinsmen, then one can see how it is possible that some gradually drop from the circle of those known as kinsmen, through the lack of desired personal qualities or through a poorly executed marriage policy. /94/ If someone likes a kinsman of the sixth degree, and both of them allow their children to marry, this ties remote lines together, and the striving for a cohesive group of kinsmen has then been realized. But if such a marriage (between eighth-degree male and female cousins) does not come about, this means that a small number of individuals come to be separated from this large group and are either absorbed into another group or else continue to lead their own life as a small group. In the

554 /95 cont./ were against it. They only yielded when the
565 Prince drew their attention to the fact that in the old lontar
582 the three above-mentioned qualities are already named as qualifications for a man to be permitted to marry a higher woman.

In the few historical writings that I was able to consult, I did not find examples of war lords who were able to contract marriage with a higher woman on the basis of successes gained in battle.

The present-day generation is acquainted with the case of a wealthy merchant from Macassar, a hadji, who married one of the female followers of the Queen of Goa. This man was a favorite of the Prince, who followed his advice in many cases. He therefore owed his rise in standing entirely to personal qualities. In addition, the case is well known of a young man born in an ordinary kin group but employed as a tax official and very influential at the same time, who married a daughter of one of the adat community heads. The sunrang in these cases remained the same as the one that had
[583 been paid for the mother and sisters, but an exceptionally
585] large amount was asked for, and paid, to cover the expenses of the feast. This is called the buying of blood (ammalli tjera').

In these very rare cases, the difference in descent be-
554 tween man and wife, according to general opinion, was great.
581 But even in the more or less regularly occurring cases where
582 these differences are small, learnedness, wealth, and courage are of importance. An imam or a revered guru ngadji (1),

1. One who instructs children in the reading of the Koran.

may contract a marriage, or he can cause his son to contract one, of a type which a brother who remained an ordinary kampong

554 565 /97 cont./ than those of their mother. The daughters are preferably married to someone in their father's group of relatives.

The position of the sons resulting from these marriages is difficult. By reason of their descent they are unable to marry daughters from their father's group. For a marriage they are dependent upon their mother's group. In practice, it appears [156] that they often conduct themselves as the wildest and boldest among the young men. It may well be that this conduct is unconscious in order to show themselves, at all costs, worthy of a girl of somewhat higher blood.

Karaëng call those who were born from such marriages ana'tjera' (literally, "blood children"), but the kampong people call them karaëng. The former is a denigrating term, the latter one of respect. Lower persons know people with karaëng blood who live in their kampong; the latter are regarded as slightly higher than those about them by virtue of their blood. Upon questioning, it appears, for instance, that their great-grandfather was a karaëng who married one of the women from the group of relatives residing there, that his son married a kinsman of his mother, and so on. The fact [583] that their grandfather (great-grandfather) was a karaëng is taken into account in determining the sunrang; the knowledge is kept alive.

/98/ Confusion is created if one calls the ana'tjera' an intermediate class. They do not form a related group occurring between the nobility and the people. It is merely a matter of individual cases having a tie in common with their father's group, the karaëng. They try to be taken into their father's group of relatives. Among themselves, however, they do not form an integrated group because, through the mother, they always belong to different groups of relatives. But whichever of the two groups they settle down with, their father's or their mother's, they are not regarded as equals by those around them.

178 /115 cont./ stated that they may not possess land, but only
567 that they do not need it because they are already being taken care of. Everyone knows that these people are free to move elsewhere to live and purchase or clear land. In several judicial proceedings it appeared that lower people were able to assert their rights against higher people.

178 3. In the above-mentioned regulation issued by the Prince
567 of Goa, which set the amount of the sunrang for different ranks
583 and classes in his realm, the sunrang for "the Prince's slaves" was fixed at 12 reals. No mention is made of other slaves. In the marriage register of the adat community of Borongloë, this sunrang for slaves was registered twice during the period from 1940 to 1949. However, they were not slaves of the Prince of Goa but slaves belonging to the adat community head and to a member of one of the prominent groups of relatives in kampong Pakatto, for whom the royal slaves' sunrang was entered.

4. Of a number of persons it may be said that they live with, and work for, their master. They have no land of their own. Their group of relatives comprises only a few families and is neither integrated nor traditional. They take part in the worship community of their master.

With these data before us, it is idle to debate whether someone is a slave or not, for example, because his parents were "slaves," and because a sunrang of 12 reals was paid for his marriage, but who, after all, is free to go wherever he likes, and has set up a trade in Macassar. While in his kampong he is still regarded as a hereditary slave because of his origin; in Macassar he is considered a clever tradesman.

178 The number of those who are regarded as slaves in their
567 own kampong is diminishing. No new slaves are being added to this number; rather it is decreasing. In some cases this process even came about /116/ through an official declaration of emancipation (sura' maradeka) issued by the master. This happened as late as 1939 in Mandar (1). In the majority of

571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten.

Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
584 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
602 who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia' tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free companionship, it seems to take very little to make a Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
571 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
834 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
848 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang
583 cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

583 /150 cont./ "Please find what is good for me." And by
584 "good" (badjika) is meant a normal marriage; "bad" (kodia) means marriage by flight. The older woman thereupon tries out the mother. Whether this couple will subsequently marry or not then further depends upon whether or not an agreement concerning marriage has been made with respect to one of the two.

584 When a marriage which she herself has desired comes
834 about, the girl shows aversion to the man, as is expected of her. Externally, nothing distinguishes this marriage from one that has been contracted against her wishes.

583 When older people act against the wishes of the younger,
584 and the young man urges a flight, the girl can consent to
558 this. But if she refuses, he can get his way simply by
626 making her siri'. In most cases the threat of siri' alone seems sufficient.

584 One who is unable to use an older woman as intermediary must find another way of establishing the desired contact with a girl. He may, for instance, seek out the company of her brother. He plays raga with him and goes with him to the movies (this example is derived from one of the kampongs
[574] surrounding Macassar). In return /151/ his friend may ask him to stay and eat or sleep. If he keeps this up long enough, he may get an opportunity to attract the girl's attention, that is to say, to perform a service for the mother or run an errand for her, even though this reaches him through a third person.

His intentions do not remain entirely concealed. If her mother likes him, if no arrangements have been made regarding this daughter, and if the information gained concerning his kin group is not unfavorable, she may very briefly let her daughter be alone with him unnoticed. But she remains watchful. "Don't make me siri'," she says to her daughter.
584 When they are alone together, there is no immediate con-
834 versation, even less is there an immediate physical contact.

589 /161 cont./ In the 1930 census report, the suggestion is
114 made with respect to the "East of the Archipelago," "that the continued unmarried state of a woman in the native society is regarded as more or less undesirable or dishonorable" (3). I

3. Volkstelling 1930,
Part 5, p. 66.

have been unable to find a single indication in South Celebes pointing to the correctness of this last qualification. For the
581 woman concerned it is regarded as "undesirable" that she does
589 not marry. It is believed that only through marriage does one become a "complete person." Attempting to bring about someone's marriage signifies that one means well for this person. But one prefers to see a young woman unmarried rather than to see her marry a man who is not regarded as suitable.
[554] Suitability is judged almost entirely on the basis of his social standing.

By the same token people prefer to see their son unmarried than to see him contract a marriage contrary to parental wishes. Not to marry may be undesirable for an individual, but it is always regarded more highly than to marry an undesirable partner.

114 "Among the Makassarese," the report goes on (4), "who
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4. Ibid., p. 67.

have strict difference between the social classes, the number of unmarried women /162/ among the higher classes is great because there the bride price and the "balandja" (the expenses of the wedding feast) are so high." Now this "bride price" among the kinsmen of the Prince of Goa amounts to 28 reals or 56. -- guldens, and that of the small man to 20 reals or 40. -- guldens. The difference of 16. -- guldens does not

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583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
584 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
[582] in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary argument to explain the fact that a large number of women remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also used as an "explanation" for the existence of marriage by flight. It is safer to assume that in times like those after 1929, the number of marriages by flight increased somewhat through a gradual adjustment toward new relationships with regard to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance, cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts, and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
178 previous one.
435 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
583 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
585 same amount as a number of years before. The members of

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435 /162 cont./ such a group did not like to admit this toward
583 the outside world, however. It is true, therefore, that during
585 this time it repeatedly happened that a marriage did not take place, on account of the amounts which in their own opinion should be spent on the wedding feast.

But this state of affairs did not last long. Initially, it was still agreed among kinsmen that the old amount would be maintained outwardly, but that in reality they would be satisfied with less. Outwardly, the social standing of the group of relatives thereby remained on the same level. But gradually the amounts were adjusted to the new conditions, though little or nothing was thereby changed in the intent of the feast or in the entertainment of the guests.

/163/ By the same token, scarcely any difference could be observed between a wedding feast in 1940 and one celebrated in 1949 in the same group, even though in that period the valuation of sawahs and buffaloes increased by about tenfold. While in 1940 one buffalo and one goat were killed for the feast, in 1949 one buffalo and two goats were killed for the occasion. In 1949 one naturally never heard the complaint, either, that a marriage could not come about because of the excessive expenses of the wedding. In its striking frequency, this complaint remained confined to the beginning of the 1930's. The high expenses are nevertheless still named today as an excuse whenever other reasons which one does not like to mention make a certain marriage undesirable (1).

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1. Kampong Bontorambo numbered 22 widows and 13 widowers who had not remarried, that is, fully 4 percent of the total of 787 residents. Only two married men and two married women appeared

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an
558 attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number
689 of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise, in social standing is touched at the core through impairment of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

558 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women, and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the silariang complex. A number of its aspects will now be discussed.

684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings about siri', is always held against both man and woman. Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger. For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house, and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which [583] therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated in the literature by "siliariang" marriage.

684 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for
627 contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only
588 be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who caused siri' in this way must be killed, because only in this way can the challenge be answered and the siri' feeling of the challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

588 /219 cont./ Along with the request for consent, the wali is frequently asked whether he wants to receive the sunrang. And his answer that he does not wish to receive the sunrang must be interpreted in the same way as his statement respecting the consent he is asked for: he desires to deny [578] every tie with the woman who has made him siri'. She should be dead; for him she does not exist. At the nikka' the wife therefore receives the sunrang herself. Later, at the reconciliation, the sunrang is then offered to her kinsmen after it has been freshly prepared. Thereby one maintains the fiction that only then does the ordinary marriage take place.

Independent of all rank and status, the amount of the [583] sunrang at the ma[illegible]ge of a woman who has fled is always 20 reals (1).

[183] [illegible]he total number [illegible]riages (107) con[illegible]cted over a period of time of one year (from January 7, 1948 to January 7, 1949) in Borongloe, there were 19 silariang marriages, or around 18 per cent. This percentage seems to be normal for Goa. In 1947, 1492 marriages were registered in the entire province of around 200, 000 residents. Of these, 283 were silariang marriages. According to reports, the percentage [184] of silariang marriages is much higher in other districts, such as Djeneponto.

588 /228 cont./ during the period between nikka' and recon-
672 ciliation the "pattongko' siri'" is officially regarded as
684 tumannjala, in reality both parties do their best to avoid each other more than usual.

A description of such a wedding will follow here to
588 describe the atmosphere which is so completely different from that prevailing at an ordinary festive marriage, but especially to show also what both have in common. This is Djawi's wedding, which occurred in 1940 in Borongloë. There was no question of a festival here. The tone of the conversations was different from that at a festive wedding, and the ritual had been reduced to a few simple actions.

Djawi had fled from her parental house in a pregnant
588 condition. The man whom she had named as the father of her
848 child had denied this, and she had then been taken to the house of the adat community head to wait there until someone should come to marry her, or, as it was expressed, "to take her disgrace away from her" (angalleangi siri'na), or else, "to let her live" (antallassi). After a few days an immediate
588 uncle of Djawi came to tell her that her uncle of the seventh degree (purina sampopinruang), by the name of Rappung, a divorced man without children, wanted to marry her. The adat community head conveyed this request to her. She already knew Rappung, and therefore she did not have to see him first, and she was given ample time to think the matter over. She continued to be silent, and from this it was concluded that she agreed to the marriage. The head reported this to the Imam of Borongloë, who sent a letter to Djawi's father in which he requested his consent to the marriage of his daughter. The letter included an authorization for the Imam to take his place as wali, an authorization to which only his fingerprint had to be added.

[583] /229/ On this occasion it appeared that the sawah designated as sunrang yielded only 50 sheaves of paddy, while a sawah of 100 sheaves was regarded as customary in such a

588 /229 cont./ case. The Imam therefore took into account
[583] the possibility that the wali would withhold his consent for this reason. The consent was given nevertheless. That Rappung was a valued worker in the kin group was probably a factor of some influence on the decision. Thereupon, the Imam, in agreement with Rappung, set the day and hour for the wedding.

Just before the time agreed upon, at about eight o'clock in the evening, the woman was taken to the Imam's house. She went directly up the back stairs and waited in the woman's rooms. A little later, Rappung arrived in the company of his gurukampong and two of his kinsmen. Shortly thereafter the Imam's son-in-law also arrived. The latter was to act as witness together with the gurukampong. At the conclusion of the solemnity both received 0.25 gulden for their part in it.

212 The Imam produced the carefully locked-away registers
588 and wrote in these with a pen especially filed for the writing
805 of Makassarese letters. In so doing he asked the customary questions: "How old are you?" Rappung did not know. "How old were you at the fall of Goa?" (1) was one of the questions

1. 1905.

designed to help him find the answer. "One year!" "How old is Djawi?" At the fall of Goa she apparently had not yet been born. "How old was she at the time of the Spanish influenza epidemic?" (2) "At that time she was not around

2. 1919.

yet either." The Imam assumed that she was probably born shortly thereafter and, basing her age on that, entered it in the register. February 27, 1940 was recorded as the date of the marriage, although the marriage was performed on the evening of the 26th (nine o'clock in the evening).

[95 cont.]
793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These orna-
[293 ments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of
778] the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was
[774 the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and
other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were
reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had
the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his
property. [96] His power was extended more and more because
he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this
gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was prob-
[636 ably the only native jurisdictional community on southern
634] Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and
given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people,
however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their posi-
tion from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornament-
[631] ships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form
larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as
well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.
565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and
Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes,
the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom
formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among
the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature
641 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because
many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treat-
ment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng,
sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became.
The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural
work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In
exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client
in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary
and could be severed by either side.
[614] Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the
582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy
583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

1: Alkema & Bezemer--111 E-4,5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia
Makasser OG6
Bali OF7

[96 cont.]

M 582 parental [bilateral] or parentage rights system prevails. Never-
583 theless, the bridegroom still pays a bride price, which here, of course, has nothing of the character of a purchase price for the girl. It is divided, together with other presents, among the
M 586 relatives of the bride, who, for their part, also give presents and return a part of the bride price. Divorce is rife, and divorce can be instituted by both the man and the woman. A peculiar institution is the mapoewé awo, "to divide a bamboo into two equal parts," which refers to the [97] distribution of the children between the parents with the understanding that, in the case of divorce and provided the bride price has been paid, the first child, then the third, and so on, go to the
M 562 mother, the others to the father. As is always the case with eleutherogamy, the position of women is not lower than that of the men; rule by women is common in southern Celebes.

B 621 d. Bali. Among the Balinese the interests of the individ-
631 ual are primarily concentrated in territorial jurisdictional communities, the Balinese dèsa; in former times they were combined into even larger territorial units, not always to their advantage or satisfaction, for example, the former Balinese principalities which were subdivided into districts.

B 592 It is noteworthy that neither the family nor the household
594 [gezin, or nuclear family] is a jurisdictional community, in view of the fact that the Balinese have a strong family sense,
B [769 which expresses itself, for instance, in a veneration for the place from which the family traces its origin. A special temple
778] is erected and pilgrimages are made there for giving offerings.
B 631 Only the dèsa, however, the territorial region, is a jurisdictional community, and, besides that, the soebak, the Balinese polder.

B 621 Although one can thus say that the dèsa communities represent the pivot around which the interests of the individual revolve, this must be qualified to apply to the particular situation on Bali.

B [771 The whole life of the Balinese is very strongly influenced
774] by his religion, an animism that has been greatly modified by

2: Wilken--318 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Java	OE1	Minangkabau	OD10	Borneo	OC1
		Redjang-Lampong	OD12	Ceram	OH9
		Makasser	OG6 ●	Roti	OF14
		Gorontalo	OG4	Savu	OF15
		Sumba	OF17	Batak	OD5
		Timor	OF20	Buru	OH8

[268 cont.]

I 582 174 We cannot discuss here the origin of marriage prohibitions in general or of the prohibition against marriage within the clan in particular. It is certain that with the establishment of individual marriage, it became customary among some to marry outside the clan, from which an extended marriage prohibition arose.

b. Bride Price

I 583 A characteristic of marriage among most of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago is the institution of bride price. What is understood by this is the custom that at marriage the bridegroom pays a certain amount of money, bride price or marriage portion, to the relatives of his bride. This institution is generally widespread among various peoples in various parts of the world. It is found with all forms of marriage, with exogamy as well as with endogamy, and in the latter case with patriarchal as well as matriarchal marriage. On Sumatra this institution is found among the Malays of the Palembang Highlands and Lowlands, in Benkulen, and among the Lampong under the name of djudjur or kulo. The Batak, too, know the word djudjur, but also tuhor and bolf. Among the Dajak it is called palaku, among the Makassarese [269] sunrang, among the Buginese sompa, among the Alfoer of the Minahasa roko or aroro, also harta; on Sumba, Timor, Savu, and Roti belis, on Ceram harta, and on Buru kaleli. ●583 This bride price is a true Malayo-Polynesian institution and is to be distinguished from the marriage portion, the mahr or mas kawin, of Mohammedan law. The difference is that the mahr is given to the bride herself, whereas the Malayo-Polynesian bride price is owed to her parents. On Java the mas kawin is also called sri kawin.

Bu C At Sv Ma RL Bt Br MK G Sm Tm J

I 583 174 It is difficult to say anything with certainty about the origin of bride price. Many believe that in the beginning it must have been a purchase price with which the girl was bought from her parents. I do not believe that this was the case. This

BI [273 cont.]
585 because the blood relatives of the one abducted would then have the right to kill him.

The abduction of a girl against her will is found only on this island; everywhere else the merangkat type prevails. For
MK example, actual abduction occurs among the Makassarese. The
585 abductor only has to hurry to the sovereign to obtain ratification
583 or to have the marriage blessed by a priest for a payment of four reals = eight guilders, and furthermore to take the bride price to her [274] parents. He must see to it, however, that this is done in time, because the family of the girl has the right to kill him as long as this is not paid, at least if he is of the same rank or especially if he is inferior.

NL Abduction also occurs among the Dajak in the southeastern
585 division. If a young man has obtained the consent of his parents
583 to enter a marriage but is afraid of receiving a negative answer from the relatives of his beloved, he abducts her and then enters into negotiations over the bride price with the parents of the girl.

Among the inhabitants of the Ambonese islands, every marriage is preceded by an abduction. This is called lari-bini, "to run off with a woman," and involves the young daughter following the man voluntarily or running after him and going into hiding with him. The abductor must leave the bride price behind in the bedstead of his beloved to appease the wrath of her relatives. A few days later he visits the house of her parents to ask their pardon, and this concludes all the formalities. In contrast with the lari-bini, there is the minta-bini = to ask a woman, which, however, concerns only the daughters of regents and other prominent persons. Abduction is not an uncommon form of marriage among the Alfoer of Buru. If one is certain of the girl's
Bu affection, it is customary for him to abduct her and to hide with
583 her in the forest, during which time the bride price is negotiated. When this is settled, the young people return and the marriage
NG is concluded in the ordinary way. Abduction also occurs among
583 some Papuan tribes, for example, those of the southwest coast. When the young man has come to an agreement with a girl, they flee together into the forest. Both sets of parents then

New Guinea OJ1
Batak OD5
Borneo OC1
Ambon OH4
Makassar OG6

NG 583 Br Bt 583 [274 cont.]

come to discuss the marriage and to settle the size of the bride price. Then the fugitives will be tracked down and the marriage concluded (1). On Sumatra [275] actual abduction is less general

1. Sal. Muller, Reizen en onderzoekingen, Vol. I, pp. 104-105.

Bt Br A I 583 as a form of marriage. It is practiced among the Batak, but as an exception, and, as among the Dajak, it takes place primarily when the young man is not sure of obtaining the consent of the girl's parents.

The general spread of abduction is shown by the above. In the adat, the customary law, abduction is a legal means of bringing about a marriage. Among a few peoples, first of all the Ambonese, it is the rule; among others, it is practiced only when a man, although certain of the affection of the girl, is not sure of obtaining the consent of her parents, as we have seen, for example, among the Dajak and Batak. There are other reasons, however, for preferring a marriage by abduction over one with a proper proposal, even when it is certain that the parents of the girl have no objections to the proposal. As a rule many formalities are connected with a marriage by proposal, which involve not only much time, but considerable expense. This is the case, for example, among the Balinese with the mapadik, and hence they practice the melagandong and merangkat more. We find it explicitly reported of the Makassarese that because of the cumber- MK ●583 some ceremonies at a marriage, at the celebration of a marriage with a proposal, they often resort to abduction.

I 582 583 As I have said, abduction is permitted by the adat, and therefore the criminal code for the natives takes this fact into account. Art. 272, paragraph 2, threatens punishment for the abduction of underage girls, but in paragraph 3 declares that one is liable to prosecution only on the complaint of parents or guardians. Through this last provision the lawmaker has effectively covered the cases where the adat permits abduction. Where abduction is a lawful means of concluding a marriage,

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

Again I had several men at the house, including a fairly high turunan radja. We went through about one half of the notes. I asked about the high percentage of unmarried women here and told them that the census reported that this was caused by the high prices. Saleh said no, the price was only f.88 for upper classes and f.20 for a slave. But I noted that he couldn't go to normal school because of the f.65. But, he said, there are ways of getting around this price. For example, one might give a rice field or something in kind rather than money. He said the trouble was mainly in the higher class, as it was hard to find suitable mates. But if it is too difficult one can move down a peg for a mate, but the result then is that the children are of lower status or class. The upper class man said that Fredericy's [i.e., H.J. Friedericy, De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren--Analyst] estimate of 40 pure ana' patola in Goa was rather high. He said that now there is only one, a woman. I think he said that she is not married, but I am not sure. Saleh agreed that it is also possible to run off and thus have a lower price. He also said that there is no real marriage unless the price is paid. All the fussy details apply mainly to the upper classes. And there again I see the fault in the Dutch material. They write of the uppers mostly. There is an absolute rule, a taboo, on a lower man marrying an upper woman [hypergamy]. Punishment for this was formerly death, by drowning. They agreed that this was looked upon as incest and as being sufficient cause of disaster for all. Such results as failure of the rice crop and so forth, might be expected. They put it that the mountains would refuse to send the rain. They laughed when I read from the notes that there was little divorce here because it was so hard to replace a wife. They seemed to agree that there was very little divorce. They said there was relatively little polygamy too, but the old sea captain has two wives now and has had many more. The two never lived together in polygamy now, he said, because they fight. Formerly, they could live in the same house. The present Radja of Goa has two wives.

583 565 435 114 [684] 586 595

Literacy: Saleh said to be careful regarding percentage figures on literacy. He said that everybody learns to read (or at least most people) Makassarese, and many learn to write it. It is taught in school, and also in the homes. Thus he might teach his wife if she were illiterate. He said that in the kampong 70 per cent of the people can read Makassarese and 30 per cent can write it. The figures are lower for Arabic and Roman letters. He has some figures in the material he gave me. He said that school children learn Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic.

212

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
● 583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evidently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they
587 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watumpone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower
586 or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
588 must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair
565 there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate.
One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and
not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when
I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from
heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese
this

789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And
it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages
to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all
right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier,
and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage
between higher women and lower men. To compensate for
this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone
that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for
example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand
this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no
change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Toma-
rilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to
a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as
I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As
far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something
between the states. There are frequent marriages in the
noble class between the states, and thus it is something like
the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

557 /83 cont./ A certain equality of marriage partners is
581 assumed. One who has gone up in standing through personal qualities and who on the basis of this is able to marry off one of his children to a member of a group that is actually regarded as a little higher has attained the highest goal. It becomes apparent to everyone that through this marriage he has risen in standing. The standing that he has thus built up is, as it were, fixed by this circumstance. In a later social evaluation of his children, his achievement is used as a basis of judgment. His kinsmen honor in him the man who has raised the standing of their group, for as kinsmen they are, and remain in principle, his equals and thus rise with him. Compared with other
[585] festivals of the Makassarese, wedding feasts are the most valuable in view of the economic capacity of the group. More than any others, they are the gauge of social standing.

584 The choice of a marriage partner is an affair which cannot
557 be left to the young people themselves. It is a matter for the elders and, preferably, the prominent elders of the group of relatives. They look for what they consider the best solution; they weigh and balance the possibilities, and through their collaboration the marriages finally come about. In all this, a certain marriage policy is apparent.

In the marriage policy of the elders, two opposing
557 tendencies are to be found. On the one hand, there exists
581 the striving for a closely cohesive related group whose members
612 marry each other as much as is possible. On the other hand, there is the striving to establish relations with members of other groups of relatives, preferably those who rank just a little higher. A successful policy is achieved by the person who is able to realize his aim in both directions and who, at the same time, /84/ is able to bring about harmony between the two. Those who constitute the average in the group of relatives as regards their social standing, soon satisfy themselves with the first-mentioned aim. The prominent members of the group tend, rather, to direct their interests outside their own group.

557 /84 cont./ The fifth child, a girl, married her eighth-
581 /85/ degree cousin, a grandson of the old Imam of Borongloë.
612 In so doing, the kin-group tie with the first religious official of the adat community was established on a firmer basis.

The members of the adat community head's widespread group of relatives reside in almost three kampong territories. The sixth child, again a son, married the daughter of the head of one of these kampongs. In this case the adat community head and the kampong head were first cousins.

Finally, the seventh child, a girl, married one of her sixth-degree cousins residing in one of these other kampongs.

584 On the basis of this example, a number of comments can be made.
612

1. The adat community head, the father, was in this case the central figure who brought about the various marriages of his children. But this is not necessarily always so. If one witnesses several weddings successively in various houses of the same kampong and in one and the same related group, one will be struck by the fact that in each case the same elders are instrumental in arranging all details of the ceremonies. The parent concerned is consulted, but the actual leadership is in the hands of others. The same seems to be the case, if one investigates who brought the marriage partners together. The matter, to be sure, is discussed with the children's own parents, but it is of such importance to the related group that it cannot simply be left to them. If they make suggestions, these are taken into account. If they come to talk, they are given advice. But if they do nothing, other prominent members of the group take the initiative.

584 2. Just as the marriage of the fourth son was organized,
565 regulated, and paid for by a member of the high nobility, the adat community head in his turn likewise brought about a large number of marriages of his subordinates in the course of the years, sometimes after they had made their preference apparent to him, sometimes on his own initiative (1).

584 /85 cont./ 1. At one count, he arrived
565 at 18, not counting the
marriages of his own children.

In so doing, the existing tie between high and low is greatly strengthened. The person who has brought about one's marriage /86/ is never forgotten. Such a marriage ceremony is on a much smaller scale than the higher person would have for his own child; nevertheless, it is always more expensive than it would have been had it been given by the kinsmen of the marriage partners themselves. Hence, the lower person
[554] receives as festive wear, for instance, a headdress of a certain color or a kris of a certain type, to which he actually has no right but whose use is granted for the occasion by the higher person. As a result his standing rises.

554 3. From this example it appears further that the general
602 notion that all kinsmen should be each other's equals is incorrect.
582 It is clear that the adat community head, who is a prominent man in his group, insofar as he chooses them from among his kinsmen, favors children of other prominent members of his group as spouses for his children. Accordingly, a tendency toward endogamy exists among the prominent members of the related group. Furthermore, even among kinsmen such great differences in standing may exist that a marriage bond is regarded as undesirable by one of the parties.

The conflict of these tendencies becomes most clearly apparent in a well-integrated related group through the marriage policies of its prominent members. For the ordinary members this conflict is less urgent. They find sufficient possibilities for marriage within the group.

The Bride Price (sunrang)

554 For a Makassarese, the marriage of his child is an extreme-
585 ly important event because it demonstrates the standing that

554 /92 cont./ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status, or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
554 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of
578 this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage
602 candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang,
557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
602

571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten.

Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
584 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
602 who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia' tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free companionship, it seems to take very little to make a Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
571 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
834 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
848 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang
583 cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

583 /150 cont./ "Please find what is good for me." And by
584 "good" (badjika) is meant a normal marriage; "bad" (kodia) means marriage by flight. The older woman thereupon tries out the mother. Whether this couple will subsequently marry or not then further depends upon whether or not an agreement concerning marriage has been made with respect to one of the two.

584 When a marriage which she herself has desired comes
834 about, the girl shows aversion to the man, as is expected of her. Externally, nothing distinguishes this marriage from one that has been contracted against her wishes.

583 When older people act against the wishes of the younger,
584 and the young man urges a flight, the girl can consent to
558 this. But if she refuses, he can get his way simply by
626 making her siri'. In most cases the threat of siri' alone seems sufficient.

584 One who is unable to use an older woman as intermediary must find another way of establishing the desired contact with a girl. He may, for instance, seek out the company of her brother. He plays raga with him and goes with him to the movies (this example is derived from one of the kampongs
[574] surrounding Macassar). In return /151/ his friend may ask him to stay and eat or sleep. If he keeps this up long enough, he may get an opportunity to attract the girl's attention, that is to say, to perform a service for the mother or run an errand for her, even though this reaches him through a third person.

His intentions do not remain entirely concealed. If her mother likes him, if no arrangements have been made regarding this daughter, and if the information gained concerning his kin group is not unfavorable, she may very briefly let her daughter be alone with him unnoticed. But she remains watchful. "Don't make me siri'," she says to her daughter.
584 When they are alone together, there is no immediate con-
834 versation, even less is there an immediate physical contact.

584 /151 cont./ But an atmosphere of intimacy is created pre-
834 cisely because it is forbidden and dangerous. The desire to get married seems to be strengthened by it.

584 The examples described are a number of ways in which young people try to bring about a marriage with a marriage partner chosen by themselves by means of forbidden contacts.

Personality Norms

157 Norms for the personality of men are different from
562 those for women.

A man must be combative and courageous, always ready to challenge someone or to answer a challenge. He must be skillful in debate and a good teller of tall tales. In these stories the emphasis must always be placed on the fact that he, his group, or his prince, did something better than another group or a neighboring prince. In these stories he must also have great success with women and be capable of great sexual achievements. One likes to compare a man to a cock, proud and always ready to do battle. A man is sometimes conceived of as rough. He is always wandering.

562 Man is devoted to woman; he praises her in vague,
idealizing terms.

539 Nampa' ri udjung Borinu, — When I had come to the farthest point of your land,
157

riappa pa'rasangannu — to the remotest point of your land,

nanailalang — then my soul was already in you,

sumangakku, makkaraëng — worshipping you.

157 /152/ The woman must be delicate and tender, shy
562 and withdrawn. She is more devoted to herself. She tries, but as passively as possible, to draw his attention to herself.

589 /163 cont./ Today, just as fifteen to twenty years ago, a comparatively large number of men and women remain unmarried. The above-mentioned reasons may be of influence upon the number of those who remain unmarried during a certain period of time and in a certain group. An explanation of the same phenomenon during this period in the lower classes must be attempted separately.

581 Marriage seemed to be one of the most important events in the related group. The older people who bring about the marriages unconsciously apply a criterion of selection in the choice of those they are bringing together in marriage. The young man of whom they expect that he will contribute to the standing of their group has preference. This must be someone, therefore, who is always prepared to outdo others /164/ and to guard against the impairment of his own standing. Outdoing 156 other men and the conquest of women are two matters which in 584 the Makassarese conception go together in a man. The young men who possess these qualities to a strong degree frequently take the initiative toward marriage themselves, however limited the opportunities for this may be. Furthermore, there is a large number of men who do not get to take the initiative and begin to refuse when their marriage is announced to them, but who in the end let themselves be persuaded. There are those who externally let themselves be persuaded but who continue to refuse sexual union and in so doing cause the marriage to fail (1).

1. See below, pp. 273ff.

156 Finally, there are a number of men who refuse to marry and upon whom the parents exert little further pressure. These 589 are the ones of whom it is believed that they would contribute little to the standing of the related group. Their fear of being inadequate in sexual relations with their wife, just as they are

156 /164 cont./ inadequate in their social relations with other
589 men, could be the reason for their refusal to marry. The fact that the older people do not consider these individuals capable of contributing to the standing of the group could be the reason why they are satisfied with their refusal.

[584] No initiative toward marriage of any kind may ever proceed from a woman. The docile, withdrawn girls are set up as an example. I believe, but would like to see this confirmed by further investigation, that among the unmarried women these docile types are still the most frequent. The more aggressive personalities who possess to a lesser degree the qualities most valued in this society seem to marry sooner. An old woman explained why a particular girl had been allowed to marry by reasoning that otherwise one might have difficulties with her later. By this, the old woman most probably was thinking of the possibility of siri' problems arising. The fact that these characters marry, while docile individuals frequently remain unmarried, points to the fact that the older people in their selections follow the path of least resistance. The types from whom the most difficulties are to be expected have a better chance of marrying.

[581] The men with the personal qualities that are most /165/ appreciated and the women with the personal qualities that are least appreciated have the best chances of marrying.

565 It is believed that the karaeng always possess a high de-
156 gree of the personal qualities appreciated in a man. Their
581 opportunities to marry are greater than those of an ordinary man; a marriage to a lower woman is a frequent phenomenon. Figures dealing with the unmarried in this group are not available, however.

The Koro Phenomenon

826 Koro is the Makassarese name for the disease symptom in
158 which a man believes that his penis is shrinking and will turn

/176 cont./

Elements of the Wedding Ritual

The Announcement

584 The announcement to a young girl that she is to marry is made with great care. An older woman is enlisted for this purpose, /177/ one who herself has many children and who has done well in this world. For instance, the wife of a kapala or someone who has higher blood coupled with personal standing. The parents hope that some of their luck (pitjuru) will be imparted to their child. The girl is taken to the woman and is addressed quietly and in a friendly manner with a few, well-chosen words. "We intend to make you a complete person" (nipadjari tau); "we want to make you into one single whole" (nipakalepu).

When her marriage is announced to her, a girl always cries. A somewhat simple type who remained seated quietly was even incited to do so: "Cry, child, otherwise people will laugh at you" (ngarruko 'ndi, nakakaliko sallang taua). Not to cry is regarded as a sign that she longs for a man.

A girl who has heard that she must marry generally draws the sarong over her head and sobbingly lies down in a dark corner of the house. She refuses all food and remains there until she is taken up by her female relatives in order to undergo a certain ritual. At that time she keeps herself as passive as possible and thereby shows that the idea of having to marry makes her very unhappy.

It is also expected of a young man that he will be sad when he hears that he must marry. Eh, tene'na, "What, is he glad," (that he is going to marry), was the disapproving reaction of an old woman when the boy remained completely quiet. The kinsmen repeatedly make remarks to him designed to put him in a sad mood. "Think of your mother." "Now you probably will no longer think of us. Now you will only call your wife's kinsmen your kin group."

177 /198 cont./ bride who clearly enjoyed the bouquet of white
585 carnations that she had received from him. Arm in arm they stepped into the car which took them to the next event in the festivities at his family's house.

There their gaiety collided with the Makassarese world which demands of the woman that she cry and show herself averse to her husband-to-be. The bride changed her clothing; she received the Makassarese bridal costume with the head-dress belonging to it, and was made up in a manner appropriate to it. When a moment later her bridegroom appeared and risked a joke, he was angrily put in his place. She turned away from him, and, as a good Makassarese bride, she henceforth sat motionless with closed eyes amidst the women, and at appropriate moments she displayed her aversion to her bridegroom in a self-composed manner, completely in accordance with the manner in which the Makassarese feelings must be expressed in this situation.

Child Marriage

584 The marriage policy of the older people permits even sexually immature children to marry. In so doing, they believe that they are keeping a marriage, judged desirable by them from not taking place. The reason that a marriage desired by them does not take place is to be found, in the first place, in the opposition of the individuals concerned -- the opposition of as yet sexually immature children practically does not have to be taken into account --, and in the second instance, in a request made by a higher person.

554 A request by the religious official or by someone with
565 karaëng blood in his veins to an ordinary kampong man can
584 be made on behalf of a kinsman belonging to this higher person -- and in that case there will generally be no reason for refusal --. But it may also be made on behalf of a lower person, one of his followers, or for a close associate. Refusal

554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaëng related group, that only a small number are contracted in that of the adat community heads, and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives.
582 The marriage registers are particularly useless for this purpose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling out the marriage registers know that the administration does not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this girl, a very special figure ahead of his time, had recorded the birth dates of his children in a notebook, and therefore a check was possible in this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

833 /201 cont./ thus causes the entire purpose of the marriage to run awry. In such cases it is said of the man that he refuses sexual contact with his wife (tena naero' ri bainenna; literally, "he does not want his wife"); such a refusal may just as well emanate from the wife.

Sometimes it is clear that someone does not desire con-
[584] tact with his spouse because he himself has made another choice and now still wants to force his kinsmen to permit him to marry her (1). In other cases a bride or bridegroom declares

[586]

1. In a case which took place in Macassar in which a young man refused sexual intercourse with his wife because he had his mind set upon another girl, the marriage was dissolved after more than three years. At that time his father consented to his disposing of his wife. Shortly
[587] thereafter he had to marry a second wife, just as little by his own choice as the first one. He led a normal married life with this second wife. She presented him with two children and died a few years afterwards. Only then did he marry the woman whom he had chosen eight years earlier.

that the appearance of the marriage partner does not please him (or her). But in still other cases, not a single reason can be detected.

Sometimes it is believed in such cases that the individual who refuses has been affected by a spell emanating from

582 /205 cont./ widower, where the widow and widower had remarried and lived together in one house with the children from their respective first marriages, was not carried out in the city of Macassar until the Kali of Macassar declared that no Moslem legal objections existed against this marriage. In Goa, after some hesitation, such a marriage was not sealed. The chance for an unfavorable outcome was regarded as too great.

[584] Where two young people living in the same house have a chance of being married, as happens once in a while in the populous houses of headmen, one of them is sent elsewhere beforehand and is made to marry from there.

A marriage between relatives who do not belong to the same generation is regarded as unfavorable. Husband and wife are regarded as belonging to the same generation. If, [601] genealogically viewed, they belong to a different generation, 593 there arises in the beginning of the marriage an uncertainty with respect to social forms and terms of address, which after a while disappears as forms and terms are adapted to the new relationship. Where man and wife stated that they were members of the same generation, whereas later it appeared that a difference of generations existed between them, it was found unpleasant to be reminded of this irregularity in kinship relations. The conflict which had already become buried revived, as it were, by such an observation.

Where a difference in generations between man and wife is observable, in almost all cases the man belongs to the older generation.

The marriage of a man to a cousin of the fourth degree (samposikali) or to a cousin of the tenth degree is regarded by many as an "ordinary" marriage, but a few regard it as [565] unfavorable. In /206/ the karaeng group of relatives, marriages between relatives of the fourth degree occur with greater frequency than in Borongloë. In these circles greater

/226 cont./
Extramarital Pregnancy

848 Pregnancy is naturally a reason for flight for an unmarried woman. For the first few months the male relatives need not notice anything so she can safely remain at home. Her mother or sister is sometimes taken into her confidence, but both will always deny this. If, under these circumstances, a woman does not suceed in persuading the father of her child to flee and marry her, she finally flees by herself and names [588] him to the religious official concerned. Summoned by the imam, the majority of men confess. Thereupon the marriage is carried out, and the couple is henceforth simply regarded and treated as tumannjala.

A man who continues to deny being the father of the child is taken to the Kali of Goa. If he maintains his denial [695] there, he receives the opportunity to swear solemnly in the great mosque of Goa that he did not make this woman pregnant. Once he has performed this oath, he is free. In reality, however, he is still in danger. He will do well not to enter the kampong where the woman used to live. The general opinion is that a woman does not lie under such circumstances. A man who denies being the father of her child, even though he has fortified his denial by an oath, must always take care [627] that one of her /227/ kinsmen will not try to kill him all the same. Only when she has subsequently married another man is he safe.

584 After the man has made his oath, the woman remains in the imam's house until someone comes who wants to marry 588 her. This usually happens after a few days. First an emissary 848 from this man has a talk with the imam, who then conveys the marriage request to the woman. If she is not yet acquainted with her marriage partner-to-be, she is given an opportunity to see him, and she can then decide for herself. If she remains seated silently with bowed head, this is tantamount to her consent. But her expression "tea'" (I don't want to) is accepted. A woman who refuses several candidates one after another will at most be told that she is making

584 /227 cont./ things difficult for the people around her. There
588 always seems to be a sufficient number of unmarried men who
848 would like to get married.

It rarely happens that a child is born without the mother
848 being married. This may happen by way of exception, for instance, if a woman is pregnant by her sister's husband. According to Moslem law, which in this point is strictly followed in Goa, she may not marry this man before her sister is divorced from him and the iddat period is past. Children born outside wedlock are, therefore, a rarity. At the same time they usually die soon. Only once a girl of about eight years of age was pointed out to me in Borongloë as a child who had never had a father. Figures concerning this matter
[163] cannot be given because these births, or the subsequent death of the children, are not recorded in the respective registers. Makassarese fail to see what interests would be served in doing so. They prefer to forget such cases as soon as possible.

A man who marries a woman who was impregnated by
588 another man is called pattongko' siri' ("coverer of the disgrace").
672 Such a marriage is regarded entirely like a silariang marriage.
684 No further festivities take place when it occurs. The fine is paid, and the man is tumannjala with respect to his wife's kinsmen until the reconciliation, even though he only attained this status by virtue of the fact that he married her. It is usually a widower or a man of over thirty years who wants to contract such a marriage. Sometimes he is a kinsman of the woman, but in that case always a cousin of the sixth degree (sampopinruang) or further removed, for her closest kinsmen are, in the first instance, tumasiri'.

His action is appreciated. It makes the woman /228/
[848] happy, so it is said, because he saves her and her kinsmen from an even greater disgrace, giving birth to a child without being married. This appreciation is expressed, in the first place, by an early reconciliation, often as soon as a month after the marriage has been contracted. Furthermore, although

A M G J I 534 476

[282 cont.]

Young people get acquainted in various ways. Activities in the rice fields often present occasions for getting acquainted, especially where such work is done with mutual assistance, as on Java during the rice harvest. The rice harvest, where men and women, old and young, participate in festive attire, gives young men and girls the finest opportunity for establishing tender relationships and marriages are never more frequent than during the first weeks of harvest time (4). The Alfoer of the Minahasa

4. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 525.

practice this mutual assistance and call it mapulus. Most acquaintance are made through this, and most engagements follow a mapulus. This is also the case among other peoples, e.g., the Ambonese (5), the Makassarese (6), etc.

5. Tijdschrift Ned. Aardr. Gen. Vol. I, p. 243, note.

6. Ind. Gids, 1881, Vol. II, p. 829.

RL I 883 584 291

Among other peoples there are gatherings where boys and girls meet and have [283] the opportunity to become acquainted with one another. Here, I want to mention the Lampong specifically. Boys and girls often meet at night to chat or to pass the time in some other way. In general this is usually called manjara, which probably means the same as the Malayan mĕnjahut = to answer. The favorite pastime on this occasion is to make compliments in veiled terms, or recite pantuns, serambah in Lampong, in a singing tone drawn out as required. They must then be answered by the girl. I need not say that most love affairs start on these occasions. (I remind the reader of the regulation that on these occasions the boys must appear with the upper body bare, which I mentioned earlier concerning clothing. The adat prohibits the use of a badju [baju]) (1). Also among the Batak the boys

I Bt 883

159 are plenty of people in his house including the two very pretty young girls who do the fine weaving. Saleh said that they both had learned gold work too, and that during a rush they are able to help him and his cousin helper. When there is not so much rush, they weave. The old man said he was also a carpenter in the old days, and pointed out the houses he had built in the leprosarium. He said he was born in Laikang, where there is much salt making from sea water.

774 Saleh uses the word dewata for spirit in the animistic sense, and also understands the term sumangat.

000 Most of the day was spent in looking around. Tomorrow I will go through my notes for questions and further discussion.

871 Balombaru, September 2, 1949: This third day I thought
157 I would go through my notes, but I got sidetracked onto
326 Saleh's answers to the schedule. This is all right, although the going is very slow. One thing is very dramatic.
159 Saleh told me about his personal tragedy as far as education is concerned. He said that he wanted to go to normal school, but that the fee was f.65. Neither he nor his father could afford this. They tried to sell portions of their rice fields, but times were bad then and there were no buyers. Saleh said that he then went to the teacher (I gather it was the superintendent) of the normal school and asked why he must pay f.65. The answer was that that was the price of board and room. At this Saleh offered to bring a mat and sleep on the floor and to get his own food. However, the superintendent said no. As Saleh told me the story, much affect could be noted. And he added that plenty of other boys have had the same trouble. He is truly an ambitious man and would have justified any help given him. He said that he had trained lots of young goldsmiths and that they were now scattered all over. He said that he had trained so many that often one found villages around here where there were formerly no goldsmiths at all and which now consisted of a good number of goldsmiths.

[535] One thing before the schedule: I talked about the dancing
● 584 girls. They told me that the Makassarese are very strict
834 regarding all girls. One might not approach a girl directly but only through relatives and always in a respectable fashion. In regard to the go-between in marriage, they said that many of the girls in school today are scorning the old practice. However, an old man, cackling, said that the padjoge in the Buginese country were different. He said

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and 584
if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment 834
you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him.

Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions 125
as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans.

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such 565
class designations as bangsa hamba[slaves] and others as 558
turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were 567
plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's.

Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell 855
plenty in order to send him to school.

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went 567
to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general 558
exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are 166
of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may 152
be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe.) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 000

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thousands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese 535
in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and 181
there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead- 152
pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the sim- 832
ple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the 292
local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have
much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light
banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was
when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected
because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face to-
ward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward
prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The
high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And
the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under
them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in
festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and 124
finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Moham-
medan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living 163
children per woman was three, but that the average number
of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average
number who die to each woman is two. They say there has
been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not
much if any difference according to class. This I do notice,
that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is 861
the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. 828
I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that
they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says
there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a
child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex]
(and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted
that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary
people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. 562
They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, 584
women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women 883
never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) 181
If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or some-
one else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not
usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders
doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change
noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional
pair coming from school together, but this is carried out
for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
584 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
883 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army
181 post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely, there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal,
562 and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
567 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although
178 all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
586 and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
153 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
152 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with
[565] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas, the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said that this will mean very little in this area except for the formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to receive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect, too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean further insecurity for his position. There are great preparations being made for this event at the present time. There will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge. This is merely a generic term. At the top are the ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here (though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng, descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depending on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only

538 /27 cont./ related that I Maipa was the daughter of the Sultan of Sumbawa. As such, however, she was of nobler blood than Datu Museng, and their marriage was thus likewise a forbidden tie. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomathie /Makassarese Chrestomathy/, 1883: "Aanteekeningen," p. 88.

[113]

singers (pakeso'keso') (3).

[533 534]

3. A singer who accompanies himself on a two-stringed violin (keso'keso').

593 In daily life the brother is, in the very first instance, the protector of his sister as a young girl. He is for her the "strong wall," as the verse says (4). He likes to accompany

4. See Chapter III, p. 297.

her and the older women when they pay visits to kinsmen living elsewhere. He is the one who reacts first in case she is siri'; this is as much as to say that he immediately starts the pursuit and stabs if she should want to flee. He carries her [585] as a bride out of the back rooms where she was dressed to the bridal bed in the front room. He is proud of her and of the fact that he may protect her.

601 The /nuclear/ family is clearly reflected in the kinship terminology (see list). It is apparent that only the members of the /nuclear/ family are indicated by individual terms and that for the rest the terminology makes distinctions only between generations. The distinctions made in ego's own generation,

557 /83 cont./ A certain equality of marriage partners is
581 assumed. One who has gone up in standing through personal qualities and who on the basis of this is able to marry off one of his children to a member of a group that is actually regarded as a little higher has attained the highest goal. It becomes apparent to everyone that through this marriage he has risen in standing. The standing that he has thus built up is, as it were, fixed by this circumstance. In a later social evaluation of his children, his achievement is used as a basis of judgment. His kinsmen honor in him the man who has raised the standing of their group, for as kinsmen they are, and remain in principle, his equals and thus rise with him. Compared with other
[585] festivals of the Makassarese, wedding feasts are the most valuable in view of the economic capacity of the group. More than any others, they are the gauge of social standing.

584 The choice of a marriage partner is an affair which cannot
557 be left to the young people themselves. It is a matter for the elders and, preferably, the prominent elders of the group of relatives. They look for what they consider the best solution; they weigh and balance the possibilities, and through their collaboration the marriages finally come about. In all this, a certain marriage policy is apparent.

In the marriage policy of the elders, two opposing
557 tendencies are to be found. On the one hand, there exists
581 the striving for a closely cohesive related group whose members
612 marry each other as much as is possible. On the other hand, there is the striving to establish relations with members of other groups of relatives, preferably those who rank just a little higher. A successful policy is achieved by the person who is able to realize his aim in both directions and who, at the same time, /84/ is able to bring about harmony between the two. Those who constitute the average in the group of relatives as regards their social standing, soon satisfy themselves with the first-mentioned aim. The prominent members of the group tend, rather, to direct their interests outside their own group.

584 /85 cont./ 1. At one count, he arrived
565 at 18, not counting the
marriages of his own children.

In so doing, the existing tie between high and low is greatly strengthened. The person who has brought about one's marriage /86/ is never forgotten. Such a marriage ceremony is on a much smaller scale than the higher person would have for his own child; nevertheless, it is always more expensive than it would have been had it been given by the kinsmen of the marriage partners themselves. Hence, the lower person
[554] receives as festive wear, for instance, a headdress of a certain color or a kris of a certain type, to which he actually has no right, but whose use is granted for the occasion by the higher person. As a result his standing rises.

3. From this example it appears further that the general
554 notion that all kinsmen should be each other's equals is incorrect.
602 It is clear that the adat community head, who is a prominent
582 man in his group, insofar as he chooses them from among his kinsmen, favors children of other prominent members of his group as spouses for his children. Accordingly, a tendency toward endogamy exists among the prominent members of the related group. Furthermore, even among kinsmen such great differences in standing may exist that a marriage bond is regarded as undesirable by one of the parties.

The conflict of these tendencies becomes most clearly apparent in a well-integrated related group through the marriage policies of its prominent members. For the ordinary members this conflict is less urgent. They find sufficient possibilities for marriage within the group.

The Bride Price (sunrang)

554 For a Makassarese, the marriage of his child is an extreme-
585 ly important event because it demonstrates the standing that

554 /86 cont./ he has built up in his life. The more days and
585 nights the festival lasts, the more guests (largely kinsmen) present, the more buffaloes slaughtered, and the more spacious the pannjambungi (the extension built onto the front of the house for this occasion), the higher is his standing. But the
[583] bride price, sunrang, is the element of marriage which permits the clearest measurable evaluation.

The sunrang is not simply handed over to the wife's kin
583 group by the man and his kin group. It is present at the contracting of the marriage (nikka'). The marriage official records the amount in the marriage register in reals (1), an.

[435]

1. A real was, and still is, valued at 2 guldens. The coin itself, the real, is not seen at these payments. It became too rare for that.

old species of coin which has long disappeared from /87/ circulation. The woman's kin group frequently demands that the sunrang be paid entirely in specie (rix-dollars or guldens), but usually this happens only in part. The balance is paid by giving a sawah or a buffalo. As a symbol of such a transaction, a handful of earth (from the sawah) or a nose ring (of the
[415] buffalo) is added to the specie, which is contained in a flat, round copper box (kampu), used only at a marriage. The kampu also contains various kinds of leaves and a piece of wood, whose names signify "high," "rich," "rising," and "expanding." That is what one wishes for the sunrang and, at the same time, for the woman's group of relatives, the best possible wish.

The sunrang cannot be just any amount; it is always an
[659] even figure. It is fixed by the local authorities, in this case, the Self-government of Goa. In part it is linked to a specific status (ordinary people), in part to a certain function (the adat

554 /95 cont./ were against it. They only yielded when the
565 Prince drew their attention to the fact that in the old lontar
582 the three above-mentioned qualities are already named as qualifications for a man to be permitted to marry a higher woman.

In the few historical writings that I was able to consult, I did not find examples of war lords who were able to contract marriage with a higher woman on the basis of successes gained in battle.

The present-day generation is acquainted with the case of a wealthy merchant from Macassar, a hadji, who married one of the female followers of the Queen of Goa. This man was a favorite of the Prince, who followed his advice in many cases. He therefore owed his rise in standing entirely to personal qualities. In addition, the case is well known of a young man born in an ordinary kin group but employed as a tax official and very influential at the same time, who married a daughter of one of the adat community heads. The sunrang in these cases remained the same as the one that had
[583 been paid for the mother and sisters, but an exceptionally
585] large amount was asked for, and paid, to cover the expenses of the feast. This is called the buying of blood (ammalli tjera').

In these very rare cases, the difference in descent be-
554 tween man and wife, according to general opinion, was great.
581 But even in the more or less regularly occurring cases where
582 these differences are small, learnedness, wealth, and courage are of importance. An imam or a revered guru ngadji (1),

1. One who instructs children in the reading of the Koran.

may contract a marriage, or he can cause his son to contract one, of a type which a brother who remained an ordinary kampong

554 /96 cont./ from marriages in which the partners are regarded
562 as equal. The marriage of a cousin (samposikali) of the adat
582 community head to the daughter of a kapalakompong /kampong head/ is called a marriage between equals, but on the part of the head, the idea of a union of his cousin with a son of the Kapala is rejected because this young man is regarded as lower than the girl.

554 One of the princes had a son called daëng Ali by a woman
565 from the kin group of one of the adat community heads. His
585 brother had a daughter called daëng Batje by an ordinary
574 kampong woman. Daëng Ali was regarded as considerably higher than his first cousin. They married and lived with the groom's father, the Prince. Now it is expected of the kinsmen of daëng Batje's mother, ordinary kampong people as we said, that they will be modest /97/ and that they will not constantly come to visit their sister (cousin or aunt, as the case might be). Of daëng Batje, in turn, it is expected that she will receive these kinsmen in a friendly way; that she will not show herself proud toward them, but will entertain them nicely. She should not entertain them too lavishly, for that would be a sign of superiority, but especially not too poorly, for that would indicate that the visitors were not appreciated. For daëng Batje the visit of her kinsmen is an agreeable matter, because people can see how the relatives appreciate her, a fact which in turn strengthens her position with respect to them. Through her, therefore, her kinsmen have a certain right to come to the palace. A couple of nieces -- the best ones are picked out for this purpose -- may temporarily come to live in the palace. There they learn the superior manners of the nobility. In so doing, they rise in standing and later have a chance of a better marriage, something which again works to the benefit of their entire group.

554 Children from a marriage of a man to a lower woman
565 are regarded as lower than their father's kinsmen and higher

554 /101 cont./ thought of as ridiculous by the related group.
565 They would see in it merely an affected way of distinguishing
[576] himself from those around him.

The wearing of certain ornaments by a bride, and of a kris or a headdress (sigara') of a certain color by the bride-
[585 groom, is frequently a sign of friendliness on the part of a
572] higher person. He may, as a favor, permit a lower person to adorn himself on certain occasions with things which belong to the higher group. This raises the standing of the lower person.

A woman who caused her deceased mother to be treated as though she were a relative of the Prince was regarded as arrogant. "She is daring," was the reaction of those around
[626] her. It means that what she does is dangerous, because in so doing she enters the state of "bassung"; that is to say, she can be punished for this deed with a swollen belly. Nobody, however, expresses his disapproval openly, since, after all, it is quite possible that what she does is exactly the right thing, and in that case the one who made the remarks would be punished, as happened in the case of standing on the investiture rock.

If a person conducts himself as a higher person, and if he does so with great self-assurance and with success, then these modes of conduct help to determine his social standing.

The System of Followers

571 The system of followers is one of the most obvious aspects of the tendency toward vertical mobility. It may be described as the /102/ totality of relationships between a higher person (karaëng, lord) and those lower, whom he calls ana' ana'na (1) or taunna (his people). The basis of this system is the

177 /134 cont./ goalkeeper of the karaëng's team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaëng had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaëng
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he, and not the karaëng who was the loser in this collision. It is understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
576 showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams, high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive" in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaëng can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

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583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
589 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
[582] in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary argument to explain the fact that a large number of women remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also used as an "explanation" for the existence of marriage by flight. It is safer to assume that in times like those after 1929, the number of marriages by flight increased somewhat through a gradual adjustment toward new relationships with regard to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance, cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts, and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
178 previous one.

435 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
583 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
585 same amount as a number of years before. The members of

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435 /162 cont./ such a group did not like to admit this toward
583 the outside world, however. It is true, therefore, that during
585 this time it repeatedly happened that a marriage did not take place, on account of the amounts which in their own opinion should be spent on the wedding feast.

But this state of affairs did not last long. Initially, it was still agreed among kinsmen that the old amount would be maintained outwardly, but that in reality they would be satisfied with less. Outwardly, the social standing of the group of relatives thereby remained on the same level. But gradually the amounts were adjusted to the new conditions, though little or nothing was thereby changed in the intent of the feast or in the entertainment of the guests.

/163/ By the same token, scarcely any difference could be observed between a wedding feast in 1940 and one celebrated in 1949 in the same group, even though in that period the valuation of sawahs and buffaloes increased by about tenfold. While in 1940 one buffalo and one goat were killed for the feast, in 1949 one buffalo and two goats were killed for the occasion. In 1949 one naturally never heard the complaint, either, that a marriage could not come about because of the excessive expenses of the wedding. In its striking frequency, this complaint remained confined to the beginning of the 1930's. The high expenses are nevertheless still named today as an excuse whenever other reasons which one does not like to mention make a certain marriage undesirable (1).

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1. Kampong Bontorambo numbered 22 widows and 13 widowers who had not remarried, that is, fully 4 percent of the total of 787 residents. Only two married men and two married women appeared

595 /168 cont./ In view of the fact that according to Moslem law the conclusion of a second marriage is just as simple as the first, there must be other reasons why so few polygamous men were registered in this region. Such a reason is, in the first place, the opposition of the first wife.

One of the worst things that can happen to a woman is [581] that her husband takes a second wife. One of the wishes for [558] a newly married couple is the hope that they will grow old together. It was said of a childless old couple who had been together all their lives that this was proof that they were happy together, and it was regarded as a cause for rejoicing and an example for the younger generation. In the "little [585] games" /169/ that take place during the wedding festival, the woman must win. This reflects the wish that later she [593] will also have the upper hand in her relationship with her husband. And in answer to the question what this referred to mostly, it was stated that one thought of the provision of the necessities for daily meals and the taking of a second wife.

The reaction of the first wife is very violent. She declared that she would rather be cast out than suffer a co-wife (maru) by her side. She leaves the house without the knowledge of her husband -- which under normal circumstances would weigh heavily against her -- and returns to her parents, preferably with her children. In such a case there is no intention of leaving the man permanently. A statement by one of these women leaves no room for doubt about that. When she heard that her husband had contracted a second marriage, she did not leave for the distant kampong of her parents until she had made the vow: "If I come back here, I shall sacrifice a hen to you (ancestors)." In such a case it is possible for the woman to return only if her husband comes to implore her to do so. Her desire to come back prevailed. Sometimes, especially if the second marriage comes about through silariang, her negative attitude is successful. In one [586] case the man went to visit his second wife less and less. The

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;
[589] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should
[581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will become apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse
581 only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For
833 a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of
[155] being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those
[156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

833 /173 cont./ The characteristics of being not good, if the not wanting emanates from the woman, are the same as when the man is the one who /174/ refuses sexual intercourse. The two women whom I was able to observe, however, lead me to suggest that the reason for their refusal is the idea that they regard themselves as too good for their husbands.

The Makassarese attitude with respect to these phenomena is different.

585 An informant named the "tete" as, in his opinion, one of the most important aspects of the wedding feast. Tete literally means "bridge." The bringing together of man and wife is regarded as a period of temporary uncertainty, and it is hoped that from this a state of lasting security will arise. Ritual is performed because it is believed that it promotes the coveted cessation of insecurity. There is always a positive [824] and a negative aspect present. This finds expression, among other things, in the names of leaves and wood types used in the ritual. Some of these have the meaning of "becoming larger," "increasing," while others mean "fending off" and "holding back."

833 We have already mentioned that the environment accepts a kawe kawe as he is. One does not have the idea that it is his fault that he is the way he is. Similarly, it is accepted of a man or woman that he (she) does not want to be "good" with his (her) marriage partner.

It is believed possible that the one who refuses sexual 833 contact has been affected by a spell /sprenk/. But people can 789 never say with certainty who it was that spoke it at best; it is only possible to suspect people of it. One proceeds from an interest that this person is believed to have in seeing the marriage fail, and one combines this with conduct observed in him or her of which it is stated that it deviates from the customary and therefore might have a special (in this case, bad) significance.

833 /174 cont./ Such a person is kept isolated from attempts
789 which are applied to make the marriage a success nonetheless.
683 In view of the fact, however, that one can never be sure that a certain individual has not uttered a spell against the prospering of the marriage partners, one never hears of stronger reactions, such as the meting out of punishment.

Even though it is accepted of a man or woman that he
833 (she) does not want to have any sexual intercourse with his
832 (her) spouse; one does not simply rest satisfied with this situation. After the actual wedding feast is /175/ over, one searches for ritual in order even yet to bring about the desired result.

In addition to many well-known and easily observable traits, the ritual generally has details which differ with every individual who performs it. These details need not be apparent. What makes the ritual a success in a certain case may be present precisely in the nonobservable details. It is never possible to know beforehand which detail it is that will bring success.

Different people accordingly test their powers in a case where the marriage partners are not good together. The ex-Imam of Borongloë was successful a number of times, after others had failed, when a few years after the marriage was concluded, he repeated the Moslem rite. This is called "marrying anew" (nikka' poleang). This ritual was unknown in a number of regions in South Celebes. Personal initiative in clearly-observable ritual matters is to be found here.

585 The wedding festival consists of a multiple ritual of which the subordinate elements are performed over a period of time from 3 to 14 days and in a more or less fixed sequence.

Several actions that are forbidden in everyday life are here performed for the first time, surrounded as they are by ritual. As such we should mention the first touch of the woman by the man, the first meal together, being bathed together, and wearing a single sarong together. The older

585 /175 cont./ people attach great significance to the way in which these actions are performed by the young people, because they believe that they can discover from them the person's inclination toward the marriage partner, and upon this in turn they base the further (ritual) measures that must be taken, all of which are geared finally to the "good" union of man and wife.

In addition, little games take place during the festival, in the form of small contests between bride and bridegroom. At the same time, care is always taken that the woman wins. It is said that this is an expression of the wish that later in daily life the wife will be the boss in the house, because a couple is then regarded as happiest (1).

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1. The relationship between man and wife in marriage is aptly characterized by saying that the wife stands on the index finger of the man (bainea ammentengi ri pandjodjona buranea), that is to say, that the wife must do what the man says. In actuality this idea is put into practice only with respect to certain points, for instance, where the siri' feelings play a part. A married man must therefore decide whether a sister or a sister-in-law living in the house with him may go to a festival, whether she may still go to school, and so forth. He may turn away a marriage request. In such matters he has his way. Thereby he feels responsible

562 593 /175 cont./ buy clothes, then the latter acts according to her own wishes. At such times the man becomes angry, but he soon comes to accept the situation with the sigh that, after all, these are only unimportant matters. Questions involving siri' are, in his opinion, ultimately the important points, and accordingly he makes sure that these continue to be under his jurisdiction.

585 184 /176/ No two wedding festivals are alike. The respective groups of relatives each have their peculiarities which find expression in details of the ritual. Within one and the same related group, each of the leading personalities leave their stamp both upon the organization of the entire festival, as well as upon the execution of the individual rituals. They show thereby that they can not only follow existing rituals, but also that they can add new rituals to these already existing.

Whoever has gone through several wedding festivals will have been struck by the great differences between them, as well as by the many traits they have in common. In the description that follows here of a number of subelements of the wedding ritual, I have followed, in the main, the notes that I took down at a single festival. In this case I am not striving for completeness. Otherwise the ritual would have had to be described much more fully. Behind each detail there again loom new ones.

/177 cont./
Water Sprinkling (appasili)

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Appasili (1) is the name of the ritual in which water is

1. See B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 597.

sprinkled over the object of the ritual, a thing or a person, by means of a number of leafy twigs which have been tied together. It is done at various moments of the wedding festival. Thus, water is sprinkled on the vessels that will be used during the festive meals and during the /178/ setting up of the chief pole of the pannjambungi (1). It occurs also at preparations that

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1. The pannjambungi is the extension which is built onto the front part of the actual house on the occasion of a wedding festival. During this time it serves as the men's quarters and as a place where the male guests are received. At such a time the house proper, including the front room (kale balla'), is reserved for the women. I hope to be able to describe this part of the house in greater detail later. W.H. Rassers has already repeatedly pointed out the great interest attaching to this part, the last time in his study, "Inleiding tot de bestudeering van de Javaansche kris /Introduction to a Study of the Javanese Kris/," Mededeeling der Kon/inklijke/ Ned/erlandsche/ Akad/emie/

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585 788 [114] /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen, Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde, N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/ /New Series/, Vol. I, no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 [593] The person who performs this ritual is frequently the "bride's mother, " (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 824 [801] The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but sometimes variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 824 789 1. These names are rapidly recited, one after the other, when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

585 /178 cont./ "The medicinal plants
824 bowagang palili, parempasa',
789 and lowe are all able to defend against evil." Palili means: "cause to get out of the way" (Ibid., p. 223) Parempa' means: "to ward off" (Ibid., p. 122). Of "lowe," Matthes states that it is an old name for the "nagasari," a shrub that was also used for fences (Ibid., p. 373). The word buagang has the same meaning. When a kampong head, after a theft, turned to someone with the
[672] words, "If the thief is found in your house, you yourself will also be punished," the reaction was: "buagang," that is to say, "May that misfortune not overcome me."

the meaning of "gay" and "sweet" respectively.

585 The water used for sprinkling comes from a pot. In the pot it has already undergone ritual treatment. At the bottom of the pot there lie some money, a number of betel leaves folded
[824] in a special way (kalomping), and an appropriate number of pieces of areca nut. This water has been made pure (badji', literally, "good"). The burning /179/ incense vessel (padupaang) has been moved around it, puffed rice (bente) has been scattered over it, and a spell has been uttered during the ceremony. The object of the ritual is now sprinkled with this "good water" while a spell is uttered again.

/179 cont./

585 783 Steaming

Steaming (barumbung) is a ritual which prepares bride and groom for their future union. At that time they are still each in his own house. Under the house a pot with water is placed on [801] the fire, and seven different kinds of leaves are placed in it. The steam is conducted upward through a hollow bamboo pipe toward a hole in the floor in the hindmost part of the house. The bride (or the bridegroom) is seated above this hole, completely wrapped in a sarong. The bride's mother scatters puffed rice over her and moves the incense vessel around her, three times one way and once the other. While doing so, she mumbles a spell. When the bride has sat in this way for some time and has perspired profusely, she is bathed. This is repeated for three days on end. It is believed that in this way even the evil that is deep within her will come out with the sweat so that only the good will remain. It is hoped that thus she will be able to face the coming period of uncertainty in the best possible condition.

Plucking the Eyebrows

302 585 The plucking of eyebrows (bubu') is likewise done before the couple is brought together. On this occasion the bride's mother removes the hairs which would make the eyebrow "not good." It is believed that a person's character is revealed in 826 his glance, and also by the features around his eye. In view of 828 the fact that even an exchange of words between young men [834] and women is prohibited, the casting of glances is practically the only thing that can be done with impunity. The slight arching of an eyebrow and lowering of the eyelids have their significance. To be greedy of eye (balala matana) is regarded 585 as an inferior quality of a young man. In this ritual the im- 826 portance of the eye and the play of the eyes accordingly finds 832

585 /179 cont./ expression. At the moment, so important for the
826 individual, when he meets his marriage partner, "the eye and
832 its environment" must be as good as possible, as one informant expressed it. /180/

585 Awaiting the Karuntigi Leaves

Awaiting the karuntigi leaves (amatamata karuntigi) (1) is,

1. B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 246.

in the first place, regarded as an important social event. On this occasion the bride (and likewise the bridegroom, each in his own house) sits on the wedding bed. It is the eve of the Moslem wedding. Many guests are present. Next to the bride a sister or cousin, as well as the bride's mother and a number of other older women are seated. All of them are in festive dress. They help the bride, fan her with cool air, move a hand, place a leg differently, or change the position of her head, so that she will not get any cramps in these parts of her body. For a bride must remain seated passively, completely immobile, and
[534 with downcast eyes. The incense vessels burns, the drums are
533] beaten, and rojong songs are hummed. Before her stand a number of little bowls. One of these contains the finely cut leaves of the karuntigi (2), a second contains oil, a third powder,

[824] 2. The leaves, it is always stated, are of a reddish color.
[822] Red is the color of fire and life. Personally, I have never been able to observe anything but an ordinary green color. The leaves are chewed beforehand.

and a fourth water.

585 /180 cont./ The higher guests come at this point and stand before the bed, one after the other. They take some karuntigi between their fingers, mix this with oil and powder, and amidst the mumbling of a spell, they smear this mixture on one of the fingers, on the arm, sometimes on the forehead or the neck of the bride. The place where the mixture is applied and the [777] manner have their significance. However, this ritual is not [554] performed by all the guests, but only by the higher and by a 887 number of older ones who themselves have many children and many sawahs, in other words people who seem to possess much "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means) and who now, on this occasion, want to transfer something of this to the bride. When a great [554] number of guests come "akkaruntigi," this raises the social standing of the host.

In the afternoon of the day following the "akkaruntigi," [178] the bridegroom leaves -- according to a very old, but at present no longer observed, custom from the lap of his mother --, amidst a great deal of lamenting on the part of his relatives, for the bride's house in order to arrive there around sundown. Only men are present on this occasion. On the way and especially upon arrival at the bride's house, a loud dikir is heard. It is said that formerly at that moment a greeting of welcome was addressed to the bridegroom by one /181/ of the wife's relatives who for this purpose stationed herself at the top of the ladder in front of the door opening. The only time [178] that I experienced this a certain embarrassment could be sensed. This was considered very old-fashioned. The number of those in Borongloë who are familiar with this address is small. The Pinati of Bontoramba gave me the text here reproduced, independent of any festival. The four-line verses reported at the end, in which bridegroom and bride are introduced speaking, were actually incorporated into the address, according to him.

126 The text was checked for uniformity in spelling with the 585 assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes. The

126 /181 cont./ latter here followed the system suggested by
●585 Professor A. A. Cense. In the translation, I tried to transpose the frequently figurative text into as good Dutch as was possible. It was not my intention to take strict responsibility for the translation.

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Pakkio' bunting	Address to welcome the bridegroom
1. Iadende', iadende',	Happily, happily,
2. nia' todjemmindjo maë	there now finally comes
3. bunting salloa kutajang,	the bridegroom whom I have been expecting for such a long time,
4. salloa kuminasai.	for whose arrival I have been hoping for such a long time.
5. Nampako riudjung borikku, riappa' pa'rasangangku,	Now that you have come to the outermost point, to the border of my land,
6. nakurappoiko tjini', kutimbarangngiko pangngai.	I give you my best wishes and my love.
7. Nampako kuasseng nia', nakuitungko labattu,	Now I know that you are there, that you have really arrived,
8. kunragi memang berasa' ri- mangko' kebo',	I am preparing four-colored rice in a white bowl, /182/
9. kummatta memang rappobau' ripalakku,	then I will hack a betel nut into little pieces on the palm of my hand,
10. kunnanro memang kalomping ritalang bulaëng;	and I will place a folded betel leaf on a golden bowl;
11. kutongko intang, kubelobelo djamarro';	and I will cover all this with jewels and adorn it with emeralds;
12. intang matjora massingarri dallekannu,	glittering diamonds shine upon your face,

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/182 cont./

13. bulaëng ti'no' assuloi pattjini'nu.	pure gold illuminates your visage.
14. Lakukapeangko anne sumanga'nu mabellaja,	I will wave to your soul which is far away, to turn around,
15. lakukiokangko pole tubunu 'lampa salaja.	I will call back for you your body, which is wandering around aimlessly.
16. Badji' kuallekonne bungabunga tamalate;	I draw you toward myself like a flower which will never wilt.
17. late bunga, tamalate tjinikannu.	A flower wilts, but one can never get enough of looking at you.
18. Kutannangkonne tope talakka' riaja';	I shall make you into a sarong that will always be warm.
19. lakka' tope tamalakkakko ikau.	A sarong may become loose, but you stay.
20. Sangkontu sanrapammamako bulang sampuloa ngngappa',	You are like the full moon,
21. nasusung pale, natinriang wari-wari;	with the evening star by its side which at the same time is accompanied by the morning star; /183/
22. wari-wari kapapasang, pale mannuntunga bangngi.	a morning star which shines through to day break, and an evening star that continues to glitter throughout the night (1).

1. Thus something special, something that has never before been seen.

/183 cont./

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23. Nisailenu kau, tamalladjunu nitjini' ma'mole-mole.	One looks at you, one never gets enough of looking at you.
24. Kukio' Daëndjakondjo, kukanro ana' karaëng.	I call you a man of the nobility and honor you as a prince.
25. Nutuli manai'mo maë riballa'na matoannu, rituka'na ipara'nu,	Come enter the house of your parents-in-law, along the steps of your brothers-in-law and your sisters-in-law,
26. matoang tuna, ipara' kamasemase;	your lowly parents-in-law and your pitiable brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law;
27. mangngondjottommakonne tuka' tallu anronna, patampulo baringanna;	go along the ladder with the three uprights and the forty rungs (2);

[554]

2. These and the following references point to the fact that here one is in the house of a very prominent man.

28. mandjapputtongko pole tjottjorang nita'-buta'bu;	hold on tight to the banister of the ladder, which is divided into joints like sugar cane;
29. nutuli manai';	climb steadily upward;
30. mannjorong pakke'bu nigiring-giring;	push against the door which is provided with little copper bells;
31. mangngondjot tongko dasere' nidjaling kawa', nia'lanro bassi kalling;	step onto the floor boards which are tied to the transverse boards by means of wire;

/183 cont./

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32. mateteongko pallangga nibatang rappo;	also run across the beams of the floor that are made of the stems of the areca;/184/
33. mannosotongko padongko' nitau-tau	pass under the large attic beam which is provided with a few upright beams;
34. nutulimo kalau', rawanganna timbaonu, ammempo ribenteng polonnu.	walk on to the west (that is, the high part of the house), and sit down under the canopy of your bed against the smoothed head pole.
35. A'lapara' tappere' bo'dong;	Sit down on the round little mat;
36. andjo'djo kari kanang;	just point out, left and right, what you desire;
37. mansuro-suro rapannu, mampattudju sangkammannu.	just send off your equals to run errands; let them work for you.
38. Naremba-rembako pole ana' rara patampulo;	Forty young girls will keep you company;
39. nisarimanangko pole lonrong beru ma'bakka';	you will be helped and served by adolescents;
40. benteng polong kanasako, kanako benteng pakkai', kai' topena pasikaiki badjunna.	?
41. Nai' manaung tunibarangbaranginnu; assulu' antama ata maballa' balla'nu.	Your pledgees will run back and forth; your household slaves will go in and out.
42. Numa'djarang, numattedong, numa'djangang rassi lerang;	You will possess many horses and buffaloes, as well as a coop full of chickens;

/184 cont./

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43. nakatumbangngangi pole palampang ase berunu;	you will pile up so much young rice that the barn in which it is kept will collapse; /185/
44. nakatepokangi padongko' ase toanu.	you will possess so much old rice that the great ceiling beam will break under its weight.
45. Tamanraikko ri Ambong nukoasa;	You do not travel on Ambon and yet you are mighty(1);
46. takalaukko ri Djawa, nukalumannjang;	you do not travel on Java and yet you are wealthy(1);

1. The meaning is: "you do not trade, and yet you are mighty or wealthy."

47. tama'botoroko numammeta.	you do not gamble, and yet you win.
48. Assare-saremako sallang rimatoang kasi-asi,	You will also help your poor parents-in-law,
49. appiturummako pole riipara' kamase-mase.	you will also give something to your pitiable brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.
50. Nai'tuannu, ssalla' dasere' dalle'nu.	Your good fortune rises upward between the boards of the floor.
51. Kuminasaidjakondjo sunggu; kutindjakkiko mate'ne;	I hope that you will be fortunate; I make the vow that all will go well with you;
52. nusunggu todjeng numate'ne todjentodong.	and see, you are really fortunate and things are really going well with you.

/185 cont./

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53. La'bu bannang ri Djawa, mala'buang umuru'nu;	Long is the thread from here to Java, but even longer will be the duration of your life;
54. luara' tamparang, luarangngang nawa-nawannu;	wide is the sea, but more expansive are your thoughts;
55. tinggi Bawakaraëng, matinggiampa tuannu.	high is the mountain the Bawakaraëng, but even higher is your good fortune. /186/
56. Le'ba' gentung timbaonu, le'ba' tantang pakkalli'nu;	The canopy of your bed has already been hung, and the curtain of the bed has already been drawn;
57. timbao nikida-kida, pakkalli' niura' tallu.	the canopy is adorned with golden spangles, and the curtain is provided with three strips.
58. Le'ba' basami ba'ra'nu, le'ba' gusu' langiri'nu;	The powder for your face has already been moistened, and the water for the washing of your head is even now ready for use;
59. tattannangi pole tjapparu pa'minnjakkannu.	the pot with hair oil, which is destined for you, stands even now in readiness.
60. Nutulimo ntama ribili' kamua liku, kamua kallangngang rapa';	You will enter a little room that is pitch dark and seems like a whirlpool.
61. mannoso' badang; mannimba' bangkeng patjiko.	you will penetrate a body; you will open the rim of the hole.

/186 cont./

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62. Nukana-kanami sallang saraka ripamminangngang;	You will recite the formulas of the bed;
63. tappau'-pau'mi pole bungabunga rikatinroannu.	the flowers in the bed spread their scent.
64. Nusipoke-poke genre, nusita'ba' rappo toa;	You will extend to each other the folded betel leaves, and you will throw ripe areca nuts to each other;
65. nusipattoa-toai, nusipa'loaloai, nusipattjammo-tjammoi;	you will grow old together, and you will live together until you are forgetful and toothless;
66. sitanro takkang, sibuttju' pa'dengka-dengka.	until you will give each other a cane and until you throw an areca pounder toward each other. /187/
67. Lino-linopi anging, pakkeke mappasisa'la'.	Only after everything has become quiet (when the wind has died down), will you be separated by death.
68. Numammana'-mana' sarre,	You will get children just like the sarre plant (1),

[824]

1. Names /sic/ of plants that are well known for their many offshoots and rapid increase.

69. numa'borong unti-djawa,	you will form a forest of of pisang djawa,
70. numattju'la' ase-bakka'.	you will have offshoots just like the rice plant that is called ase-bakka'.

/187 cont./

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71. Pinruang tudju, pintallung tassalapangngi.	Two times seven and three times nine.
72. Manai'ngasemmi maë Anronggurú ningainu, Gallarrang nipangngalikinnu, Kapala nipaemponu,	They will all come to your house, your respected heads, your adat community heads, for whom one has respect, and your kampong heads, who are gladly welcomed,
73. battungasemmi pole bidjannu pammanakannu, bella-bella mbani-bani, tja'di-tja'di lompo-lompo, ana'-ana' tau toa.	all your kinsmen will come from near and far, big and small, old and young.
74. Nipanai'mako ripangkapangka bulaëng,	You will be brought to a golden palace,
75. nipaempomako ritappere' paramadani.	and you will be made to sit on a beautiful carpet.
76. Badji' nangai Na'bi, napudji Alla Taäla.	The Prophet loves you, and God praises you. /188/
77. Sipoko' bu'ne tantanna dje'ne' matannu;	Just as a berry tree drops its fruit, so there will be many tears shed for you;
78. sipoko' tjamba pammatti'na iloro'nu.	you will be envied just as a tamarind tree is envied its fruit.
79. Kupattannangngangkonne anggoro' rigantironu;	I will plant a vine for you under the outermost lower edge of your roof;
80. kupa'lamungangko pole lemotanning ridolangang,	I will also plant a djeruk tanning for you in the middle of the open sea,

/188 cont./

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81. nakatjinnai Somba, napammattikang iloro' Bate-salapang.

which even the Prince himself will covet and for which the mouths of the members of the Royal Council will water.

82. Bunting nilekkakko paleng tunipalele bellakang;

Now you will really go away, bride (1), you will change houses;

[591
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1. Here the one who speaks turns to the bride. It is a custom that after the Moslem marriage ceremony the couple goes to the house of the bridegroom's parents, at least for a few days.

83. niërang ri bori'maraëng, pa' rasangang nampa nuondjo'; bori nampa nula'bakki.

you will be brought to another land, the land which you will enter for the first time; the land toward which you are traveling.

84. Nukamma todong djonga,

You resemble a deer that anxiously peers over the hedge,

85. mattoa' ri sampa' mangagajangan tunumalo.

which shyly looks at the passersby.

86. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea: Nampa' 'lampa riballakku, nakudjoli pakkibukku, nakugulung tapperekku kupattantuna, kalengku lammantang puli.

The song of the bridegroom goes:
Now I am leaving my house, now /189/ I am locking my door and rolling up my mat, because I am convinced that I shall not return.

/189 cont./

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87. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea: Takundjunga' sallo lolo, kurunrung balu baine, tamammonea', tope taero'na mmakku.

And the song of the bride goes: It is not for nothing that I intentionally remained unmarried for a long time, I accept no tope whom my mother does not love.

88. Nakana pole kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea: Ka'de' kutjini' Batara, kudupai allo-allo, nadjo' djokangku, lebanga ripa'maikku.

The song of the bridegroom again goes: If I should see God, I would burn incense for him every day since He has shown me the one whom I love.

89. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea: Kade' nania' erokku, tea' sadju' risa'bea', tea' salasa ri badju montjong buloa.

The song of the bride goes: If I should have a wish, then it would be: do not make the silken jacket unhappy and do not disappoint the green jacket (1).

1. The jacket here represents its wearer: a young girl, therefore the speaker herself.

90. Nakana pole kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea: Nampako mattju'la' lebong, nakurompong-rompong memang lompoko nai', kutambai pa'rompongku.

And the bridegroom in turn says: And if then you grow up like a young bamboo, then I will take care that no one will come near you (2); when you are fully grown I shall strengthen my protection.

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[241]

/189 cont./

2. Young bamboo shoots are protected against goats and buffaloes.

91. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bainea: Apa kitjini' rinakke, nakke le'leng nakke kodi, nakke tja'di simbolengku.	And the bride says: What do you see in me? I am dark and ugly, and my hair knot is small. /190/
92. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea: Manna le'leng manna kodi, manna tja'di simbolennu, titti' matangku, kala'busang pangngaingku.	And the bridegroom says: Even though you are swarthy and even though you are homely, and even though your hair knot is small, you are the apple of my eye; after you I will love no other.
93. Nakanatosseng kelonna Daëng bunting bainea: Sikatutuiki' tope, narisassa mole-mole, taënamonne, parekanna maloloa.	And the song of the bride goes again: Together we shall take good care of our common sarong; we shall wash it repeatedly; my work as a young girl has now come to an end.
94. Nai'ngasemmaki' maë.	Come in, all of you (1).

1. Literally, "Come upstairs, all of you."

The Wedding Ceremony According to Moslem Rite

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After this address or, in the case where this address is not recited, when the dikir is held up at the foot of the house steps,

585 /190 cont./ the bridegroom goes up the steps and into the house. At the high side of the house in the front room the bridal bed is usually made up. On this the bride is seated with her back turned to the entrance. Behind her the bridegroom takes his place. Immediately after this, the Moslem wedding ceremony (nikka') is performed.

The Imam of the adat community who performed the wedding ceremony here described recorded in Makassarese in detail the points of the ceremony that he considered the most important, after the ceremony had taken place. The translation of his report follows here.

793 585 [115 126]

'When I was about to marry Rahimi and Sija I asked Rahimi's best man what the name of the bridegroom was, and Bandong (2) answered: 'the name of the bridegroom is Rahimi.'

585

2. The best man's name.

"Thereupon I asked: 'What is the name of his father and of his mother?' And then Bandong answered: 'Rahimi's father is called Palu, and his mother is called Sati. Both are still alive; they live in Bontobaddo (3).' /191/

3. Name of a section of kampong Bontoramba.

"Then I further questioned Malla (1): 'What is the name

1. Name of the bride's father.

of the bride?' And Malla answered: 'The name of the bride is Sija; I am her father, her mother is called Sani; she is deceased.'

"Thereupon I again asked Malla: 'What is the amount of the sunrang?' And Malla said: 'Twenty-four reals.'

●585 /191 cont./ "And I asked further: 'How was the sunrang paid?' And thereupon Malla answered: 'Eight reals in cash and one section of a sawah situated in Bianreng (2) bordering

2. Name of a sectionof kampong Bontoramba.

in the north on the sawah of Rapi, in the west on the sawah of Bagenda, in the south on the sawah of Djumadi, and in the east on the sawah of Genda. This sawah was given for an amount of 16 reals.'

"Thereupon I took the bridegroom's thumb in order to conclude the marriage.

"I asked Malla: 'Do you consent to the marriage of these two?' And Malla said: 'It is good.' Three times I asked this.

"After that I performed the ceremony. As witnesses there were Djuma, the guru of Bontoramba, and Massulukang. I held onto the hand of the bridegroom and recited the vow before him: 'Asjhadu anla Ilaaha Illallah wa asjhadu anna Muhammadan Rasulullah (I truthfully testify that there is no other God than Allah taala; and I also testify that the Prophet Mohammed is the messenger of God).' [539]

"Subsequently I said: 'I pronounce you, Rahimi and Sija, the daughter of Malla, man and wife; your sunrang amounts to 24 reals.'

"And Rahimi said: 'I agree to be joined in marriage with Sija. I am paying a sunrang of 24 reals.' Three times he said this.

And the witnesses said: 'We agree.' Thereupon I let go of his hand. Rahimi was then conducted to his wife by Bandong in order to make her fortunate by his touch. The upper arm of Sija was touched by Rahimi.

The kampu was placed before me. It contained: 20 betel leaves, 2 areca nuts, limestone, and by way of wedding money, 8.25 guldens (8.-guldens in paper money and 25 cents). I gave 1.-gulden to each of the witnesses.

585 /191 cont./ Thereupon I was asked to come and eat outside in the pannjambungi."

So much for the Iman's report. /192/

The First Touch

As has already become apparent from the Imam's report, the best man (tau lalangang) takes the bridegroom by the hand immediately after the nikka', and leads him to his bride, who is seated a few meters before him on the ground with her back turned toward him. Here he touches her for the first time in the presence of all kinsmen and guests. Older women have previously talked to him and told him that he must be gentle and friendly with his bride because his luck is dependent upon this in his later life. At the same time they also tell him what is expected of him at the moment of this first touch. The spot where he touches her (arm, neck, cheek, or ear, and so forth) and the way in which he does this (calmly, gently, indifferently, angrily) are considered important in this connection. From this, the older people deduce the young man's feelings with respect to his wife, and at the same time they determine on the basis of this how she will henceforth have to conduct herself toward him, scolding, instructing him further, and so forth.

The Pushing Game

585 524 This same evening "amèsu" sometimes takes place. This is a "pushing game" (1). The guests sit around in a circle; the

1. B.F. Matthes,
Woordenboek, p. 697.

higher guests sit in front. Within the circle is the couple, likewise seated upon the ground. One of the higher guests knocks on the ground. The couple must push themselves toward him in

585 /192 cont./ a seated position. The one who reaches him first
524 receives a "pitjuru," a luck-bringing object, sometimes in the form of a coin or ornament. However, care is always taken that the woman wins. On the other hand, she is not allowed to win directly. If she or her husband is very close to the one who knocked, another one will knock who is seated at the other side of the circle, and then they must again push themselves thither. But once the highest guest has knocked upon the ground, no one knocks anymore. He does this only when the man does not have a chance of getting to him first, so that the bride therefore receives the pitjuru from him. "Amèsu" is, therefore, as it were, a game in which the young couple compete with each other, but whose outcome is already fixed from the outset. It is com-
[654] pared to a cock fight. It only takes place when there are high guests present at the festival. It is pleasant for the person who gives the festival if "amèsu" takes place, for that means that he had /193/ high guests, and that means that he is in their favor. For the young man, this pushing competition is un-
[522] pleasant because he always loses to his bride, and people openly make fun of this.

The First Joint Meal

585 The day after the nikka', man and wife for the first time "eat" together. Ritual and play are here closely interwoven. There is no question of ordinary eating. One of the older women takes a handful of rice with coconut oil and sugar, briefly holds this above the incense vessel, mumbles a spell over it, and then gives this to the young woman to eat. Coconut oil, that is to
[824] say, fat, is a symbol of wealth; sugar is a symbol of love and sweetness. She is told to bring this handful of food momentarily to her mouth, and then to offer it to the young husband seated next to her. The people around watch to see how he reacts. If he opens his mouth quickly, this means that he likes her. "Your cock is conquered," the men at that point laughingly

585 /193 cont./ comment. But if he hesitates or turns away, he is urged to accept the food. For, ultimately, the older people like nothing better than to see him lose, and it is believed that he loses if he does what his wife demands of him, namely when he accepts food from her.

The First Joint Bath

Again a few days later the couple is bathed together for the first time. Here, too, ritual and play are of more importance than the fact of the bathing itself. Together, the couple sit -- the woman wrapped entirely in a sarong -- on the house steps, which in daily life forms the link with the attic but which for this special occasion has been placed on the floor in the pannjambungi (1). Under the rungs of the ladder lies a cleaver

[342] [251] [769] [417]

1. The attic is an important place in the house. There the rice is kept. In case of shortage of living quarters, the young girls are sometimes housed there. The ancestors descend through it when they are implored to do so in a ritual manner. The ladder to the attic has a special form. The two uprights proceed from a single branch that rests on the floor and which splits into two, approximately 40 centimeters above the floor.

as well as one of the sections of the loom, objects which man and wife respectively always need in performing their daily activities. According to informants, /194/ the significance of this is to further the wish that man and wife will now also

●585 /194 cont./ become familiar in these common things. The content of twice nine young coconuts are now poured out over them, and the passili ritual is performed on them (1).

1. This bathing festival generally takes place three days after the arrival of the bridegroom in the house of the bride. During almost three times 24 hours, the bridegroom is forbidden to step on the earth outside the house. If he violates this prohibition he is scolded: "Why do you do that? Do we have to become unlucky?"

Thereupon they must "see which of them is the first to have the ground under their feet as they get up from the ladder." Whoever wins will be boss in the house in their [493] marriage. The bridegroom usually runs right across the 562 pannjambungi down the front steps. The bride is quickly carried to her little room where a lump of earth has previously been placed in readiness. It is always declared that the bride has won even though it is practically impossible to ascertain the actual outcome. But nobody is interested in the latter anyway.

After this the couple goes to spend a few days in the bridegroom's house. There festivities again take place, and subsequently they again return to the wife's house.

Being "Good"

Another small family festival takes place there,/in the wife's house/ in conclusion, a week or two after the nikka'. This

585 /194 cont./ festival is the being "good" of man and wife (pabadjikang). There are no further guests present on the occasion. Only the mutual housemates of man and wife are invited. Together the young man and wife are seated on the bridal bed (2). The wife has betel and areca nuts in her hand.

[482 554]

2. The woman was carried to the bed by her oldest brother. A second brother carried her back again at the conclusion of the ceremony. These brothers evidently regarded this as an honor.

He must ask her for them; she must surrender them to him. In public, therefore, she complies with a request made by him. If she begins by refusing, she must be "bribed" by him. He promises her a present. Sometimes he is urged to take the betel and areca nuts away from her forcibly. The element of competition becomes clearly apparent here. Just as in the case of the eating ceremonial, comments are made by those present. Here the man must win in the end. He must obtain the betel and areca nuts since this indicates that man and wife are "good" (badji') with each other, and that is ultimately the purpose of the entire wedding festival.

The pabadjikang was not celebrated in former times, [178] according to one of the informants, unless sexual intercourse had already taken place /195/. At present it is celebrated, at least in Goa, even if no sexual contact has taken place, as for instance in the case of a child marriage.

585 833 Several men who had been married for years stated proudly that they had immediately been "good" with their wife. By this they meant that shortly after, possibly the very evening of the nikka', coitus had taken place. Here physical prowess

585 /195 cont./ is not the issue, but rather the tactfulness in
833 getting the wife to perform the sexual act. They had thus satisfied the wishes of those around them. Their masculine pride
[156] was flattered because they had shown that they were good conquerors of women. This characteristic is particularly prized in Makassarese. A woman always shows herself averse to a man, even to her husband. It is the latter's art to win her for himself through a pleasant outward appearance, a well-chosen word, a strategic touch, and very little physical force. That is how the ladies' man Sawerigading (1) does it.

1. See R. A. Kern, I La Galigo, p. 333.

The art of conquering women that Sawerigading possessed to the highest degree is at most held up as an ideal to the young Makassarese. Even before the wedding ceremony takes
581 place according to Moslem rite, one of the older women con-
593 ducts a number of conversations with the bridegroom. She talks,
521 and the young man listens. She tells him that it will be difficult for him to make his wife happy, but that his happiness in his future life will be dependent upon this. She also tells him that he must not be rough with her. She asks him whether he knows what he must say to his wife later on and whether he knows what to answer when she asks him something. She tells him what questions he can expect and what his answers should be to them. They do not like to talk about this. I could only obtain a single example of this. "Where do you place me?" (Keremaë nupatinro) was given as an example of such a question, and the answer was supposed to be: "I place you above me" (Irateangkuko) (2).

2. It is possible that the only informant who drew my attention to these questions

521 /195 cont./ and answers owed them to
581 tarekat influence, and that
593 therefore they are not in general use. Elsewhere, people denied knowledge of their existence. Nevertheless, a report of these questions and answers seems to be in place here.

521 Such a conversation between older woman and bridegroom
585 bears an intimate character; it is regarded as of great importance for the future /196/ life of the bridegroom. The older one must have the confidence of the younger. The bride learns the questions and answers from one of her kinsmen, suitable for this instruction, and if the man and woman concerned are not related to each other, the older people establish contact concerning this matter in order to be sure that enough of a connection exists between the questions and the answers.

This conversation conducted in whispers between older and younger persons is not so intimate that an older man might not interrupt it with the question, "Are you being examined?" And there is general laughter. All the older people know what
[831] the two are discussing there. The instruction given to the young man is not so serious that an obscene remark could not be interjected.

585 Frequently as soon as the evening following the nikka',
833 when the guests have already returned to their houses, the bridegroom is taken by the older aunt to the partitioned-off shed where his bride is. The old women are still awake at this time. Some of them urge him to enter. They call him "my cock." Others try to hold him back from it, but this is mere make-believe. In so doing they are holding on to the idea that they must protect the young girl, as is the case in

585 /196 cont./ ordinary life. In reality, however, they all
833 hope that bridegroom and bride will be "good" with each other as soon as possible, that is to say, that coitus will take place. The old women listen at the walls.

If the young man expressly refuses to enter and join his wife, the older people rest satisfied, at least for the time being.
[626] But they show their disapproval and renew, possibly even the following evening, their attempts to make him go in. The same situation obtains if the bride resists once the bridegroom has been led in to her. If she knocks violently on the door, she is let out.

585 The older people talk to the marriage partner who seems
833 to refuse sexual contact with the other. They point out that in
626 previous marriages young married couples again and again submitted to what is now demanded of him (her). The bride is told in such a case that all women have at one time undergone this experience, that her mother was also married in this way. The end of the conversation frequently consists of the questions so difficult for younger people to answer: "Surely you don't want to make your aunt (that is, the speaker) ashamed?" (namely, by sticking to the refusal /197/ and thus causing to fail the marriage that she is trying to bring about). To
[888 contradict an older and sometimes at the same time a higher
576] person is discourteous. The individual who does not wish to capitulate in such a situation can do nothing but remain silent.

Because of the strictly maintained separation of the sexes,
834 young unmarried men and women live in separate worlds.
585 When they are brought together, it is to be expected that it
521 will be difficult for them to talk to each other. Whatever they have learned and applied up to that point is no longer of any use. The prepared questions and answers thus serve, one could say, to facilitate the very first contact. Formally, they are an element of the ritual to bring man and wife together and to get them used to the fact that now other forms of social intercourse obtain between them than before. In

834
585 /197 cont./ content, they have the purpose of teaching the
521 parties the attitude which they must adopt toward each other.

834 If one compares the crying, passive Makassarese bride
585 who clearly demonstrates her aversion to her husband, with
186 the happy, beaming Dutch bride who looks up to her bride-
groom with full confidence, it is clear that every opportunity for misunderstandings is present. Then the criticism of an old Makassarese who had attended the wedding reception of a Dutch couple and had seen how man and wife finally were driven off together in a car amidst the cheers of the reception guests becomes comprehensible. In all these expressions on the part of the woman, he merely saw a display of her feelings of desire for her husband, and he found this quite indecent.

The fact of their leaving together signified to him that there was nothing more to prevent this man from giving in to his sexual desires. From the bride's conduct it seemed to him all too clear that the bridegroom would not have to make any effort to gain the bride for himself. The effort, tact, and considerateness displayed on this occasion are, to the Makassarese, the essence of the relationship between man and wife. Based on what he observed, this old man could only conclude that what was most important for him, was lacking among the Dutch.

177 Now the difficulties which arose at /198/ the marriage of
585 a young Makassarese man of high nobility to a girl from one of the prominent Makassarese Indo-European families also become understandable. In her house the atmosphere, dress, and so forth was to be European, and in his house it was to be Makassarese. This had been agreed upon beforehand by both families. In her house, therefore, the bridegroom was dressed in a tuxedo, and she was dressed in white with a short train. He was the gay, energetic bridegroom, and she the radiant

177 /198 cont./ bride who clearly enjoyed the bouquet of white
585 carnations that she had received from him. Arm in arm they stepped into the car which took them to the next event in the festivities at his family's house.

There their gaiety collided with the Makassarese world which demands of the woman that she cry and show herself averse to her husband-to-be. The bride changed her clothing; she received the Makassarese bridal costume with the head-dress belonging to it, and was made up in a manner appropriate to it. When a moment later her bridegroom appeared and risked a joke, he was angrily put in his place. She turned away from him, and, as a good Makassarese bride, she henceforth sat motionless with closed eyes amidst the women, and at appropriate moments she displayed her aversion to her bridegroom in a self-composed manner, completely in accordance with the manner in which the Makassarese feelings must be expressed in this situation.

Child Marriage

584 The marriage policy of the older people permits even sexually immature children to marry. In so doing, they believe that they are keeping a marriage, judged desirable by them from not taking place. The reason that a marriage desired by them does not take place is to be found, in the first place, in the opposition of the individuals concerned -- the opposition of as yet sexually immature children practically does not have to be taken into account --, and in the second instance, in a request made by a higher person.

554 A request by the religious official or by someone with
565 karaëng blood in his veins to an ordinary kampong man can
584 be made on behalf of a kinsman belonging to this higher person -- and in that case there will generally be no reason for refusal --. But it may also be made on behalf of a lower person, one of his followers, or for a close associate. Refusal

582 /200 cont./ child marriage this means merely that a child marriage does not necessarily have any particularly bad consequences.

Refusal of Sexual Union in Marriage

586 We have only spoken above of a marriage where the prescribed Moslem rite has taken place. In the same way, we shall now mean by divorce the separation of the marriage partners according to the rules of Moslem dogma. However, only a certain aspect of the Makassarese ideas concerning these subjects is reproduced by this.

585 At the wedding feast, the elders concentrate their efforts upon the bringing about of sexual union between man and wife. Not until this has taken place, is it really believed to have been brought about.

After some time it appears that in a number of these 593 marriages the partners nonetheless are not "good," that is to 833 say, that they do not have sexual intercourse. In the present-day stage of observation, however, this comes to light only if they do not live together for extended periods, and avoid each other. This state of affairs may last until the death of one of them. Only in a few cases, generally if one of the two [586] wants to remarry, does divorce according /201/ to Moslem law take place. This is not much more than a formality which legalizes an already existing situation. The "being good" of man and wife constitutes the center of Makassarese married life. The difficulties seem to lie there.

833 Only after the normal festivities have been concluded can it become apparent whether the goal has been reached or not. The pabadjikang ritual in itself provides no guarantee that sexual intercourse of man and wife has actually occurred. It is possible that the young man or woman goes through the entire wedding festival in the customary fashion, that is, more or less tacitly, but continues to refuse the sex act and

833 /201 cont./ someone who does not want him to contract this marriage. Sometimes it is also believed that the ritual was not performed in the correct manner. Even where a man specifies his own choice and where the appearance of the other one /the spouse/ does not please him, it is believed possible to sway by means of spells and ritual the one who refuses sexual intercourse, so that the negative attitude will be abandoned. These attempts are continued for years after the contracting of the marriage. Favorable results of these attempts will be reported. Thus it appeared that shortly after such a ritual, carried out almost three years after marriage, a sudden reversal in the young woman's attitude became noticeable. Previously she had always withdrawn upon the arrival /202/ of her husband and had ignored him. Then all of a sudden she had thrown a bath sarong in his direction, and after this first sign of rapproachement, the relationship had soon become completely normal.

●585 833 In order to join a couple that was not "good" together, the ex-Imam married them again. This is called "marrying again" (nikka' poleang). It is believed that in the original marriage ceremony a mistake was made, that is to say, that a formula was incorrectly recited or a ritual action neglected. As a result of this mistake, it is thought, the marriage had never been able to become completely successful, and a repetition of the marriage contract will be able to avoid this error. This marrying again which is sometimes called a "remedy" (paballe') is of no significance according to Moslem law. It is not recorded in the marriage registers. No further festivities take place upon this occasion. Even the sunrang is not paid again; only the nikka' is repeated (1). I was

1. The one who performed these wedding ceremonies was the ex-Imam of the adat community. Thus he is

585 /202 cont./ thought to be acquainted
833 with the formulas that are correct in the Moslem view. It is possible that this is a local development. Elsewhere in South Celebes I did not hear of such marrying again.

able to record three cases of this. All three took place from one to three years after the first wedding ceremony; and in all of them the couple shortly thereafter was "good" together.

833 It is believed that the individual himself is not responsible for his unwillingness. Therefore, nobody is angry at him.

[602] If the young man is unwilling, his wife's kinsmen are not angry at him. They receive him in a friendly manner when he comes to visit at their house. His wife remains shy and [593] withdrawn toward him, just as every young woman is toward her husband. She is not angry either, nor does she feel insulted by his refusal.

593 The man, too, is not angry. He sometimes brings some-
626 thing for his wife which she can use in the household, as is
833 customary between man and wife and as he would do if they were "good" together. Frequently, he spends the night at a married brother's or sister's house, by preference not in that of his parents, because the latter very clearly show him that he should not sleep in their house but with his wife. A certain amount of pressure is therefore exerted upon him. "People who act like that have a short life," it is said.

In case the wife refuses, there is a similar situation./203/. She is similarly told that women in such circumstances do not live long. "If a woman continues to refuse her husband, her [761] bier will creak" (1). Her husband is not angry at her, nor

582 /208 cont./ In case of a marriage which is regarded as
585 unfavorable, extra ritual is performed in order to assure a favorable outcome nonetheless. /209/

Selection of Marriage Partners according to Status (Hypergamy)

554 Marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden.
582 It is simply regarded as impossible. "It cannot be" (tena nakulle) is the reaction to such a suggestion.

835 Any contact of a man with a higher woman is also strictly
554 prohibited. This is indicated by the same term (salimara'), used to denote a sexual relationship between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ which is known as incest.

It is believed that if salimara' takes place the country will be overcome with misfortune. It is said that the paddy will no longer grow and that no more children will be born in
[731] such a case. In the case of crop failure or an epidemic, one accordingly looks for people suspected of having committed salimara'.

684 The guilty couple must be punished by death. In the old lontar one reads that the blood of these people may not touch the earth; they must be drowned. The hadat (native court of
[692] law) punished this offense during the last decades with the banishment of the couple for a few years to different places outside the realm. After the period set by the court of law had elapsed, these people did not return to their kampongs; the danger of being stabbed to death in spite of the judge's sentence still seemed to be too great (1).

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1. This is a direct consequence of the fact that under the influence of the administration these offenses were always very lightly

1:Chabot--333 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

/250 cont./
Marriage Registers

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In the columns of the marriage registers are found in order: the bridegroom's name, his estimated age, the kampong of his residence; his father's and mother's name, their place of residence, or else the fact that they are deceased. The same is entered for the bride. Then follows the name and place of residence of the wali and his kin relationship to the wife, or else the fact that the wali haking functioned; the date of the marriage ceremony, the formula of the talak al takli' (Makassarese: djandji tala'); the amount of the bride price (sunrang); the fact that the sunrang was paid or else borrowed, what part was paid in money and what part in exactly defined goods; a fingerprint of the bride's thumb or of her father's in case the latter is still alive; the name of the marriage official and of the witnesses, and finally a column of remarks.

In Borongloë, marriages by flight are registered along with the ordinary, or festive marriages. This is to say, therefore, that in general marriages of fleeing couples from elsewhere are registered in Borongloë, and that marriages of fleeing couples native to Borongloë are recorded elsewhere. The tendency to flee to Macassar seems to be greater than the other way around. In Macassar, some imams have special registers to record marriages by flight. Only after a certain length of time has elapsed does the couple return home. The total number of marriages registered in Borongloë is therefore not the same as the number of married couples.

In the case of marriage by flight, the sunrang always amounts to 20 reals. In view of the fact that otherwise the sunrang is an index, the number of marriages with 20 reals is in itself not indicative of status conditions.

The age of the marrying couples must be treated with caution, as was already remarked in the discussion of child marriage.

abot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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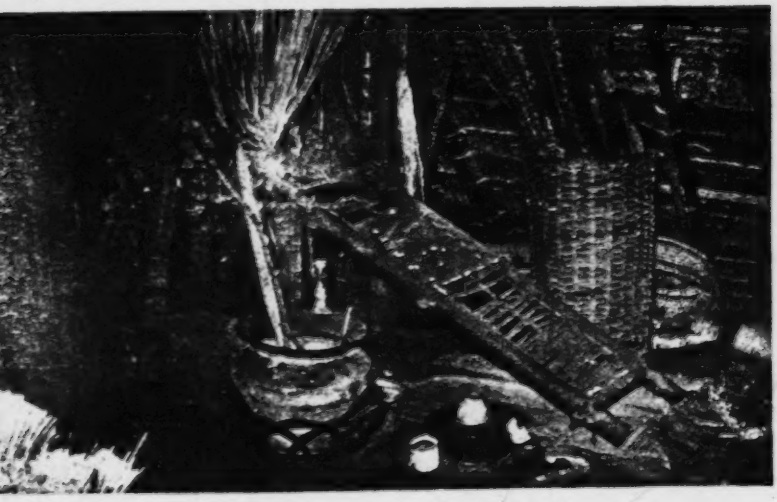
A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.



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The little ancestral house (pantasa') in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END PLATE 3]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

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The Imam of Borongloë (center) marries the bridegroom (right); to the left in the foreground is the father of the bride; to the right in the background the back of the bride can be seen. Pages 259-260.

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Bride and bridegroom amidst the women and children waiting for their first joint "meal." Page 263.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 5]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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During the festive meal in the pannjambungi, the men sit in rows according to their prestige. Pages 195-196 and 243. In the foreground one can see, among other things, the coconuts, whose contents will be poured over the bridal couple at their first common bath. Page 265.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 6]

BI [273 cont.]
585 because the blood relatives of the one abducted would then have the right to kill him.

The abduction of a girl against her will is found only on this island; everywhere else the merangkat type prevails. For
MK example, actual abduction occurs among the Makassarese. The
585 abductor only has to hurry to the sovereign to obtain ratification
583 or to have the marriage blessed by a priest for a payment of four reals = eight guilders, and furthermore to take the bride price to her [274] parents. He must see to it, however, that this is done in time, because the family of the girl has the right to kill him as long as this is not paid, at least if he is of the same rank or especially if he is inferior.

NIL Abduction also occurs among the Dajak in the southeastern
585 division. If a young man has obtained the consent of his parents
583 to enter a marriage but is afraid of receiving a negative answer from the relatives of his beloved, he abducts her and then enters into negotiations over the bride price with the parents of the girl.

Among the inhabitants of the Ambonese islands, every marriage is preceded by an abduction. This is called lari-bini, "to run off with a woman," and involves the young daughter following the man voluntarily or running after him and going into hiding with him. The abductor must leave the bride price behind in the bedstead of his beloved to appease the wrath of her relatives. A few days later he visits the house of her parents to ask their pardon, and this concludes all the formalities. In contrast with the lari-bini, there is the minta-bini = to ask a woman, which, however, concerns only the daughters of regents and other prominent persons. Abduction is not an uncommon form of marriage among the Alfoer of Buru. If one is certain of the girl's
Bu affection, it is customary for him to abduct her and to hide with
583 her in the forest, during which time the bride price is negotiated. When this is settled, the young people return and the marriage
NG is concluded in the ordinary way. Abduction also occurs among
583 some Papuan tribes, for example, those of the southwest coast. When the young man has come to an agreement with a girl, they flee together into the forest. Both sets of parents then

NG 585 513 776 M 585 A 585 834

[288 cont.]

out of fear of evil spirits [289] or bad dreams. Likewise among the Makassarese intercourse is not allowed immediately after the marriage celebration. Prominent islanders often postpone this for a month. This period is spent on all kinds of performances, of which the principal and most repeated one is "the sliding party," as Mr. Matthes calls it. The bridegroom pursues the bride by dragging himself over the floor, but when he wants to make love to her, she pushes him away with her fan. The woman has to demonstrate by all her actions that she hates the man, for instance, by pretending that she has no appetite in his presence, by not granting him a single glance, and by looking neither right nor left but only straight ahead, until she finally gives in and offers him a betel quid, which is as good as having spoken to him.

Among the Atjehnese the newlyweds may not have intercourse until seven nights after the marriage celebration. Both of them sleep in the same room, but it is brightly lighted and they are far from each other, and furthermore they are watched by a crowd of old women (1). The Mentawei Islanders are even stricter

1. Kruyt, Atjeh en de Atjehers, p. 193.

about this matter. After the marriage celebration, the young husband must stay away from his wife and far from her place of residence for 180 days. After he returns, there will be a three-day feast, and only after that will he be permitted to join his spouse (2). I shall not discuss the significance of this peculiar

2. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XXVI, pp. 92 and 93.

custom any further. In my essay, "over de primitieve vormen van het huwelijk [On the primitive forms of marriage]," I have discussed this in connection with other marriage customs, particularly in connection with abduction.

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
● 585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place
184 even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo killings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been
771 at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
184 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
563 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thou-
755 sands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against
583 this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they
585 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
831 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.
842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely, there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal,
562 and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

114 174 565 586 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba, and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana [567] (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." Before the war the government linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves. As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement loses its force.

114 174 565 582 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes. Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that, simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 174 565 [591] Of the four common characteristics, the mention of patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding. My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).

1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure, superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

595 /168 cont./ In view of the fact that according to Moslem law the conclusion of a second marriage is just as simple as the first, there must be other reasons why so few polygamous men were registered in this region. Such a reason is, in the first place, the opposition of the first wife.

One of the worst things that can happen to a woman is [581] that her husband takes a second wife. One of the wishes for [558] a newly married couple is the hope that they will grow old together. It was said of a childless old couple who had been together all their lives that this was proof that they were happy together, and it was regarded as a cause for rejoicing and an example for the younger generation. In the "little [585] games" /169/ that take place during the wedding festival, the woman must win. This reflects the wish that later she [593] will also have the upper hand in her relationship with her husband. And in answer to the question what this referred to mostly, it was stated that one thought of the provision of the necessities for daily meals and the taking of a second wife.

The reaction of the first wife is very violent. She declared that she would rather be cast out than suffer a co-wife (maru) by her side. She leaves the house without the knowledge of her husband -- which under normal circumstances would weigh heavily against her -- and returns to her parents, preferably with her children. In such a case there is no intention of leaving the man permanently. A statement by one of these women leaves no room for doubt about that. When she heard that her husband had contracted a second marriage, she did not leave for the distant kampong of her parents until she had made the vow: "If I come back here, I shall sacrifice a hen to you (ancestors)." In such a case it is possible for the woman to return only if her husband comes to implore her to do so. Her desire to come back prevailed. Sometimes, especially if the second marriage comes about through silariang, her negative attitude is successful. In one [586] case the man went to visit his second wife less and less. The

595 /169 cont./ latter, after a certain period of time had elapsed,
[586] asked for a divorce on the grounds that she was no longer being supported by him. In another case, the second wife escaped with another man (1). But sometimes the man

[684]

1. Officially this is called adultery, and the man should behave as though he were siri'. In reality he agreed to the divorce nor did he make an attempt at stabbing; nor do his relatives expect him to take the initiative which might lead to her being sentenced by the judge for adultery.

chooses the second /wife/.

595 In the majority of cases, however, the first wife accepts
578 the new state of affairs. But her relationship with her rival remains notoriously bad. Abuse, hateful remarks about the stupidity, the low blood, or about certain physical characteristics of the other woman, are common expressions of her feelings. These she airs more to her female housemates, however, than to her spouse. Older women teach her that the latter is inadvisable. In one of the old lontar of the Prince of Goa there occurs the following rule which aptly characterizes
[682 the conditions /170/: "This is the rule concerning murder.
672] If we murder our co-wife, no matter where, and if we tell this to the people who come running to the scene, saying, 'I have killed my co-wife,' then there will be no revenge taken upon us." (1)

1. This translation was saved as part of the prewar manuscript. The lontar from

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;
[589] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should
[581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will become apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse
581 only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For
833 a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of
[155] being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those
[156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

582 /200 cont./ child marriage this means merely that a child marriage does not necessarily have any particularly bad consequences.

Refusal of Sexual Union in Marriage

586 We have only spoken above of a marriage where the prescribed Moslem rite has taken place. In the same way, we shall now mean by divorce the separation of the marriage partners according to the rules of Moslem dogma. However, only a certain aspect of the Makassarese ideas concerning these subjects is reproduced by this.

585 At the wedding feast, the elders concentrate their efforts upon the bringing about of sexual union between man and wife. Not until this has taken place, is it really believed to have been brought about.

After some time it appears that in a number of these 593 marriages the partners nonetheless are not "good," that is to 833 say, that they do not have sexual intercourse. In the present-day stage of observation, however, this comes to light only if they do not live together for extended periods, and avoid each other. This state of affairs may last until the death of one of them. Only in a few cases, generally if one of the two [586] wants to remarry, does divorce according /201/ to Moslem law take place. This is not much more than a formality which legalizes an already existing situation. The "being good" of man and wife constitutes the center of Makassarese married life. The difficulties seem to lie there.

833 Only after the normal festivities have been concluded can it become apparent whether the goal has been reached or not. The pabadjikang ritual in itself provides no guarantee that sexual intercourse of man and wife has actually occurred. It is possible that the young man or woman goes through the entire wedding festival in the customary fashion, that is, more or less tacitly, but continues to refuse the sex act and

833 /201 cont./ thus causes the entire purpose of the marriage to run awry. In such cases it is said of the man that he refuses sexual contact with his wife (tena naero' ri bainenna; literally, "he does not want his wife"); such a refusal may just as well emanate from the wife.

Sometimes it is clear that someone does not desire con-
[584] tact with his spouse because he himself has made another choice and now still wants to force his kinsmen to permit him to marry her (1). In other cases a bride or bridegroom declares

[586]

1. In a case which took place in Macassar in which a young man refused sexual intercourse with his wife because he had his mind set upon another girl, the marriage was dissolved after more than three years. At that time his father consented to his disposing of his wife. Shortly
[587] thereafter he had to marry a second wife, just as little by his own choice as the first one. He led a normal married life with this second wife. She presented him with two children and died a few years afterwards. Only then did he marry the woman whom he had chosen eight years earlier.

that the appearance of the marriage partner does not please him (or her). But in still other cases, not a single reason can be detected.

Sometimes it is believed in such cases that the individual who refuses has been affected by a spell emanating from

593 /203 cont./ 1. That is to say, then
626 she will soon die.' For
833 when a corpse is placed
[761] upon the bier made of
bamboo, the bier creaks.

does he feel shame because she refuses him. Her kinsmen feel a little embarassed (siri' siri') because they brought about the marriage and therefore also bear responsibility for her refusal, so they are extremely friendly toward the young man.

586 The belief that the performance of ritual can cause a
[833] man or wife to give up his (her) refusal to have sexual intercourse entails that one waits for a long time before officially dissolving the contracted marriage. This is usually done with the mutual consent of the older people. Only when the latter have given up hope, after at least a year has elapsed, that the marriage could still become "good," is one of the two spouses permitted to marry someone else. Only then is the divorce of the first marriage registered.

In the case of couples who have been living separately for a long period of time, people often do not exactly know whether the Moslem marriage dissolution has already taken place. Little interest is shown in this.

The unwillingness of a young man is thus accepted, even though people are not simply satisfied with this right away. But one does not accept his giving the talak /formal repudiation. -- Ed./. A case of a young man disposing of his wife against the wishes of his older kinsmen was unknown in Borongloë. Informants believed that he would disgrace his kin group by doing so.

593 Even though a couple is "good" together after the wedding
833 festivities are over, this relationship may not be lasting in a number of cases. After a shorter or longer period of time, no more sexual relations take place in such a case. This

593 /203 cont./ phenomenon can likewise be caused by either
833 the wife or the husband. People frequently give some unimportant incident as the reason. One man stated that he no
● 586 longer wanted to have sexual relations with his wife because
593 she had become angry at him when the lombok /red pepper/
833 that he had brought for her splashed into her eye as she was grinding it. Since then, man and wife no longer lived together. The latter would, however, at times get what she
593 needed for her /204/ daily sustenance from his warong
586 /shop/. Now and then they would speak to each other, and sometimes she would ask him whether he would not come and look at their child. They did not quarrel, and no repudiation took place. When their child, who had stayed with the woman, was about to marry, she let her husband know, but he told her that he was leaving the consent and arrangement of the festivities to her. Neither of them remarried. This situation lasted until the death of the man.

In another case where a married couple had been living separated for years, the reason given was the fact that the wife wanted to continue living with her own kin group and did not want to go with the husband to his. "They live separated" (sisala pamantanganna), it is said in such cases.

A few figures may make the relationships here described a little clearer.

586 On July 1, 1948, the number of persons residing in kampong Bontoramba who were divorced according to Moslem
[162] law and had not remarried was three, two men and one woman. The latter had been married to one of these two men. The wife of the other man lived elsewhere.

In addition, the number of people living in separation
586 but not (yet) divorced according to the law, amounted to
593 six, five women and one man. The latter was married to
[162] one of the five women. The husbands of the other four women lived elsewhere. Two of these four women had been married through silariang and were later deserted by their husbands.

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/204 cont./ Of the total of seven marriages in which the partners did not live together, though they were not divorced according to Moslem rites, four were childless.

Four of these seven married couples belonged to the Kapala group (525 persons) and three to the Mangenre group (90 individuals).

The number of divorces among people residing in the adat community of Borongloë (around 14, 000 persons) who were recorded in the registers designed for this purpose from July 1, 1948 to July 1, 1949 amounted to seven. The percentage of divorced adult women was, according to the 1930 Census Report 1.7 per cent for the whole of Goa (1). My

1. Verslag van de Volkstelling, 1930, Part V, p. 69.

figures are too small to be expressed in percentages./205/ However, they show clearly that even in comparison with other districts, the number of divorces in this region is small.

Selection of Marriage Partners on the Basis of Kinship

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We have already pointed out that marriages between members of the same family /nuclear family/ are forbidden.

Marriages between housemates are regarded as unfavorable (1). The marriage of a widow's son to the daughter of a

1. Unfavorable in this section is a translation of the Makassarese word, bambang, which means "warm."

627 671 682 684 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation. Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected in such a case, this is ~~never~~ a reason for his wife to divorce him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she [626]

1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often remarried very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lalè).

A man and a woman who flee together generally get 588 married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet "a socially recognized union between members of the opposite sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question. The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter, [428] and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from her parents (1).

/250 cont./
Divorce Registers

114 The divorce registers are kept by the Kali of Goa for a part
217 of the province of Goa that comprises several adat communities.
586 /251/ This is an administrative problem which is regulated differently according to locality. During the Japanese occupation, when it was considered unsafe to travel, the Imam of Borongloë temporarily was also authorized to register divorces.

The maintenance of these four types of personal registers was poor. Registers of a few years back were in such a deplorable state that it was no longer fruitful to consult them. Before these registers can develop into a Registrar's Office, a good many improvements will first have to be made.

Land-tax Registers

114 In the land-tax registers each plot of land whose boundaries
217 are very precisely indicated is to be found with the name of
651 the person who pays the tax on it. This may be the Indonesian
423 owner. A woman's plots are regularly recorded in the name of her husband or, if she is unmarried, in the name of her oldest brother. Younger brother's plots are frequently entered in the name of the oldest.

Registration of land is done by kampong territory. It is possible to calculate the average landownership per head and per house. It is impossible to say how many are "large landowners" -- assuming that one would want to consider someone who possesses more than five hectares as such, for instance, for by entering a part of his land in the name of his wife or children, the total ownership of one man can no longer be traced through these land registers.

The land-tax service places the taxpayer and the Indonesian owner practically on a par. Jurisprudence, however, does not simply connect with Indonesian property rights the fact that someone is entered in the land-tax registers.

[96 cont.]

M 582 583 parental [bilateral] or parentage rights system prevails. Nevertheless, the bridegroom still pays a bride price, which here, of course, has nothing of the character of a purchase price for the girl. It is divided, together with other presents, among the M 586 relatives of the bride, who, for their part, also give presents and return a part of the bride price. Divorce is rife, and divorce can be instituted by both the man and the woman. A peculiar institution is the mapoewé awo, "to divide a bamboo into two equal parts," which refers to the [97] distribution of the children between the parents with the understanding that, in the case of divorce and provided the bride price has been paid, the first child, then the third, and so on, go to the M 562 mother, the others to the father. As is always the case with eleutherogamy, the position of women is not lower than that of the men; rule by women is common in southern Celebes.

B 621 631 d. Bali. Among the Balinese the interests of the individual are primarily concentrated in territorial jurisdictional communities, the Balinese dèsa; in former times they were combined into even larger territorial units, not always to their advantage or satisfaction, for example, the former Balinese principalities which were subdivided into districts.

B 592 594 It is noteworthy that neither the family nor the household [gezin, or nuclear family] is a jurisdictional community, in view of the fact that the Balinese have a strong family sense, B [769 778] which expresses itself, for instance, in a veneration for the place from which the family traces its origin. A special temple is erected and pilgrimages are made there for giving offerings. B 631 Only the dèsa, however, the territorial region, is a jurisdictional community, and, besides that, the soebak, the Balinese polder.

B 621 Although one can thus say that the dèsa communities represent the pivot around which the interests of the individual revolve, this must be qualified to apply to the particular situation on Bali.

B [771 774] The whole life of the Balinese is very strongly influenced by his religion, an animism that has been greatly modified by

Again I had several men at the house, including a fairly high turunan radja. We went through about one half of the notes. I asked about the high percentage of unmarried women here and told them that the census reported that this was caused by the high prices. Saleh said no, the price was only f.88 for upper classes and f.20 for a slave. But I noted that he couldn't go to normal school because of the f.65. But, he said, there are ways of getting around this price. For example, one might give a rice field or something in kind rather than money. He said the trouble was mainly in the higher class, as it was hard to find suitable mates. But if it is too difficult one can move down a peg for a mate, but the result then is that the children are of lower status or class. The upper class man said that Fredericy's [i.e., H.J. Friedericy, De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren--Analyst] estimate of 40 pure ana' patola in Goa was rather high. He said that now there is only one, a woman. I think he said that she is not married, but I am not sure. Saleh agreed that it is also possible to run off and thus have a lower price. He also said that there is no real marriage unless the price is paid. All the fussy details apply mainly to the upper classes. And there again I see the fault in the Dutch material. They write of the uppers mostly. There is an absolute rule, a taboo, on a lower man marrying an upper woman [hypergamy]. Punishment for this was formerly death, by drowning. They agreed that this was looked upon as incest and as being sufficient cause of disaster for all. Such results as failure of the rice crop and so forth, might be expected. They put it that the mountains would refuse to send the rain. They laughed when I read from the notes that there was little divorce here because it was so hard to replace a wife. They seemed to agree that there was very little divorce. They said there was relatively little polygamy too, but the old sea captain has two wives now and has had many more. The two never lived together in polygamy now, he said, because they fight. Formerly, they could live in the same house. The present Radja of Goa has two wives.

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Literacy: Saleh said to be careful regarding percentage figures on literacy. He said that everybody learns to read (or at least most people) Makassarese, and many learn to write it. It is taught in school, and also in the homes. Thus he might teach his wife if she were illiterate. He said that in the kampong 70 per cent of the people can read Makassarese and 30 per cent can write it. The figures are lower for Arabic and Roman letters. He has some figures in the material he gave me. He said that school children learn Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic.

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562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
●586 and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
153 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
152 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with
[565] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas, the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said that this will mean very little in this area except for the formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to receive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect, too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean further insecurity for his position. There are great preparations being made for this event at the present time. There will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge. This is merely a generic term. At the top are the ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here (though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng, descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depending on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
● 586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

835 /35 cont./ occur at the courts of princes without being further discussed in public, even though they led to pregnancy.

684 In the same manner the court of justice handled a case of a man's relations with his stepdaughter, and that of a man
835 with his stepgranddaughter. The court of justice declared
593 that although no blood relationship existed between the accused,
608 these two young women were nevertheless regarded as daughter and granddaughter respectively, because they had lived with their stepfather and stepgrandfather from childhood on and had been reared by them. Here there exists a certain doubt, therefore, whether the case can be regarded as salimara'.[1]

608 Cases of sexual relation between a woman and her stepson
835 were not registered. This does not mean that these do not occur. At the most it may mean that these cases occur less frequently than those in which the man belongs to the higher generation (1).

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1. The idea exists that when a widower remarries, his second wife treats her stepchildren with less kindness than her own. No heart-rending examples of this could be noted, however. In
[754] one case the hostile attitude originated with the two girls who suspected their stepmother of having killed their own mother by means of a formula (pangassengang), in order to be able to marry their father.

The relationship of a man
[578] with his stepson is a tense one. Quarrels occur that lead to physical violence and fights such as are unknown between a man and his own son.

1[i.e. incest. - Ana'gst]

587 835 /35 cont./ In several cases a man married the younger sister of his deceased wife. One likes to see sisters "succeeding each other on the pillow" because it is believed that the children from the first marriage will be better taken care of by someone who already knows them well than by a stranger, and also because by such a marriage existing ties in the family are continued. At the same time, several cases were [837] registered in which a man made his wife's sister pregnant.

Such a relationship generally is not regarded as salimara'. /36/ It does, however, cause a great deal of commotion because, according to the decrees of Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at one and the same time. In such a case the man must first oust his wife, therefore, and only after the iddat period has elapsed, may he marry her sister. During the entire period, he, like the pregnant woman, is tumannjala (1) with respect to her brothers and other male

1. See Chapter III, third part.

relatives.

[578] It is said that this man has made two women unhappy at once. Reconciliation takes place less readily, and the commotion is greater than in the case of an "ordinary" [684] marriage by flight. In a verdict handed down by the Sawitto Native Court, a couple was sentenced for salimara' in such a case. In his opinion on this verdict, Dr. A. A. Cense called this interpretation incorrect. He thought that only after the decrees of Moslem law became known did the notion arise that this relationship should also be regarded as salimara'. I cannot declare myself in entire agreement with him on this point. The interpretation does show, however, that, just as in the cases of sexual contact between a man and his stepdaughter, here, too, a doubt exists as to whether or not this

587 /36 cont./ relationship is to be conceived as salimara'.
835 Defining it as salimara' means that such relationship is considered in connection with the bad consequences for the country. It signifies that such a relationship is found "very bad."

Household Tasks

462 Rice pounding, weaving, and cooking are female occupations par excellence. However they are not entirely
[592] household affairs.

For the 129 houses, 75 blocks for pounding rice were
252 592 counted (2). On the average, therefore, more than one rice-

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2. The Kapala group is relatively the richest: for 81 houses it numbered 53 blocks. The Mangenre group numbered 7 for 18 houses, and the Rest group 15 for 30 houses.

pounding block exists for every two houses. The blocks lie near the houses. A house apart has its own block, but where the houses are close together, as is usual where the inhabitants are close relatives of each other, there one block may be used jointly by as many as three houses. Common use of one and the same block is a matter of course where the /37/ users are kinsmen. It attains the nature of a favor if this is not the case.

286 It is safe to assume that around 20 years ago, at a time
592 when sarongs were still woven at home in greater numbers than is the case today, the number of looms was also greater. Then each house probably possessed one loom apiece. At that time it would, therefore, have been possible to contend that sarong weaving was a family affair. In 1948, 101 looms were counted for 129 houses (1), a number of women no longer have

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435 /162 cont./ such a group did not like to admit this toward
583 the outside world, however. It is true, therefore, that during
585 this time it repeatedly happened that a marriage did not take place, on account of the amounts which in their own opinion should be spent on the wedding feast.

But this state of affairs did not last long. Initially, it was still agreed among kinsmen that the old amount would be maintained outwardly, but that in reality they would be satisfied with less. Outwardly, the social standing of the group of relatives thereby remained on the same level. But gradually the amounts were adjusted to the new conditions, though little or nothing was thereby changed in the intent of the feast or in the entertainment of the guests.

/163/ By the same token, scarcely any difference could be observed between a wedding feast in 1940 and one celebrated in 1949 in the same group, even though in that period the valuation of sawahs and buffaloes increased by about tenfold. While in 1940 one buffalo and one goat were killed for the feast, in 1949 one buffalo and two goats were killed for the occasion. In 1949 one naturally never heard the complaint, either, that a marriage could not come about because of the excessive expenses of the wedding. In its striking frequency, this complaint remained confined to the beginning of the 1930's. The high expenses are nevertheless still named today as an excuse whenever other reasons which one does not like to mention make a certain marriage undesirable (1).

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1. Kampong Bontorambo numbered 22 widows and 13 widowers who had not remarried, that is, fully 4 percent of the total of 787 residents. Only two married men and two married women appeared

[162] /163 cont./
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[587]

to be remarried widowers and widows respectively. It is possible that these latter figures are in reality somewhat larger. For the investigation of this problem was made difficult by the fact that generally one finds it unpleasant to be reminded of an earlier marriage. At present, this result proves no more than that few widows and widowers remarry. The possibility is taken into account that the decease of the marriage partner is a consequence of a bad personal quality on the part of the survivor, without the latter having to be conscious of it. One is afraid that this quality will stay with him, and for that reason one regards a marriage to a widow or to a widower as a less desirable marriage. In the rare cases that such a marriage was contracted, a special ritual was performed. By this it is hoped that the bad qualities will disappear, but the chance of this happening is not considered very good.

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The census report of 1930 (Part 5, p. 58) gives as the reason for the infrequent remarriage of widowers the high bride price and wedding expenses. This argument is even less valid since the widower can, if he wants to, be satisfied with a "small feast" (nikka' tja'di).

833 /201 cont./ thus causes the entire purpose of the marriage to run awry. In such cases it is said of the man that he refuses sexual contact with his wife (tena naero' ri bainenna; literally, "he does not want his wife"); such a refusal may just as well emanate from the wife.

Sometimes it is clear that someone does not desire con-
[584] tact with his spouse because he himself has made another choice and now still wants to force his kinsmen to permit him to marry her (1). In other cases a bride or bridegroom declares

[586]

1. In a case which took place in Macassar in which a young man refused sexual intercourse with his wife because he had his mind set upon another girl, the marriage was dissolved after more than three years. At that time his father consented to his disposing of his wife. Shortly
[587] thereafter he had to marry a second wife, just as little by his own choice as the first one. He led a normal married life with this second wife. She presented him with two children and died a few years afterwards. Only then did he marry the woman whom he had chosen eight years earlier.

that the appearance of the marriage partner does not please him (or her). But in still other cases, not a single reason can be detected.

Sometimes it is believed in such cases that the individual who refuses has been affected by a spell emanating from

565 /206 cont./ value is placed, as they say, upon keeping the
582 blood pure and the goods together. There this marriage is therefore not regarded as unfavorable. In the higher classes, one can observe the tendency toward contracting marriages between closer relatives.

587 A marriage to someone who has already been married (a widower or divorced man) is regarded as unfavorable. The fact that the first marriage failed is ascribed to a lack of "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means), unless a special reason can be shown. The idea that an individual is as he is, and
[828] that he himself can change little about this, explains fears that the second marriage will fail for the same reason. Attempts are made to dismiss any thoughts of the first marriage by having the second marriage take place from another house, by choosing another bride's mother, and by making other changes. The best attitude imaginable is therefore thought to be that of a remarrying bridegroom who said, "I am going to begin a new life." This man was prepared to react differently in this second marriage than in the first, at which time he submitted with great aversion to all the ritual, gave his bride a rough tap on the back at the first touch, and in all possible ways made his dislike of this marriage apparent.

A woman prefers not to marry a man who has already been married, as the following verse (kelong) testifies, where a young woman is introduced saying:

[539]

> "I would rather be a fallow
> piece of land, an unplowed
> sown field, than having a
> buffalo run over me who has
> already been under the yoke
> once."

Actually, it would be very crude if a girl were to recite
[576] this verse. This is only done by older people when it suits them at a certain moment in their marriage policy.

/229 cont./ During this solemnity those present were
588 seated in a kind of closed-off veranda built onto the house proper of the Imam. The barred windows were still in the original front wall, and the men present in the veranda could get a glimpse of the women through them. Among them was a woman called Kamida who was in exactly the same position as Djawi and who was therefore also waiting to see if someone would come for her./230/ "That Kamida would also like to," said the guru, and there was general laughter. Rappung, who now felt at ease said that he had really carried through his marriage against the wishes of his parents. They had warned him against marrying since this
[777] month is regarded as "unfavorable" for it (bulang bambang, literally, "warm month"), and the Imam responded immediately: "Rappung bambang tongi" (literally, "Rappung is also warm").

The Imam now called out loud for Djawi but she did not appear. A woman was sent to get her, but she did not come. "She is asleep," someone said. A younger brother of the Imam was told to go and call her, and meanwhile the Imam had a burning censer pushed toward him by his wife. Djawi still remained in the back, but finally, urged on by the Imam himself, she appeared in the veranda, and, with her back half turned to her husband-to-be and face turned toward the wall of the house, she sat down. If it is at all possible the woman is spared this situation. Even when servants marry,
[212] the master who organizes the wedding takes care that taking the wife's fingerprint is arranged beforehand. According to Moslem legal prescription, a woman does not sign herself if she has a father or grandfather and if she has never before
[587] been married. Silariang cases, and therefore also this case, are placed on a par with the marriage of a previously wed woman.

After Djawi had her fingerprint taken, the witnesses and the Imam signed. After that the nikka' took place. Rappung

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

835 /34 cont./ frequently than those between members of the same family. Such relationships are sometimes also regarded as incest (salimara'). Irrespective of kinship relationship /sic/ these /sexual/ relationships are always considered especially reprehensible.

[583 588] In a case where a man fled with his wife's niece (kamanakang), this was the reason that the reconciliation, otherwise customary after a flight, could not be brought about (1).

1. Compare Chapter III, third part. See pp. ff.

582 835 A marriage between children of the first marriage of a widower and a widow who later married so that their children came to belong to one household was forbidden in rural areas. In Macassar such a marriage was contracted. The person performing the marriage ceremony took the point of view that no objections were to be found against such a marriage under Moslem law.

835 Relations of a man with his brother's daughter or sister's daughter, or with his father's sister or mother's sister, is regarded as salimara'. The native courts punish these cases [684] with banishment for the same number of years as was cited above with respect to relations between a father and daughter. The first mentioned, that between a man with a woman of a lower generation, occurs much more frequently than the last named, that with a woman of a higher generation. The reason for this difference in frequency is said to be /35/ that a young girl has greater difficulty in resisting her uncle than a woman with regard to her nephew. From this it may again be concluded that the common opinion is that the evil initiative toward sexual contact proceeds from the man. [538] Myths or other stories concerning such relationships are unknown to me. According to rumors, such relationships did

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an
558 attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number
689 of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise, in social standing is touched at the core through impairment of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

558 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women, and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the silariang complex. A number of its aspects will now be discussed.

684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings about siri', is always held against both man and woman. Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger. For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house, and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which [583] therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated in the literature by "siliariang" marriage.

684 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for
627 contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only
588 be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who caused siri' in this way must be killed, because only in this way can the challenge be answered and the siri' feeling of the challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

554 /213 cont. / On this occasion there is always a superior,
588 functionary or someone of higher blood present, because only
627 then does an inferior control his siri' /214/ feelings. It would
684 be a great discourtesy to act according to one's own opinions against the wishes of a superior and on top of that in the superior's presence. In a conflict of impulses to kill or not to kill, the presence of the superior makes not killing acceptable.

A superior, however, cannot without further ado impose his will upon inferiors. More clearly than elsewhere there appear here the limits of power that a superior has over an inferior. Coercion on the part of the superior to bring about a reconciliation has as a consequence not only the fact that no reconciliation is brought about, but it even intensifies existing difficulties. Below, we shall see examples of this.

588 After reconciliation there is no more question of siri';
607 relationships are again normal. But during the entire period,
684 from the moment of the flight to the reconciliation, the relationships between the fleers, tumannjala ("people who have made a mistake"), and the wife's male kinsmen, the tumasiri' ("people who are siri'"), is bound to various rules. In practice there are many generally accepted ways of meeting the difficulties that have arisen through these siri' feelings, which will be described below. One repeatedly comes upon situations, or hears opinions defended by those involved, which are comprehensible only on the basis of ideas concerning challenging and killing. This does not mean that each silariang marriage is intended in the first place as a challenge, but it is regarded as such. Subsequent conduct is in accordance with it.

627 A man who has been made siri' by a violation of sexual
684 prohibitions is therefore expected to kill the one who has transgressed. But it is not a matter of indifference how this killing takes place. By preference, it must be done in a manner worthy of a man, that is to say, by a stab with a knife (badi') in the open.

627 671 682 684 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation. Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she [626]

1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often remarried very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lale).

588 A man and a woman who flee together generally get married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet "a socially recognized union between members of the opposite sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question. The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter, [428] and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from her parents (1).

428 /216 cont./ 1. The religious judge
588 (sjarat) acknowledges the share of the inheritance which is due her, but in the case of an "ordinary" division, that is to say, a division which takes place without the religious judge, her existence is officially ignored. At the most this relationship is used as a pretext, without being expressly stated as such, to leave the estate entirely or partially undivided.

593 The first person eligible to act when a woman has taken
684 part in a contact situation is her brother. A little poem
627 illustrates this:

[539]

Sari'battangadji todjeng,	Only the brother is the true,
iadji kalli' madjarre';	he alone is the strong fence,
pindu' tjikali	where cousins
naempoi ranggasela.	of the sixth and fourth degree waver.

There is no mention here of the girl's father. He is the one who must give the official consent to the marriage and later to the reconciliation, but if his son does not agree, he
[602] gets into difficulties. Officially, all male kinsmen of the woman are siri' when she has fled, but those who take an active part in such a case are, in the first place, her brother and sometimes also a cousin of the fourth degree, or a follower (2) of her father. The boundaries cannot be sharply

2. "His siri' is that of his master," it is said.

593
602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
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3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/, " Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri', /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status,
114 nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

1:Chabot--299 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

588 /217 cont./ 1. The suggestion I made in 1938 to the effect that a deeper knowledge of the Makassarese marriage arrangement would clarify the reasons that lead to a silariang marriage has therefore proved incorrect. See /Ibid./ Vol. 149, p. 334.

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[114]

Silariang is inevitably preceded by a violation of rules concerning social intercourse between the sexes, regardless of whether this was intentional or not. Only when one continues to search for the reasons leading to the transgression of these social rules, does one find the desire on the part of the individuals whose marriage is prevented by social or economic factors and who therefore resort to silariang.

521 Even if nobody else knows of this transgression but the
684 man and the woman, the latter can still not be sure that he will not boast of it in order to appear as a "ladies' man" among his companions. Boasting of success with women is typical of young men (tau rungka). They like to suggest extensive successes, even though actually little more has happened than that a number of significant glances were exchanged, and a few remarks of a general nature but, in his opinion, cleverly stated were made in her presence. At the same time, a young man has a valid reason for remaining vague when he makes such boasts, for if he were to be too explicit, so that another could understand to whom he is referring, his bragging immediately imperils the girl. Then
[626] her brother might hear of it. The fact that people "talk about her" is one of the worst things that can happen to a young woman. In that case she must certainly flee because
[558] her brother or cousin can do nothing but stab unless he wants

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

When she is being discussed, one of the older women,
[571] sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop
at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say,
[602] they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit.
The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to
[502] see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

● 588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him
[626 siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
558] without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

● 588 /219 cont./ Along with the request for consent, the wali is frequently asked whether he wants to receive the sunrang. And his answer that he does not wish to receive the sunrang must be interpreted in the same way as his statement respecting the consent he is asked for: he desires to deny [578] every tie with the woman who has made him siri'. She should be dead; for him she does not exist. At the nikka' the wife therefore receives the sunrang herself. Later, at the reconciliation, the sunrang is then offered to her kinsmen after it has been freshly prepared. Thereby one maintains the fiction that only then does the ordinary marriage take place.

[583] Independent of all rank and status, the amount of the sunrang at the marriage of a woman who has fled is always 20 reals (1).

[183] 1. Of the total number of marriages (107) contracted over a period of time of one year (from January 7, 1948 to January 7, 1949) in Borongloe, there were 19 silariang marriages, or around 18 per cent. This percentage seems to be normal for Goa. In 1947, 1492 marriages were registered in the entire province of around 200, 000 residents. Of these, 283 were silariang marriages. According to reports, the percentage [184] of silariang marriages is much higher in other districts, such as Djeneponto.

588 684 /220/ In the case of a silariang marriage, the man must pay a fine (kasalaang). The person performing the marriage ceremony records this payment in the marriage register. The money is kept and offered to the wife's father during the reconciliation. The latter does not want to accept the fine directly during the performance of the marriage because in so doing he would again recognize a tie with his daughter that he does not want. He therefore often asks the imam, the man who has performed the wedding ceremony, to accept this money as a "good gift" (sidakka'). That is the practice in Borongloë. Elsewhere, the marriage official hands this fine over to the wife's father directly after the marriage has been performed.

177 627 684 A few observations can be made concerning the origin of this local difference. This fine formerly used to be called, "cutting off what is pointed," or "making blunt what is sharp"; this meant that after the receipt of the fine no reason for stabbing was thought to exist any more (1). The fine was

1. Cf. C. T. Bertling, "Huwelijk en huwelijksrecht in Zuid-Celebes /Marriage and Marriage Law in South Celebes/," /Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 147, p. 203. /Batavia, 1938./

regarded as an element of the reconciliation, and for that reason was not paid until that occasion. Makassarese feelings linked the receipt of the fine to the end of the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship.

177 627 648 684 Shortly after the South Celebes expedition of 1905, the number of stabbings based upon a silariang affair seems to have been very large. At that time the administration looked

177 /220 cont./ for means to limit this number. In 1906,
627 Governor Kroese issued a circular letter in which he made the
648 suggestion designed to cause the fine to be paid directly at
684 the nikka' and to be accepted by the wife's wali, in cases of silariang marriage. He hoped that the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship would be directly removed in this way.

However carefully the suggestion may have been handled, the pressure that was exerted was nonetheless too strong. Since that date the fine has in fact been paid at the nikka' in a great many districts, but the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship nonetheless has remained in existence. Only when we keep in mind these historical facts can we understand why, in a certain region where the wife's father accepts the fine at the nikka' but the sunrang not until the reconciliation, 'making blunt what is sharp' now indicates this sunrang.

684 /221/ According to Moslem law, the wife's wali may
582 refuse his consent to a marriage on the basis of the fact that the woman is of a higher status than the man. In an ordinary case such a difference is reason for refusing a marriage request, even if a different reason is given: "It is not seeming that they should marry" (taena nasiratang), is the usual
[588] expression. If the wali in a case of silariang refuses to give his consent on these grounds, the imam separates them, unless the couple desires to carry through the marriage. In that case the affair goes before the judge. If the decision states that the woman is higher than the man, they are separated. Rather than seeing her married to a man of lower blood, the kinsmen will take her back again though she made them siri'.

684 After such a separation by authority of the imam or judge,
695 there no longer exists any tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship. The functionary concerned reports to the tumasiri' that the

684 /221 cont./ affair is herewith ended and that neither man
695 nor woman may be subjected to any more difficulties. In practice, however, the man, at least initially, does not show his face in a kampong where many of the woman's kinsmen reside. For safety's sake he does not do so until, for instance, she is married to another man, and feelings with regard to him have quieted down somewhat.

626 The feelings with respect to the woman who has been
684 taken back home by her own kin group have not yet completely calmed down either. She has committed a mistake which lies more in the area of the salimara' than that of silariang. She is familiar with the danger connected with it and therefore takes care to conduct herself as inconspicuously as possible, so that her male kinsmen will be reminded as little as possible of her existence. In the few cases that such a separation took place, the woman was practically always married off shortly thereafter. In a single case where this did not happen, she
[588] fled three years later with another man likewise lower. This time the wali nonetheless had to give his consent for the marriage under pressure from the imam, who pointed out that he had taken poor care of this woman's siri' by not finding a man for her.

684 As a reason for having fled with a man, a girl sometimes
834 states that he forced her to do so and that he threatened to kill her if she did not go with him. The jurist who /222/ would accept "forcible abduction," in all such cases would make a mistake. It could not be expected of a girl to confess, even as a sworn witness before the judge, that she went with her "abductor" of her own volition. This would be a sign that she desired him, and this cannot be expected from any woman who is brought up in the idea that the display of this desire (lale) is greatly reprehensible (1).

1. In such a case one might consider not swearing in the abducted woman, of whom it

684 /222 cont./ cannot be expected that
834 she would speak the truth
on this point.

Nor does a man need to use force if he wants to coerce a woman to flee with him. By making her siri', he leaves her no choice. It would then be too dangerous for her to remain at home. Her brother would be able to do little else than stab her. Occasionally a man may purposely make a woman siri' and thereby force her to flee with him because he wants to marry her while she does not desire him for a husband. But
[626] more frequently the reason is that his kinsmen desired this union, and their request for it was turned down. For the young man, a remark such as: "Why are we refused?" is then tantamount to a command to respond to the insult of such a refusal. And he can do this in no better way than by forcing a flight.

177 Under modern circumstances in Macassar, conditions are
834 frequently somewhat different. If girls continue to attend school after they have become marriageable, their contact with young men is quite different from those under the conditions previously described. In such a situation her fear of contact with a young man is less, because now there are subjects about which she can talk to him without danger. At the same time the attitude of the young men changes. They no longer regard themselves as siri' if their sister talks to one of their school friends.

177 It is possible that the number of silariang marriages in this
● 588 younger generation is larger than in the country because, on the one hand, the opportunity for the young people to carry out their own choice against that of their parents is much greater, and, on the other hand, the danger of being stabbed in these circles is decreasing rather /223/ than increasing. Figures are not available. At the same time there are arguments which explain why the number is not much larger

177 /223 cont./ already. This is connected with the fact that
588 silariang is regarded as bad (kodi) and a festive wedding as good (badji'). A young man who likes a girl may ask her whether she wants to flee, but he will immediately accept her refusal when she says that she does not want to make her mother unhappy, or that she does not want to do "the bad," that is to say, silariang.

177 A modern young woman who associated very freely with
588 young men -- she went alone to run errands in the toko /stores/
834 and conversed with her male colleagues in the normal school when she met them on the street -- met with considerable
[626] criticism from her aunts and older sisters. They called her a street broom and assured her repeatedly that she would come to an evil end. She received many requests to flee, and most of these were made not so much through a lust for adventure, but rather as a consequence of the fact that many young Makassarese men from a good house find it pleasant to marry a modern young woman who can get along in company. Silariang was therefore a means for them to carry out their wishes against those of their parents. But this young woman steadfastly refused; "I want to show that I can be modern in a good way" (eroki kupappatjinikang kamoderengangku), she would say, and the young men would be content with that. She indicated that prohibited contact in and by itself did not need to have bad consequences in the form of a marriage by flight.

Erangkale

588 One speaks of "silariang" when a man and woman flee
634 together, and of "erangkale" (literally, "to bring one's self") when the woman runs away from home alone to the man who has made her siri'. Reasons for these two forms of silariang are not different either in principle or in consequences. Frequently, it depends upon an accident whether a woman

588 /223 cont./ leaves alone or with the man. I call it an
684 accident, for instance, whether she succeeds in arranging a rendezvous for the flight through an intermediary. The fear that upon (unintentional) forbidden contact, the reaction will be a /224/ stab with the knife is always one of the motives for her flight.

588 When a woman flees to a man, the latter can do nothing
626 but go with her. He would be no "man," not even in the
558 opinion of his own kin group, if he did not do so. Rather than letting it be said of him that he "flees from a woman," he goes with her to the village or religious functionary, marries, and in so doing invites all the difficulties which a silariang marriage brings with it. Then he behaves as beseems a man.

588 It is assumed as a matter of course that a woman who
626 takes refuge with a man has reason for this. The man who
684 refuses marriage in such a case can be sure that he will no longer be an acceptable guest to many people. It is regarded as very reprehensible to make a girl siri' and then not to marry her. I was able to record only two instances of this.

684 When a girl of approximately thirteen years of age had taken refuge with a man of about twenty-six, the latter denied that he had given cause for this. He had known her a long time, so he said, and his feelings toward her had
[626] merely been those of a brother. He lamented what she had done because now they were both siri' in his opinion, she, because she fled, and he because many would be unwilling to accept his refusal and would therefore be loath to receive him in their houses. It is noteworthy about this statement that this man placed the siri' feeling of the woman beside his own. Thus, he ascribes to her siri' feelings which normally only men are supposed to possess, feelings which arise when an attempt, made in public, to attain something fails.

In the other example, the man admitted that he did have some fun with the woman who fled to him (bandjulu',

684 /224 cont./ here used in the sense of "make little verbal jokes"), but he refused to go with her. At the request of her father she was then returned to her kin group by authority of the judge. "We have enough kinsmen who can marry her," was the explanation for this request, and so it happened. In these two instances, the determined attitude of the man was accepted, while at the same time he was not regarded as tumannjala. The explanation for this may be the character /225/ of the girl, who in both cases was known not to possess the modesty and timidity which girls really should have.

588 626 684 A number of times a woman fled to a stranger in the belief that he made her siri', while in his own mind he had done something quite ordinary. Thus, a Christian Sangirese who was appointed as foreman over a number of Makassarese turned in public to the sister of one of them to ask where her brother was. A few days later she fled to him. After having been instructed by friends, he reacted according to Makassarese expectations. He paid the sunrang and the fine and behaved as beseems a good tumannjala until the reconciliation had taken place according to Makassarese custom. Only the Moslem marriage ceremony did not take place.

689 609 When an Indochinese in such a situation refused to marry, the imam took the girl back to her kin group. The latter regarded neither him nor her as tumannjala. "He does not know our adat," they said, and that was a sufficient explanation for them.

834 684 There are countless reasons which make a woman siri' and lead her to take refuge with a certain man. In each case forbidden contact with this man can be demonstrated. Frequently this contact is accidental. The girl who was addressed by the Sangirese just mentioned was at that moment engaged in drawing water. She did not answer, which was perfectly natural from the Makassarese point of view, but her father had observed the situation and said: "I sent you to the well to

/226 cont./
Extramarital Pregnancy

848 Pregnancy is naturally a reason for flight for an unmarried woman. For the first few months the male relatives need not notice anything so she can safely remain at home. Her mother or sister is sometimes taken into her confidence, but both will always deny this. If, under these circumstances, a woman does not suceed in persuading the father of her child to flee and marry her, she finally flees by herself and names [588] him to the religious official concerned. Summoned by the imam, the majority of men confess. Thereupon the marriage is carried out, and the couple is henceforth simply regarded and treated as tumannjala.

A man who continues to deny being the father of the child is taken to the Kali of Goa. If he maintains his denial [695] there, he receives the opportunity to swear solemnly in the great mosque of Goa that he did not make this woman pregnant. Once he has performed this oath, he is free. In reality, however, he is still in danger. He will do well not to enter the kampong where the woman used to live. The general opinion is that a woman does not lie under such circumstances. A man who denies being the father of her child, even though he has fortified his denial by an oath, must always take care [627] that one of her /227/ kinsmen will not try to kill him all the same. Only when she has subsequently married another man is he safe.

584 After the man has made his oath, the woman remains in the imam's house until someone comes who wants to marry 588 her. This usually happens after a few days. First an emissary 848 from this man has a talk with the imam, who then conveys the marriage request to the woman. If she is not yet acquainted with her marriage partner-to-be, she is given an opportunity to see him, and she can then decide for herself. If she remains seated silently with bowed head, this is tantamount to her consent. But her expression "tea'" (I don't want to) is accepted. A woman who refuses several candidates one after another will at most be told that she is making

584 /227 cont./ things difficult for the people around her. There
588 always seems to be a sufficient number of unmarried men who
848 would like to get married.

It rarely happens that a child is born without the mother
848 being married. This may happen by way of exception, for instance, if a woman is pregnant by her sister's husband. According to Moslem law, which in this point is strictly followed in Goa, she may not marry this man before her sister is divorced from him and the iddat period is past. Children born outside wedlock are, therefore, a rarity. At the same time they usually die soon. Only once a girl of about eight years of age was pointed out to me in Borongloë as a child who had never had a father. Figures concerning this matter
[163] cannot be given because these births, or the subsequent death of the children, are not recorded in the respective registers. Makassarese fail to see what interests would be served in doing so. They prefer to forget such cases as soon as possible.

A man who marries a woman who was impregnated by
588 another man is called pattongko' siri' ("coverer of the disgrace").
672 Such a marriage is regarded entirely like a silariang marriage.
684 No further festivities take place when it occurs. The fine is paid, and the man is tumannjala with respect to his wife's kinsmen until the reconciliation, even though he only attained this status by virtue of the fact that he married her. It is usually a widower or a man of over thirty years who wants to contract such a marriage. Sometimes he is a kinsman of the woman, but in that case always a cousin of the sixth degree (sampopinruang) or further removed, for her closest kinsmen are, in the first instance, tumasiri'.

His action is appreciated. It makes the woman /228/
[848] happy, so it is said, because he saves her and her kinsmen from an even greater disgrace, giving birth to a child without being married. This appreciation is expressed, in the first place, by an early reconciliation, often as soon as a month after the marriage has been contracted. Furthermore, although

588 /228 cont./ during the period between nikka' and recon-
672 ciliation the "pattongko' siri'" is officially regarded as
684 tumannjala, in reality both parties do their best to avoid each other more than usual.

A description of such a wedding will follow here to
588 describe the atmosphere which is so completely different from that prevailing at an ordinary festive marriage, but especially to show also what both have in common. This is Djawi's wedding, which occurred in 1940 in Borongloë. There was no question of a festival here. The tone of the conversations was different from that at a festive wedding, and the ritual had been reduced to a few simple actions.

Djawi had fled from her parental house in a pregnant
588 condition. The man whom she had named as the father of her
848 child had denied this, and she had then been taken to the house of the adat community head to wait there until someone should come to marry her, or, as it was expressed, "to take her disgrace away from her" (angalleangi siri'na), or else, "to let her live" (antallassi). After a few days an immediate
588 uncle of Djawi came to tell her that her uncle of the seventh degree (purina sampopinruang), by the name of Rappung, a divorced man without children, wanted to marry her. The adat community head conveyed this request to her. She already knew Rappung, and therefore she did not have to see him first, and she was given ample time to think the matter over. She continued to be silent, and from this it was concluded that she agreed to the marriage. The head reported this to the Imam of Borongloë, who sent a letter to Djawi's father in which he requested his consent to the marriage of his daughter. The letter included an authorization for the Imam to take his place as wali, an authorization to which only his fingerprint had to be added.

[583] /229/ On this occasion it appeared that the sawah designated as sunrang yielded only 50 sheaves of paddy, while a sawah of 100 sheaves was regarded as customary in such a

588 [583] /229 cont./ case. The Imam therefore took into account the possibility that the wali would withhold his consent for this reason. The consent was given nevertheless. That Rappung was a valued worker in the kin group was probably a factor of some influence on the decision. Thereupon, the Imam, in agreement with Rappung, set the day and hour for the wedding.

Just before the time agreed upon, at about eight o'clock in the evening, the woman was taken to the Imam's house. She went directly up the back stairs and waited in the woman's rooms. A little later, Rappung arrived in the company of his gurukampong and two of his kinsmen. Shortly thereafter the Imam's son-in-law also arrived. The latter was to act as witness together with the gurukampong. At the conclusion of the solemnity both received 0.25 gulden for their part in it.

212 588 805 The Imam produced the carefully locked-away registers and wrote in these with a pen especially filed for the writing of Makassarese letters. In so doing he asked the customary questions: "How old are you?" Rappung did not know. "How old were you at the fall of Goa?" (1) was one of the questions

1. 1905.

designed to help him find the answer. "One year!" "How old is Djawi?" At the fall of Goa she apparently had not yet been born. "How old was she at the time of the Spanish influenza epidemic?" (2) "At that time she was not around

2. 1919.

yet either." The Imam assumed that she was probably born shortly thereafter and, basing her age on that, entered it in the register. February 27, 1940 was recorded as the date of the marriage, although the marriage was performed on the evening of the 26th (nine o'clock in the evening).

/229 cont./ During this solemnity those present were
588 seated in a kind of closed-off veranda built onto the house proper of the Imam. The barred windows were still in the original front wall, and the men present in the veranda could get a glimpse of the women through them. Among them was a woman called Kamida who was in exactly the same position as Djawi and who was therefore also waiting to see if someone would come for her./230/ "That Kamida would also like to," said the guru, and there was general laughter. Rappung, who now felt at ease said that he had really carried through his marriage against the wishes of his parents. They had warned him against marrying since this
[777] month is regarded as "unfavorable" for it (bulang bambang, literally, "warm month"), and the Imam responded immediately: "Rappung bambang tongi" (literally, "Rappung is also warm").

The Imam now called out loud for Djawi but she did not appear. A woman was sent to get her, but she did not come. "She is asleep," someone said. A younger brother of the Imam was told to go and call her, and meanwhile the Imam had a burning censer pushed toward him by his wife. Djawi still remained in the back, but finally, urged on by the Imam himself, she appeared in the veranda, and, with her back half turned to her husband-to-be and face turned toward the wall of the house, she sat down. If it is at all possible the woman is spared this situation. Even when servants marry,
[212] the master who organizes the wedding takes care that taking the wife's fingerprint is arranged beforehand. According to Moslem legal prescription, a woman does not sign herself if she has a father or grandfather and if she has never before
[587] been married. Silariang cases, and therefore also this case, are placed on a par with the marriage of a previously wed woman.

After Djawi had her fingerprint taken, the witnesses and the Imam signed. After that the nikka' took place. Rappung

●588 /230 cont./ was seated on a little mat with his face turned west; Djawi was seated obliquely across from him to the left, with her back turned toward him. The Imam sat across from him and obliquely to the right behind him sat the witnesses, while right next to them sat one of his male kinsmen who had accompanied him. Now the Imam passed the censer on so that it described a small circle around Rappung (nipaliliki) three times counterclockwise and once clockwise. After each circle, when the Imam again had the censer in his hand, he waved the incense smoke toward Rappung (nikapeki) with the words: "Be happy" (literally, "Open your soul").

Now the Imam with his right hand grasped Rappung's right thumb and spread a white handkerchief over both their hands. Then he asked Djawi whether she wanted to marry Rappung. /231/ She did not answer; the question was repeated with urgency. Her "yes" was scarcely audible. The Imam thereupon turned to the witnesses: "Heard?" A mumble of assent followed from all those present. Then he asked Rappung how much the sunrang amounted to. He answered, "Twenty reals." Then the Imam recited the words of the offer (idjab), "Kunikkako, Rappung, kupasikalabiniko iDjawi, ana'na iSaibu; nusunrang 20 reala'" ("I marry you, Rappung, I join you in marriage to Djawi, the daughter of Saibu; you give a sunrang of 20 reals"). After this had first been recited to him, Rappung answered that he accepted this offer (kabul). "Kutarimai pakkalabinanna iDjawi; kusunrang 20 reala'" ("I accept being joined in marriage to Djawi; I give a sunrang of 20 reals"). Thereupon, the Imam let go of Rappung's hand.

"It is the second time that he is getting married, that is why he is so clever" (that is to say, that is why he can repeat the formula immediately without any mistakes), it was remarked. The Imam then mumbled the credo (doangang nikka'), and in so doing he held both hands with the palms turned up before him. The men present did the same. This lasted for only a moment, and with it the formal part was concluded.

588 /231 cont./ Rappung shook hands with those present (a'djama taëng) in the order of rank and status, first the Imam [554 576] who urged him to go to his wife, who remained seated motionless. He just touched her hand. He then went to the two witnesses, first the oldest, then the Imam's younger brother, and finally to his two kinsmen who had come along.

The Imam opened the round copper box (kampu) in which the sunrang was contained. In it were: two kalomping (betel leaves folded in a special way), two pieces of areca nut, a few grains of rice, and 4.25 guldens. Of this, 0.25 gulden was designated for the Kali of Goa, and 0.25 gulden for each of the witnesses. The rest was for the Imam. And finally there was a small lump of earth symbolizing the sawah transferred as sunrang. The money was taken out of the box and distributed. Thereupon, the couple left, and with them their companions.

[493] Two three-wheeled bicycles with baskets (tallu roda) stood in readiness. Rappung and his wife sat down on the one in front. "They find it pleasant to sit close together" (nangai siampika), those on the second tallu roda shouted, but Djawi turned her back to him /232/ and by this demonstrative aversion showed that she knew how a just-married woman should behave.

Reconciliation

602 627 The reconciliation can be defined as the solemn arrival of the two tumannjala together with the man's kinsmen and acquaintances at the house of the father or one of the brothers of the wife. There many of her kinsmen are gathered for the occasion. Wife and husband ask for forgiveness from all those present and offer the sunrang, the fine, and cookies.

622 627 The kampong head, or a higher functionary, is always present on such an occasion. He is the one under whose authority the reconciliation comes about. In his presence the

602 /234 cont./ with the tumannjala. The acceptance of the
627 cookies is therefore the overt sign that one is in accord with the reconciliation.

The limits of the kin group -- in the first chapter it was described in detail -- are vague. It is therefore impossible to include all those who must receive cookies /235/. At best, therefore, one sees to it that these cookies are offered to the houses of the prominent kinsmen and especially to those of leading men. But the individual who is not content with the reconciliation can easily avoid the cookies. The distribution of the cookies is an outward form which has little significance for the actual relationship. Nor does it seem that it had more significance formerly and that we are therefore dealing here with a so-called "outworn adat."

The same applies to the statement that a tamannjala being pursued is safe from a stab by the tumasiri' pursuing him, if he throws his cap inside the fence of the yard belonging to a kampong head or other functionary. People like to tell of this custom and add that this was formerly the case and that it should really be this way. Recent instances are unknown, however. It always remains a moot question whether, and if so to what extent, the pursuer adhered to this custom even in former times.

Cap and cookies adats are instances of forms which arise where strong feelings demand formalization. For the actual course of events they are of little importance.

684 It is impossible for a woman who has fled and has been
593 left alone, for instance because her husband has died, to
588 bring about a reconciliation with her kinsmen. One other means is nonetheless available to her. She can surrender herself to the mercies of her kin group. Thus a crying woman unexpectedly entered the house of her parents from which she had fled about six years earlier. "Kill me if you wish, here I am," were her words. She gave as the reason for her return the fact that she longed desperately for her mother. Her

684 /235 cont./ arrival aroused a great commotion, but the
593 situation that had thus arisen was accepted, and she was
588 henceforth not regarded as tumannjala. However, such cases remain a rarity.

Even married women resort to this method, though very rarely, if a reconciliation in the customary manner seems impossible. This was done by a woman, for instance, whose husband had taken a second wife and who was now receiving insufficient means of support from him. The same was also done by a childless woman. The action is regarded as a deed
[627] of desperation. In performing it the woman runs the risk of being killed, for in so doing she delivers herself to her brothers who would stab her to death, or at least /236/ would have to make an attempt at doing so in case of an accidental meeting in public. However, her act of desperation has as a consequence that the latter no longer feel the urge to stab. She who originally made them siri' now shows herself lesser than they.

Declaration of Death

There is also a way for the tumasiri' to escape the need to behave as tumasiri'.. This is the "declaration of death." "I no longer have a child, neither in this world nor in the hereafter" (1), are the customary words. It is also said that,

1. Tenamo anakku rilino nariahereka.

the child is "declared dead" (2) by the one who has spoken

2. Nimateangi.

these words, that he has cast it out (3), that it is no longer

3. Natallaki ana'na.

684 /236 cont./ recognized by him as his child (4). This
593
588

4. Nisassali rimanggena.

declaration sometimes takes place in the mosque in the presence of the imam and other prominent men of the adat community. This simply adds more force to the words. The declaration can also be made at home without any intentional witnesses.

The utterance of the words may, in the first instance, be coupled with some ritual in the form of offering psang. On that occasion the religious official recites the initial words of the Koran. It is said that thereby the Prophet is regarded as another witness to the utterance of the declaration (5).

5. Nipappisa'biangi rina'bia.

Modern Islamites repudiate this ritual. They speak contemptuously of "the pisang reading" (amattja unti).

The consequence of this declaration of death, which is closer to the Islamic than the ancestral world, is not that a child is thereby regarded as disinherited. The religious judge (sjarat) took no account of it in regulating the personal estate of a man who had declared his daughter dead.

In practice it seems to be principally the father of the
593 fled woman who at present makes use of such a declaration.
588 Her brothers do not do so; they do not regard themselves bound
684 by their father's declaration. They consider themselves free,
627 both in their attempts to kill her, as well as in giving their assent to the reconciliation. /237/ Repeatedly, a tacit recall takes place as the father later also gives his consent to the reconciliation. But it also has happened that a reconciliation came about with all the tumasiri' except the woman's parents.

593 /237 cont./ In yet another case the brothers and cousins of
588 the woman tacitly agreed with the declaration uttered by
684 their father. In this case she had fled to a lower man, and
627 therefore the tumasiri', as they asserted, could not act as is otherwise customary after silariang.

Frequently, a special reason can be given for the deposition of such a declaration of death. The fact that a man regularly walked past the house of his wife's father in an insolent manner before the reconciliation, when he should have kept himself outside the view of his tumasiri' as much as possible was a reason for the latter to feel extra siri'.
593 Another man whose daughter had gone to live with a distant
684 kinsman at the pasar of Borongloe and who was there receiving various men saw in this a reason to repudiate her.

684 The declaration of death seems to be a new institution.
627 It relieves the tumasiri' of their duty to stab. On the other hand, it makes a reconciliation difficult. The fact that
[177] existing ties are considered to be completely broken diminishes both the chance of stabbing as well as of reconciliation.

If siri' feelings, which in affairs concerning women can only be reconciled by death, could in future increasingly be satisfied by a declaration of death, we would have here an opportunity of solving the conflict in a manner less harmful to the many men who at present now realize that the honor of their related group is too dearly paid for by a jail sentence of an average of eight years. /238/

SUMMARY

105 In Makassarese culture four different forms of grouping can be distinguished, each with its own function.

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f.88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f.12 and a commoner might pay
567 f.22 or f.44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684 588] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

and where they have come from. For example, they tell 565
people that they were nobles where they came from. Here 567
is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power 178
of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there 696
were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. 681
If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They 567
became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they 626
have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is
a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember
it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any
event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would [684]
be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or [588]
a woman who married or had something to do with a man of
lower status.

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social 557
sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale 565
by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. 556
The social classes are set. 554

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it 531
would be better to say that there is some. There are many
cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able
to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they
may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which
were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more
wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is
practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all
the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman
and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are
numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes,
terms of address, and manners.

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable 178
flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for 554
an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted 342
only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and 565
nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly 531
use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present.
As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the
"real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide
and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one
except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved
wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used
illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so
used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in
house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was
once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

838
793/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

178 The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance
838 of the bissu institution, however, At present, insofar as they
548 did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

114 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and
589 women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated
885 who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

1. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 54.

114 /159 cont./ on one reads that "if sexual maturity of the girls
589 is regarded as the criterion of marriageability and thus also of
885 adulthood" they would be adults at the age of about fourteen or fifteen years (2). In South Celebes the tendency exists to

2. Ibid., p. 55.

regard boys as adults if they have their own kampong pass (soera' kampong). This implies that they are also called for community labor. At that time they are approximately eighteen to nineteen years old. As a result of these criteria, which differ according to sex, the men are regarded as adults at a later age than women.

114 In the 1930 census report a high percentage of unmarried
589 men and women is registered for the province of Goa (28.2 per cent and 28.8 per cent respectively). It is explained that the average age at which marriages are contracted is higher than elsewhere (3). This age, however, is not known.

3. Ibid., p. 66.

So long as the birth registers do not make possible a check of the age at which people are married, an explanation like this is premature.

The high percentage mentioned is, in my opinion, rather
589 to be explained by the fact that a large number of men and women never marry.

In order to ascertain this number, I asked two informants /160/ at different points in time, with respect to each unmarried person, one by one, whether according to them they still had chances to marry. The result was that for 15 men and 24 women, it was assumed by both informants that they would never marry. Their opinions were divided on 4 men. These 15 men were all approximately thirty-five to forty years or older. The 24 women were thirty to thirty-five years or older.

589 /160 cont./ The total number of men in kampong Bontoramba
[162] at that time amounted to 382, as against 405 women. Therefore, the total number of "unmarried people" amounts to 5 per cent of the total population, and the percentage of "unmarried" women is a little higher than that of the men. This fact requires an explanation. A number of general remarks will precede this.

589 Among the 15 men there were four deaf-mutes unsuited
732 for normal work. Among the 24 women there were three deaf-mutes (1) in addition to one blind and one albino woman.

1. The large number of deaf-mutes, seven in all, is too striking to pass without comment. The nose-, throat-, and ear-doctor at Macassar, J.C. Engelen, had the kindness to examine these individuals at my request. He reported that all suffered from a form of perception deafness, a kind of nervous deafness, and that the affliction must have begun at an early age or else must have been congenital. He regarded an infectious disease suffered in childhood (mumps or measles) as a possible cause if the affliction could be supposed to have begun at a youthful age. He

589 /160 cont./ believed that a connection
732 with the system of endogamous marriage need not be excluded, but that data were lacking to pronounce an opinion about this. These deaf-mutes are all approximately between forty-five and fifty-five years of age. Therefore they belong, as it were, to the same generation. They stem from three different pairs of parents (two brothers, a brother and sister, and a brother with two sisters). They also have brothers and sisters who are normal. They all belong to the "Kapala group."

Eleven men and 19 women seemed to be physically and psychically normal.

589 Lolo bangko (old maid) (2) is the customary but unflattering

2. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 147.

term applied to an older, unmarried woman. These women perform the ordinary feminine tasks in the house. The men with whom one talks about them maintain that these women would find it unpleasant if they had to marry, and that they would cry if their marriage were announced to them. These

589 /160 cont./ same men, therefore, continued to believe in the reaction expected of women when the marriage is announced to them, as the real manifestation of their feelings. In a kelong recited by women, one hears a different tone, however:

589 539 /161/ Lolobangkomi denangku; — My friend has become an old maid;
djappomi padja bungkenna — her first sarong is already worn-out (1)

1. This refers to a custom by which the [illegible]t sarong a young girl [illegible]aves, after she has [illegible]learned to do so, [illegible]pt for her bride-[illegible]room.

mattajang guru; — in waiting for a man;
mana palukka tania'. — not even a thief was there (2).

2. That is to say, she did not even carry out a marriage by flight.

589 With respect to older unmarried men, it is believed that they could have married but that they did not want to do so. People are satisfied with that; they are not urged to marry. The few older unmarried men who could be observed for some time every day, seemed like quiet, contented individuals who performed all kinds of little tasks in the house, rendered small services to their housemates, and sometimes even looked after the little children. Their standing in the group of relatives [554] is not great. Men who enjoy status in their related group are always married.

589 /161 cont./ In the 1930 census report, the suggestion is
114 made with respect to the "East of the Archipelago, " "that the continued unmarried state of a woman in the native society is regarded as more or less undesirable or dishonorable" (3). I

3. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 66.

have been unable to find a single indication in South Celebes pointing to the correctness of this last qualification. For the
581 woman concerned it is regarded as "undesirable" that she does
589 not marry. It is believed that only through marriage does one become a "complete person." Attempting to bring about someone's marriage signifies that one means well for this person. But one prefers to see a young woman unmarried rather than to see her marry a man who is not regarded as suitable.
[554] Suitability is judged almost entirely on the basis of his social standing.

By the same token people prefer to see their son unmarried than to see him contract a marriage contrary to parental wishes. Not to marry may be undesirable for an individual, but it is always regarded more highly than to marry an undesirable partner.

114 "Among the Makassarese, " the report goes on (4), "who
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4. Ibid., p. 67.

565 have strict difference between the social classes, the number of unmarried women /162/ among the higher classes is great because there the bride price and the "balandja" (the expenses of the wedding feast) are so high." Now this "bride price" among the kinsmen of the Prince of Goa amounts to 28 reals or 56. -- guldens, and that of the small man to 20 reals or 40. -- guldens. The difference of 16. -- guldens does not

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583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
●589 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
[582] in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary argument to explain the fact that a large number of women remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also used as an "explanation" for the existence of marriage by flight. It is safer to assume that in times like those after 1929, the number of marriages by flight increased somewhat through a gradual adjustment toward new relationships with regard to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance, cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts, and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
178 previous one.
435 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
583 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
585 same amount as a number of years before. The members of

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435 /162 cont./ such a group did not like to admit this toward
583 the outside world, however. It is true, therefore, that during
585 this time it repeatedly happened that a marriage did not take place, on account of the amounts which in their own opinion should be spent on the wedding feast.

But this state of affairs did not last long. Initially, it was still agreed among kinsmen that the old amount would be maintained outwardly, but that in reality they would be satisfied with less. Outwardly, the social standing of the group of relatives thereby remained on the same level. But gradually the amounts were adjusted to the new conditions, though little or nothing was thereby changed in the intent of the feast or in the entertainment of the guests.

/163/ By the same token, scarcely any difference could be observed between a wedding feast in 1940 and one celebrated in 1949 in the same group, even though in that period the valuation of sawahs and buffaloes increased by about tenfold. While in 1940 one buffalo and one goat were killed for the feast, in 1949 one buffalo and two goats were killed for the occasion. In 1949 one naturally never heard the complaint, either, that a marriage could not come about because of the excessive expenses of the wedding. In its striking frequency, this complaint remained confined to the beginning of the 1930's. The high expenses are nevertheless still named today as an excuse whenever other reasons which one does not like to mention make a certain marriage undesirable (1).

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1. Kampong Bontorambo numbered 22 widows and 13 widowers who had not remarried, that is, fully 4 percent of the total of 787 residents. Only two married men and two married women appeared

[162] /163 cont./
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to be remarried widowers and widows respectively. It is possible that these latter figures are in reality somewhat larger. For the investigation of this problem was made difficult by the fact that generally one finds it unpleasant to be reminded of an earlier marriage. At present, this result proves no more than that few widows and widowers remarry. The possibility is taken into account that the decease of the marriage partner is a consequence of a bad personal quality on the part of the survivor, without the latter having to be conscious of it. One is afraid that this quality will stay with him, and for that reason one regards a marriage to a widow or to a widower as a less desirable marriage. In the rare cases that such a marriage was contracted, a special ritual was performed. By this it is hoped that the bad qualities will disappear, but the chance of this happening is not considered very good.

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The census report of 1930 (Part 5, p. 58) gives as the reason for the infrequent remarriage of widowers the high bride price and wedding expenses. This argument is even less valid since the widower can, if he wants to, be satisfied with a "small feast" (nikka' tja'di).

589 /163 cont./ Today, just as fifteen to twenty years ago, a comparatively large number of men and women remain unmarried. The above-mentioned reasons may be of influence upon the number of those who remain unmarried during a certain period of time and in a certain group. An explanation of the same phenomenon during this period in the lower classes must be attempted separately.

581 Marriage seemed to be one of the most important events in the related group. The older people who bring about the marriages unconsciously apply a criterion of selection in the choice of those they are bringing together in marriage. The young man of whom they expect that he will contribute to the standing of their group has preference. This must be someone, therefore, who is always prepared to outdo others /164/ and to guard against the impairment of his own standing. Outdoing 156 other men and the conquest of women are two matters which in 584 the Makassarese conception go together in a man. The young men who possess these qualities to a strong degree frequently take the initiative toward marriage themselves, however limited the opportunities for this may be. Furthermore, there is a large number of men who do not get to take the initiative and begin to refuse when their marriage is announced to them, but who in the end let themselves be persuaded. There are those who externally let themselves be persuaded but who continue to refuse sexual union and in so doing cause the marriage to fail (1).

1. See below, pp. 273 ff.

156 Finally, there are a number of men who refuse to marry and upon whom the parents exert little further pressure. These 589 are the ones of whom it is believed that they would contribute little to the standing of the related group. Their fear of being inadequate in sexual relations with their wife, just as they are

156 /164 cont./ inadequate in their social relations with other
●589 men, could be the reason for their refusal to marry. The fact that the older people do not consider these individuals capable of contributing to the standing of the group could be the reason why they are satisfied with their refusal.

[584] No initiative toward marriage of any kind may ever proceed from a woman. The docile, withdrawn girls are set up as an example. I believe, but would like to see this confirmed by further investigation, that among the unmarried women these docile types are still the most frequent. The more aggressive personalities who possess to a lesser degree the qualities most valued in this society seem to marry sooner. An old woman explained why a particular girl had been allowed to marry by reasoning that otherwise one might have difficulties with her later. By this, the old woman most probably was thinking of the possibility of siri' problems arising. The fact that these characters marry, while docile individuals frequently remain unmarried, points to the fact that the older people in their selections follow the path of least resistance. The types from whom the most difficulties are to be expected have a better chance of marrying.

[581] The men with the personal qualities that are most /165/ appreciated and the women with the personal qualities that are least appreciated have the best chances of marrying.

565 It is believed that the karaeng always possess a high de-
156 gree of the personal qualities appreciated in a man. Their
581 opportunities to marry are greater than those of an ordinary man; a marriage to a lower woman is a frequent phenomenon. Figures dealing with the unmarried in this group are not available, however.

The Koro Phenomenon

826 Koro is the Makassarese name for the disease symptom in
158 which a man believes that his penis is shrinking and will turn

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not. Several factors are influential in determining the number of [589] individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does [833] not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should [581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will be-
581 come apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse
833 only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of [155] being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those [156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

592 /30 cont./ The distribution of the married couples over the various houses was as follows:

in 1 house there lived three married couples;

in 24 houses there lived two married couples;

in 81 houses there lived one married couple;

in 23 houses there lived no married couple, but, for instance, a widower with his children, or an old unmarried woman with a few orphaned nephews and nieces.

Of the 24 houses with two married couples, 23 were occupied by married couples related to each other; the 24th was the case just reported, which turned out to be very temporary. In 22 of the 23 cases, the kin relationship was that of an older and married child; in the 23rd a brother and sister lived with their respective spouses. [591]

The three married couples who lived together in one house consisted of one parental couple with two married children.

Of the 23 two-family houses in which only kinsmen lived, 15 were occupied by these two families alone (that is to say, parents plus children, including one married child with /male or female/ spouse and /31/ child/ren/.) In the remaining 8 cases, one or more kinsmen of one of the two spouses lived with these two families.

In the 81 houses with one married couple, it appeared that in 52 cases this married couple occupied the house as a closed family unit (thus, only parents plus children); in the remaining 29 cases, one or more kinsmen of man or wife lived with them (1).

1. An exception has already been reported on p. 23.

In the three-family house one kinsman of the man lived there in addition to the three families.

592 /31 cont./ By way of summary it can be stated that 40
602 of these 61 /32/ are first- or second-degree relatives of the basal married couple, and that 52 of the 61 are first-, second-, or third-degree relatives.

The conclusion therefore is that in the majority of cases a house is occupied by one family, that in general only unmarried, older and younger, kinsmen are taken into the house, and that more distant kinsmen (fourth degree and further removed) are only taken in if they have no close relatives. Uncles and aunts, accordingly, are only taken into the house by their respective nephews and nieces if they themselves are childless.

It is noteworthy that one of the three just-mentioned "distant cousins" set up a little house for himself shortly after the registration date. "He finds that more pleasant," was given as explanation.

If one excludes the group of 9 grandchildren, it seems reasonable, in the case of the 52 remaining persons to ascertain whether they are kinsmen of the man or of his wife. It appears that in 19 of the 52 cases someone lives in the house on the basis of his kin connection to the man, and in 33 cases on the basis of his kinship to the wife. Unless these figures
● [591] are too small to draw conclusions, a slight preference for living with relatives on the mother's side would seem to be indicated. A similar result was produced by the investigation into marriage residence. At this point, a report on this subject seems in order.

Marriage Residence

462 In accordance with the division of labor between the sexes
562 in Makassarese society, the task of providing for the children, preparing the food, the weaving of sarongs and keeping them clean, and all matters which can be done in and around the house fall to the women. House and grounds constitute the woman's domain. Separation of the sexes is very marked.

591 /32 cont./ The tie among women who are relatives and live
602 in houses close to each other is very strong. In this situation, the result of the study of marriage residence fits very well. A tendency toward matrilocal marriage is observable.

In several cases it was observed that a married couple with children, plus, for instance, the father or an unmarried sister of the wife, lived together in one house. In such cases one is readily inclined to assume that one is dealing with a matrilocal marriage, /33/ as for instance where the wife's mother has died and the rest of the family has continued to live together with the man who has married into the family. In many cases, however, this is difficult to trace. The only pure, and at the same time workable, criterion for indicating when one is dealing with a matrilocal marriage and when with a patrilocal one is given in those cases where two or more married couples live together in one house, that is to say, where one parental couple lives with one married child. The number then becomes smaller; however, one is on firm ground. Twenty-two such cases were registered. The house with three married couples appeared to be inhabited by a parental couple with two married children. Altogether, therefore, 24 married children lived with their parents.

In contrast to 16 matrilocal marriages, there are 8 patrilocal ones. The figures illustrate no more than a tendency, albeit a clearly understandable tendency toward matrilocal marriage. This tendency becomes even more comprehensible if we also look at other factors.

The reasons given for a patrilocal marriage always concern expediency. As such the fact is mentioned that the man is the only child and that therefore he must provide for his parents; or that in so doing the man will stay closer to his sawahs. Or else it is said that there is more room in the house. If, on the other hand, one asks why the couple went to live with the parents of the wife, the reasons are more vague. It is regarded as a matter of course for which no special reason needs to exist that a man moves in with his wife.

•591 /33 cont./ A matrilocal marriage is not a mandatory prescription. The houses of the parental couples are close to each other; kinship to father and mother are equally valued. On the basis of these facts, the observed tendency to matrilocal marriage remains unexplained. In my opinion, [182 the reason is to be found in the relationships obtaining among 593] the members of the family, and especially in the formal, stiff relationship between father and son, which makes it difficult for the latter to conduct himself in an unforced manner in the company of the former (1).

1. See pp. 31, 32.

The beginning of a marriage is frequently difficult (2).

2. See Chapter III, second part.

The parents who /34/ have brought it about and feel responsible for the smooth course of events do everything in their power to make it seem attractive for the young man to move in with his wife. That is not the case if he lives in his father's house. To this is added the fact that the young wife feels most comfortable in her familiar environment, with her mother and little sisters. If she should live elsewhere, it is much more difficult for her to go back to her mother, however small the distance between the houses may be.

182 The strict separation between the sexes, which results
562 in the young women being strongly tied to house and grounds,
591 thus furthers the occurrence of matrilocal marriages as does
593 the stiff relationship between father and son.

Sexual Relationships between Members of a Household

635 Sexual relationships between members of a household who do not belong to the same /nuclear/ family occur more

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/52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

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2. Migrations

It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

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I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949). Births and deaths were not registered because they were not relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81

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/53 cont./ Kapala-group houses had remained unchanged in their composition, as well as 4 of the 19 belonging to the Mangenre group, and 14 of the 33 belonging to the Rest group.

Those who had been registered as residents of Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949 and who did not live there a year ago were registered as immigrants, and those who lived there on July 1, 1948 but who were no longer present on July 1, 1949 were registered as emigrants. Persons who in the course of the year had gone to live in another house in the kampong were registered as transmigrants (1). Distributed over the three

1. Transmigrants are counted once as individuals, but they bring about a change in the composition of two house /holds/s.

groups (Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest), one obtains the following picture of the mobility of individuals.

	Immigrants	Emigrants	Trans-migrants	Total Number of Individuals Who Changed Houses
Kapala	26	18	34	78 of a total of 536 members of the Kapala group
Mangenre	6	23	12	41 of a total of 94 members of the Mangenre group
Rest	10	12	4	26 of a total of 173 members of the Rest group
Total	42	53	50	145 of a total of 803 kampong residents as of July 1, 1949

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/53 cont./ This means, therefore, that over a period of one year, two-elevenths of all kampong residents changed houses.

The subdivision into Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest group shows that the largest migration took place in the Mangenre group, where almost /sic/ two-fifths of the group members moved, while in the Kapala and Rest groups approximately one-seventh of the members changed domicile. As a reason for this we could cite the fact that the Mangenre group most closely approximates what is called below a group of colonists. The members of such a group seem to form little attachment to their place of residence. Many of the Mangenre group moved away to Macassar, where, according to reports, they were able to earn more money than in Bontoramba.

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According to these figures, migration is just about equal among men and women. /54/ For 72 migrating men there are 73 migrating women.

The difference in migration between married and unmarried people does not seem to be great. Here one should differentiate the cases where only a married man or woman changes houses from the migration of a complete family unit.

In one year, 22 families with 35 children moved in Bontoramba, a total of 79 persons. In 8 of these 22 cases, a young couple moved away from the parental house. A two-family house in this way became a one-family house. This reflects the striving of each family to have its own house (1).

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1. A young man or woman who moved to his (her) spouse's family after marriage, thus changing a one-family dwelling into a two-family dwelling, was registered as a transmigrant.

Three families who wanted to live closer to their sawahs

166 /54 cont./ located in another kampong emigrated there.
591 In two cases a marriage by flight was the reason for a family
592 migration, and in two others the fact that the house became severely damaged and run down. In one case a quarrel was given as the reason, but this concerns two families in one house who were not related to each other. In another case a married couple from a neighboring adat community came to live in Bontoramba in order to work for an employer. In the remaining five cases, the motives did not become apparent (2).

> 2. The small number of children (35) in these 22 families is due to the fact that some of these are young families who moved into a house of their own for the first time. Two recently married silariang couples likewise had (as yet) only a few children.

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While 79 persons migrated as a family unit, 66 individuals moved to other houses. The reasons given for these changes vary a great deal. An old widower lives alternately with one of his children. An orphan goes from one uncle and aunt to the other. An old deaf-mute man lives in turn with his many -- and distant -- nephews and nieces, who prefer to see him go rather than come. The contracting of a marriage, the committing of silariang, are further reasons for changing houses. A Javanese and a poverty-stricken orphan who came to live and work with people in Bontoramba raised the number of immigrants. A sickly little boy goes to stay with his grandfather for a few weeks or months./55/ The grandfather's house, incidentally, is one minute's walk away from the boy's

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591 /55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A
592 child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother
[855] or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity.
Experience teaches that in another environment such
[861] naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally, these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form
[602] a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time. Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

158 To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations
865 can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however, another element of this culture must first be described; this is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

114 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he
174 then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of
565 divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all
586 even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba, and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana [567] (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." Before the war the government linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves. As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement loses its force.

114 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of
174 earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes.
565 Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that,
582 simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 Of the four common characteristics, the mention of
174 patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding.
565 My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).

[591]

1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure, superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
558 his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's protection and help and at the same time the loss of social standing which the association with the superior casts on him. Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position of the lower people has become stronger.

554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
571 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower. Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary. If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relationship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends

1. In the Bontoramba census, they were included among the Rest group.

upon their personal relationship to their master whether they will continue to come and help at special events such as festivals.

571 As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
591 married couple who had committed silariang. Before reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

571 /106 cont./ and subsequently had continued to live there
591 even after the reconciliation. Furthermore, there lived in Bontoramba a young woman, an orphan who had gotten into difficulties with her parents, who lived elsewhere, and so she had been taken into the house of one of the prominent /107/ kampong residents. In the third place, a Javanese, an ex-colonist, should be mentioned here. He had come to live in the house of one of the Mangenre group to work for this person (1). Similar cases are known to occur in each kampong.

[125]

1. The two last-named individuals were registered as kinsmen of the master of the house in the census.

571 Nowadays a kampong head frequently has someone in
622 his house who carries letters for him and performs extra
202 errands. This function is created by the need for a confidential
602 messenger (2). Frequently the head will take a young kinsman

2. In Borongloë the suro (literally, "messenger") has come to have the job of attending to community labor /gemeentediensten/ -- until shortly before the war, corvée /herendiensten/. He does not run errands. This development, however, varies greatly from one locality to another.

for this purpose.

571 In principle, kinsmen are equals, and therefore there
602 can never be any question of a relationship of followers between

/188 cont./

585 539

81. nakatjinnai Somba, napammattikang iloro' Bate-salapang.	which even the Prince himself will covet and for which the mouths of the members of the Royal Council will water.
82. Bunting nilekkakko paleng tunipalele bellakang;	Now you will really go away, bride (1), you will change houses;

[591 795]

1. Here the one who speaks turns to the bride. It is a custom that after the Moslem marriage ceremony the couple goes to the house of the bridegroom's parents, at least for a few days.

83. niërang ri bori'maraëng, pa' rasangang nampa nuondjo'; bori nampa nula'bakki.	you will be brought to another land, the land which you will enter for the first time; the land toward which you are traveling.
84. Nukamma todong djonga,	You resemble a deer that anxiously peers over the hedge,
85. mattoa' ri sampa' mangagajangan tunumalo.	which shyly looks at the passersby.
86. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea: Nampa' 'lampa riballakku, nakudjoli pakkibukku, nakugulung tapperekku kupattantuna, kalengku lammantang puli.	The song of the bridegroom goes: Now I am leaving my house, now /189/ I am locking my door and rolling up my mat, because I am convinced that I shall not return.

Malays AN5
Makassar OG6
Javanese OE5
Tenggerese OE8
Mentawi OD9

Borneo OC1
Batak OD5
Gorontolo OG4
Moluccas OH1
New Guinea OJ1

I Br 342 621 162 [66 cont.] average a man, woman, and two children, thus 600 persons, all belonging to one family [familie] (1). Not only among the

1. Bijdragen T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Indië, 4th series, 5th part, p. 305. Perelaer, Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks, p. 128.

MO NG MI G Bt 342 621 591 Dajak, but also among the other uncivilized tribes one finds a number of family units living together in one great house, for example, among the Batak, the Alfoer of north Celebes (2), in

2. Riedel, Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, pp. 486 and 493.

the Moluccas, among the Papuans, and even among the so much more highly developed Malays on central Sumatra (3). One can

T J MK I 342 621 174 591

3. Verkerk Pistorius, op. cit., p. 40.

state that this way of living was formerly common. Among some peoples this situation has already given way to another in which each dwelling is the residence of only one family unit and consequently the houses are smaller, as among the Javanese, Makassarese, Buginess, and others. On Java, too, however, a number of family units undoubtedly lived together in a single dwelling. As evidence for this, the living together custom is still found among the pagans of the Tengger Mountains.

Bt T Mt MI Br I 342 As we have noted, the houses are very large. Two types can be distinguished: in the first place, the houses that are built lengthways; and, secondly, those that have been built sideways. Generally, however, they have the first form and are very long, but comparatively narrow. Among the Dajak, they may be 250 ells long, but only 20 to 30 ells wide. Boyle saw a house that was 1,000 feet (380 ells) long. This is also found

B [69 cont.]
342 Near the entryway there is the tugu, a stone niche for offerings,
782 in which the morning and evening offerings are deposited (1).

1. Jacobs, Eenigen tijd onder de Baliëre [Some Time among the Balinese], p. 87.

M
J
B
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342

Thus we see that among the Balinese, although the family still lives together communally, each household has its own residence. Among the Javanese, Makassarese, and Buginese we find houses inhabited by only one household unit [gezin], and all the members of the same family [familie] no longer live together. Also, their houses no longer stand on piles, but simply on the ground. We can distinguish two types of houses built on the ground, windowless huts and houses with windows. Those of the Javanese usually belong among the former. They show great variety in form and layout, as is shown by the division made by Mr. Poensen, who gives five different shapes. The omah grija limas with a very high roof running up to a ridge is typical and very popular. (2)

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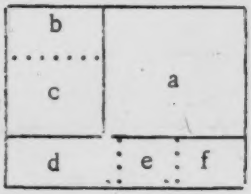
2. Poensen, "Iets over de woning der Javanen [Some remarks on the dwelling of the Javanese]," Med. v. w. h. Ned. Zend. Gen., Vol. XIX, p. 120 ff.

[70] As a rule, the interior of the house is divided into six rooms. The middle one of the three that border on the right wall is called bomâ (a) and is the room in which a couch stands. This room is sometimes used as a sleeping room, but customarily it serves as a ceremonial room which is used for weddings. During the festivities on such occasions, the young couple sits there, surrounded by female guests, and members of the family. The other two rooms, b and c, on the right wall (sĕṇṭong and sarong)

J
[585]



House status marks: little is known about the rules con- 342
cerned with the number of piles, but much is known about 114
the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written 554
in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me 565
say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now
too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew 773
most of the names and events in the legends of origin, includ- 591
ing the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose.

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline 177
in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the paka- 535
rena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices 527
came in. For example, one of the men said that they were 574
having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between 186
Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite 173
ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is 778
only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language 197
spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much 241
of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and 262
it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. 000
During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the
old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today.
The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general
the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones
tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have
been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in
pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know
that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and [439]
import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is
hardly worth speaking of.

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. For- 436
merly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C.[pro- 178
bably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East
India Company)--Analyst]coins and also kepeng. Now they
still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was
some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me.

As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including 177
four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were 489
three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. 493
There is much travel by bus today.

As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic 428
and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main
thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance 562
it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that 591
the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one. 611
But the girls generally get the house. This is important be-
cause the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though
there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more proper-
ty than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Never-
theless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's
house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his
kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal
state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he [578]
might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not
right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the
thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really ex-
cited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would
fight, and even knife him.

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely, there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal,
562 and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
● 591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

114 /17 cont./ 1. It is therefore not surprising that in the summary chapter on social organization in his book Beginselen en Stelsel van het Adatrecht /Principles and System of Adat Law/ Ter Haar assigns "the village and district communities of South Celebes" to the "communities in which the genealogical factor...has no significance" (p. 15). Using the available literature, his conclusion could not be different. Here it will become apparent how incorrect this interpretation is.

124 Hence kin relationships of the residents of a kampong territory were recorded. For this purpose the names of all kampong residents were taken down from house to house, and at the same time kinship connections of the occupants were collected for each house. The kinship connections between the occupants of various houses were then traced. In so doing it appeared simplest to ask everyone whether he was related to the Kapala or his wife, and if so, in what degree. The fact [592] that, aside from a few exceptions, members of a household always turned out to be kinsmen facilitated the investigation because it was possible to indicate precisely which houses belonged to the Kapala's group of relatives and which did not.

124 612 Everyone was counted of the Kapala's group of relatives who believed himself to be related to him or his wife and of whom this was not denied. The latter happened once. It concerned a kampong functionary who had few kinsmen in Bontoramba but who had obtained influence through his personal qualities (his organizational ability, his eloquence) and

124 /17 cont./ who now wished to improve his position by being
612 regarded as a distant kinsman of the Kapala. It was the
daughter of the Kapala himself who made it clear to him that
[608] his opinion could not possibly be correct. /18/ Furthermore,
[609] the strangers, that is to say, the non-kinsmen married to a member of the Kapala group, whose children thus also belonged to this group, were likewise counted among the Kapala related group.

In the sole instance in which -- while the married couple
124 were not related to each other -- individual kinsmen of the
612 man, as well as of the woman (who belonged to the Kapala
● 592 group), lived in their house, the man's kinsmen were not included in the Kapala group; he himself was.

Aside from traceable relatives, a number of relatives by
124 marriage were therefore also counted among the related group.
612 The latter should accordingly be defined more accurately as a traditional bilateral endogamous group of relatives.

Among the Buginese, none of whom were related to the Kapala, a prominent man called Mangenre was used for the same purpose as the Kapala in the first group, so that with respect to the occupants of a number of houses, it can be said that they belong to Mangenre's group of relatives. With regard to the occupants of the remaining houses, the mutual kinship
[128] relationship, insofar as it existed, could then be easily established. For the sake of convenience, the first group will be called the Kapala group, the second the Mangenre group, and the last the Rest group.

The result of this investigation showed that of a total of 129
621 houses, the Kapala group occupied 81, the Mangenre group 18, and that the Rest group lived in the remaining 30 houses.
[612] The latter's members belonged to 13 different groups of relatives. The members of one group of the Rest group lived distributed over nine houses; those a second group over five houses, and those of a third over three houses. In three cases persons related to each other occupied two houses, and in the

● 542 /29 cont./ The Household; Composition

A household is formed by people who live together in one house. The investigation in 1948, which covered 129 houses and which attempted to obtain an insight into the composition of the household, produced the following results.

1. With one single exception members of a household were always kinsmen. 2. In the majority of cases a house was inhabited by from one to two families, and in the latter case this was almost always a parental couple with a married child living with them. 3. In most cases where other kinsmen lived in the same house as this family (or these families), they were very close kinsmen (first, second, or third degree). 4. Among such additional members of the household who are not members of the family, a /30/ certain preference was to be observed for living with a female relative. Finally, it was noted that one avoids bringing together potential spouses in one house.

Since here the occupants of the registered houses were subject of this investigation, the data did not have to be confined to houses occupied by members of the Kapala group.

The 129 houses of kampong Bontoramba comprised 787 [162] persons: 382 men and 405 women on July 1, 1948. This is therefore an average of 6.1 persons per house.

In 127 of the 129 houses, there lived only people who were related to each other. The two exceptions merely prove the [572] rule. The first concerns a friend of one of the sons of the house who had been lodging for a few months with the last named. The second concerns a childless married couple who had settled in Bontoramba after a marriage by flight and who had temporarily been taken into the house by another married couple coming from the same district as they and living under similar circumstances. Three weeks after the date of registration, this couple appeared to have moved elsewhere. The reason given for this was a quarrel that had arisen because this married couple was very lazy and gave practically no help in keeping house.

●592 /30 cont./ The distribution of the married couples over the various houses was as follows:

in 1 house there lived three married couples;

in 24 houses there lived two married couples;

in 81 houses there lived one married couple;

in 23 houses there lived no married couple, but, for instance, a widower with his children, or an old unmarried woman with a few orphaned nephews and nieces.

Of the 24 houses with two married couples, 23 were occupied by married couples related to each other; the 24th was the case just reported, which turned out to be very temporary. In 22 of the 23 cases, the kin relationship was that of an older and married child; in the 23rd a brother and sister lived with their respective spouses.

[591]

The three married couples who lived together in one house consisted of one parental couple with two married children.

Of the 23 two-family houses in which only kinsmen lived, 15 were occupied by these two families alone (that is to say, parents plus children, including one married child with /male or female/ spouse and /31/ child/ren/.) In the remaining 8 cases, one or more kinsmen of one of the two spouses lived with these two families.

In the 81 houses with one married couple, it appeared that in 52 cases this married couple occupied the house as a closed family unit (thus, only parents plus children); in the remaining 29 cases, one or more kinsmen of man or wife lived with them (1).

1. An exception has already been reported on p. 23.

In the three-family house one kinsman of the man lived there in addition to the three families.

592 /31 cont./ Excluding the 23 houses without a complete family and the two-family house in which the two families were not related to each other, there remain 105 houses. Therefore, in 52 + 15 = 67 of these one or two families reside without other kinsmen. In the rest, namely 38 houses, one or more kinsmen lived with the families.

A tendency for a family to live in a house without other people can be observed.

592 602 Examining these kinsmen more closely, it becomes apparent that close relatives are the most numerous, and that only a few distant ones were taken into the house. Of these latter, it was always stated that they no longer had any brothers or sisters, and that therefore they had now been taken in here. After all, where there are no close relatives, distant relatives take their turn, and since there are often more of these, personal preference plays a role in the choice of the house where one settles.

In addition to the respective families, 61 additional persons lived in the 38 houses (2). The kin connections which will be

2. The single member of the household who was not a kinsmen (mentioned above) was not included.

recorded are traced from the oldest married couple residing in the house, a so-called basal married couple, regardless of whether the members of the household are related to the man or to his wife. These 61 persons then appear to be 7 mothers and 4 fathers, widows and widowers respectively; 14 unmarried sisters and 6 unmarried brothers; 9 grandchildren, whose father or mother was deceased or divorced; 8 aunts (paternal sisters) and 3 uncles (paternal brothers) of the basal married couple; 1 brother's son; 5 male or female first cousins (samposikali); and finally, 3 distant cousins (kamanakang samposikali) and 1 distant uncle (purina sampopinruang).

592 602 /31 cont./ By way of summary it can be stated that 40 of these 61 /32/ are first- or second-degree relatives of the basal married couple, and that 52 of the 61 are first-, second-, or third-degree relatives.

The conclusion therefore is that in the majority of cases a house is occupied by one family, that in general only unmarried, older and younger, kinsmen are taken into the house, and that more distant kinsmen (fourth degree and further removed) are only taken in if they have no close relatives. Uncles and aunts, accordingly, are only taken into the house by their respective nephews and nieces if they themselves are childless.

It is noteworthy that one of the three just-mentioned "distant cousins" set up a little house for himself shortly after the registration date. "He finds that more pleasant," was given as explanation.

If one excludes the group of 9 grandchildren, it seems reasonable, in the case of the 52 remaining persons to ascertain whether they are kinsmen of the man or of his wife. It appears that in 19 of the 52 cases someone lives in the house on the basis of his kin connection to the man, and in 33 cases on the basis of his kinship to the wife. Unless these figures [591] are too small to draw conclusions, a slight preference for living with relatives on the mother's side would seem to be indicated. A similar result was produced by the investigation into marriage residence. At this point, a report on this subject seems in order.

Marriage Residence

462 562 In accordance with the division of labor between the sexes in Makassarese society, the task of providing for the children, preparing the food, the weaving of sarongs and keeping them clean, and all matters which can be done in and around the house fall to the women. House and grounds constitute the woman's domain. Separation of the sexes is very marked.

587 /36 cont./ relationship is to be conceived as salimara'.
835 Defining it as salimara' means that such relationship is considered in connection with the bad consequences for the country. It signifies that such a relationship is found "very bad."

Household Tasks

462 Rice pounding, weaving, and cooking are female occupations par excellence. However they are not entirely
[592] household affairs.

For the 129 houses, 75 blocks for pounding rice were
252 592 counted (2). On the average, therefore, more than one rice-

[556]

2. The Kapala group is relatively the richest: for 81 houses it numbered 53 blocks. The Mangenre group numbered 7 for 18 houses, and the Rest group 15 for 30 houses.

pounding block exists for every two houses. The blocks lie near the houses. A house apart has its own block, but where the houses are close together, as is usual where the inhabitants are close relatives of each other, there one block may be used jointly by as many as three houses. Common use of one and the same block is a matter of course where the /37/ users are kinsmen. It attains the nature of a favor if this is not the case.

286 It is safe to assume that around 20 years ago, at a time
592 when sarongs were still woven at home in greater numbers than is the case today, the number of looms was also greater. Then each house probably possessed one loom apiece. At that time it would, therefore, have been possible to contend that sarong weaving was a family affair. In 1948, 101 looms were counted for 129 houses (1), a number of women no longer have

286 /37 cont./ 1. Here again the Kapala group appeared to be comparatively the best provided. In its 81 houses, 73 looms were found; in the 18 houses of the Mangenre group, 11; and in the 30 houses of the Rest group, 17. In a few houses I observed two looms.

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looms in their own houses and are therefore dependent upon kinsmen for use of one. Wherever the household is incapable of fulfilling a certain task, the latter is taken over by the related group. It is safe to assume that the lack of yarn during more than five consecutive years, in any case until 1948, the year of this registration, was the reason that no new looms were acquired, while disuse caused many of them to deteriorate. The remaining 101 will therefore probably be used up after a few years.

602 One can observe regularly that female relatives "get" from each other a household article or a few ingredients for
476 a meal. In such a case one does not speak of borrowing, and it is not regarded as such, for these are all everyday matters. Without these items one is helpless, and therefore they use them among each other. Soap, rice (beras), and a saucepan are apparently equally common articles, but these definitely do not go from hand to hand every day. What is stated here applies to female relatives; among them this
[609] mutual assistance is a matter of course. But they have a different attitude toward a non-relative. Should she come to get something several times in a row, there are many ways of making clear to her that this is little appreciated.

462 The men have the task of bringing home from pasar, garden, or sawah whatever is necessary for daily existence. They cultivate the sawah and garden. They provide the women with

462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The 462 household always constitutes the center of these activities. 592 Male members of the household work together at these jobs. [476] Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a single house are insufficient for a certain job.

By no means does every house have its own plow. 241 592 Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

[556]

1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangenre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

[602] is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

[609 427] although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

476 Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each 602 other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

476 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened
602 by this. A household that is apart from the others can request
476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency,
558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever
609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior.
592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower
361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 Differences are thus observable between a household which
612 lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in
621 the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of
592 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30
592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

592 /39 cont./ cases without children, or only a few as yet. Furthermore, such houses are occupied by a widow whose husband died before the reconciliation necessary after a marriage by flight and by a number of other such cases.
512 There exists a clear preference for kinsmen living together
602 in one house, and an aversion to non-kinsmen living together.
609 In the latter case there soon develops a relationship of followers (2), and that is disliked by those who realize that they will

2. See pp. 52 ff.

be in a lower place. Lonely parents who in a large related group would have been taken into the house of a nephew or niece now continue to live by themselves. They, together with the couples who fled and married, reduce the mean population per house.

The number of endogamous marriages appears to be higher
582 in the Kapala group than in the Rest group. In the Kapala
602 group, 79 endogamous marriages were registered (around 89 per cent) as against 10 marriages with strangers (around 11 per cent). In the Rest group these figures were: 15 endogamous marriages (around 45 per cent) as against 13 marriages with strangers (around 46 per cent).

612 It was noted that the Kapala group was better provided
556 with rice blocks, weaving looms, and plows. The first and last-mentioned objects are directly connected with the sawah area. The average sawah property of the Kapala group members is greater than that of the Rest group members (3).

3. See p. 52.

These figures, however, for the moment prove no more than that the members of the Kapala group have more goods than those of the Rest group.

Compared with the Rest group, therefore, we see the Kapala group as the more cohesive and wealthier one, in which

423 /40 cont./ Some variations should be introduced into
612 these figures. Broken down by the Kapala, Mangenre, and
556 Rest groups they are:

Kapala group:	77 ares sawah land
	88 ares dry land
Mangenre group:	6 ares sawah land
	66 ares dry land
Rest group:	23 ares sawah land
	22 ares dry land

These figures thus indicate the average per house for these three groups, which consist of 81, 19, and 33 houses respectively (2).

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2. In the Indish Verslag /(Dutch East) Indies Report/ of 1941, Part 2, p. 264, the average area of arable land of the native population for Java and Madura (in 1940) is given as: 0.072 hectare of sawah land and 0.096 hectare of dry land per capita. This is a little less than was found in Bontoramba (0.088 hectare of sawah land and 0.113 hectare of dry land per capita).

/41/ The noticeably low figure for the sawah land in the Mangenre group is not directly explainable. We shall return to this point below.

[592] Not all houses have landowners. In the Kapala group, landowners live in 73 of the 81 houses; in the Mangenre group, in 7 of the 19 houses; and in the Rest group they live in 14 of the 33 houses.

The members of the Kapala group are thus clearly rich in land compared with those of the two other groups. Among

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612 /52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer
621 to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their
[844] first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

166 2. Migrations
591 It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly
● 592 changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

[125] I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949).
166 Births and deaths were not registered because they were not
591 relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the
592 usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81
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/53 cont./ Kapala-group houses had remained unchanged in their composition, as well as 4 of the 19 belonging to the Mangenre group, and 14 of the 33 belonging to the Rest group.

Those who had been registered as residents of Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949 and who did not live there a year ago were registered as immigrants, and those who lived there on July 1, 1948 but who were no longer present on July 1, 1949 were registered as emigrants. Persons who in the course of the year had gone to live in another house in the kampong were registered as transmigrants (1). Distributed over the three

1. Transmigrants are counted once as individuals, but they bring about a change in the composition of two house /holds/s.

groups (Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest), one obtains the following picture of the mobility of individuals.

	Immigrants	Emigrants	Trans-migrants	Total Number of Individuals Who Changed Houses
Kapala	26	18	34	78 of a total of 536 members of the Kapala group
Mangenre	6	23	12	41 of a total of 94 members of the Mangenre group
Rest	10	12	4	26 of a total of 173 members of the Rest group
Total	42	53	50	145 of a total of 803 kampong residents as of July 1, 1949

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/53 cont./ This means, therefore, that over a period of one year, two-elevenths of all kampong residents changed houses.

The subdivision into Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest group shows that the largest migration took place in the Mangenre group, where almost /sic/ two-fifths of the group members moved, while in the Kapala and Rest groups approximately one-seventh of the members changed domicile. As a reason for this we could cite the fact that the Mangenre group most closely approximates what is called below a group of colonists. The members of such a group seem to form little attachment to their place of residence. Many of the Mangenre group moved away to Macassar, where, according to reports, they were able to earn more money than in Bontoramba.

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According to these figures, migration is just about equal among men and women. /54/ For 72 migrating men there are 73 migrating women.

The difference in migration between married and unmarried people does not seem to be great. Here one should differentiate the cases where only a married man or woman changes houses from the migration of a complete family unit.

In one year, 22 families with 35 children moved in Bontoramba, a total of 79 persons. In 8 of these 22 cases, a young couple moved away from the parental house. A two-family house in this way became a one-family house. This reflects the striving of each family to have its own house (1).

[125]

1. A young man or woman who moved to his (her) spouse's family after marriage, thus changing a one-family dwelling into a two-family dwelling, was registered as a transmigrant.

Three families who wanted to live closer to their sawahs

166 /54 cont./ located in another kampong emigrated there.
591 In two cases a marriage by flight was the reason for a family
592 migration, and in two others the fact that the house became severely damaged and run down. In one case a quarrel was given as the reason, but this concerns two families in one house who were not related to each other. In another case a married couple from a neighboring adat community came to live in Bontoramba in order to work for an employer. In the remaining five cases, the motives did not become apparent (2).

> 2. The small number of children (35) in these 22 families is due to the fact that some of these are young families who moved into a house of their own for the first time. Two recently married silariang couples likewise had (as yet) only a few children.

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While 79 persons migrated as a family unit, 66 individuals moved to other houses. The reasons given for these changes vary a great deal. An old widower lives alternately with one of his children. An orphan goes from one uncle and aunt to the other. An old deaf-mute man lives in turn with his many -- and distant -- nephews and nieces, who prefer to see him go rather than come. The contracting of a marriage, the committing of silariang, are further reasons for changing houses. A Javanese and a poverty-stricken orphan who came to live and work with people in Bontoramba raised the number of immigrants. A sickly little boy goes to stay with his grandfather for a few weeks or months./55/ The grandfather's house, incidentally, is one minute's walk away from the boy's

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591 /55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A
592 child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother
[855] or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity.
[861] Experience teaches that in another environment such naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally, these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form
[602] a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time. Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

158 To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations
865 can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however, another element of this culture must first be described; this is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one family. They said that they had a very small house and were very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true
161 fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small
592 houses have many more. The population has risen some despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk about it, but they have no money so they have to remain. When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in. I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies. They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world, but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar,
207 and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay. There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst] put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

before going into battle. It is said that the water rises in it 773
whenever Goa goes to war. Thus it rises no more. From 778
then on, it was quite a walk to another well and to a fenced-in area where there were three stones in a row. They were also low and flat. It was on the center one that the real Tumanurung, a beautiful girl, suddenly appeared. It was the population of this kampong who discovered and talked with and received her.

Then I went back to the car and went off to Bone. I find 609
these Makassarese here very cooperative and polite. The atmosphere in the kampong is good. I got the results of the 162
kampong census typed up by Nunuhitu, and later made up a preliminary reckoning. It is only for three of the kampongs, or rather three of the small kampongs. These are (1) Balombaru proper, (2) Bontotangnga, and (3) Sappabulo. The results are as follows:

	M	F	Total	
1.	144	143	287	(99+)
2.	32	28	60	(114)
3.	121	134	255	(90-)
Total	297	305	602	(98)

AVERAGE NUMBER PERSONS PER HOUSE [592]

1.	5.6	Houses:	1.	51
2.	4.6		2.	13
3.	5.2		3.	49
Total	5.1			113

NUMBER CHILDREN PER ADULTS

	Adults	Children	Child per Adult
1.	141	146	1.04
2.	36	24	.67
3.	105	150	1.43
Total	282	320	1.14

TRADES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS 162
[data for three kampongs, Balombaru, 463
Bontotangnga and Sappabulo--Analyst]

	1	2	3	Total
Goldsmith	32	1	2	36 [sic]
Leather-worker	2	6	7	15
Farmer	-	-	13	13
Shop-keeper	6	2	1	9
Smith	-	1	7	8
Salesman (peddler)	1		6	7

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are
[462] women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly
262 there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco,
241 Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts.

to tjera lima. The Buginese names are: tjitjing, dua, telu, 565
eppe, lima, eneng, and pitu. They have declining degrees of royal blood. Between the tjera lima and the to detjeng, the uppers of the kampong, the line is vague. The latter can usually drag up a bit of royal blood somewhere. Down to tjera eppe (ampat) they are real nobles.

Then we got onto the subject of the present Radja. Andi said that he should not be telling me what he was, but that since I wanted to know he would be very frank. Formerly a person of only tjitjing rank could not be a radja. In the really old days this ruling was held to in one hundred per cent of the cases. The present Radja, however, is only of tjitjing rank. The exiled one is ninety per cent ana'matola. This latter fellow is evidently the Goa man who was put in by the Dutch almost twenty years ago, and whom they kicked out after the war for some reason. I get the impression that a lot of gossip goes on about this situation and that the present Radja is well advised to stick close to the Dutch.

Then we talked about the big households of the nobles. 592 ●
Andi's father has thirty in his house, and Andi himself has 183
seventeen. He complains about his inability to support all of them on his salary. I asked him why he does not throw them out. He said that this just isn't done and that a man is proud to have a lot of people in his house. They are mainly nephews, nieces, young siblings and siblings-in-law, and old folks. When the young ones marry, they usually set up their own house. He then asked, "Who would cook, keep house, care for the children, etc?" I commented that one Dutch woman with a babu can do all of this, and he wilted, saying that upper women here just are not that way. Here again we see the entanglement of adat and the "right thing to do."

Andi said that the radja has many slaves. This is true 567
of other nobles too. There are two kinds of slaves: (1) Those who freely admit that they are slaves, especially if they are slaves of real uppers, because they are usually proud of their masters. Of these there are not so many. (2) Those who get angry when their low origin is mentioned.

Thierens said that the Christian leader Denzo in Soppeng 797
is being sent away. Despite his success in converting, 831
Thierens continued, Denzo has been disgraced, because it was discovered that he was loose with women and that he has a girl in every kampong. Thus he has spoiled things

582 /24 cont./ likewise contracted without any definite preference for one of these marriages being apparent.

Knowledge of kinship relationships does not go beyond the
582 eighth- and ninth-degree kinsmen. Relatives further removed
602 are "distant" (bella). If in rare cases people speak of a marriage between sampopingappa (tenth-degree male and female cousins; children of sampopintallung), one will probably hear the opinion expressed that this is an undesirable marriage. Others, however, do not seem to be aware of this.

Among the marriages contracted between sampopintallung (eighth-degree kinsmen), there probably also exist marriages of sampopingappa (tenth degree) or of kamanakang sampopintallung (ninth degree, thus, not members of the same generation). In such cases people are not certain any more about the exact relationships. Statements contradict each other, and in such cases of uncertainty there is a tendency to settle on that kin relationship which one regards as the proper and normal one for a marriage between kinsmen as the correct one.

The most common marriage is, therefore, the marriage between sampopinruang and sampopintallung (respectively, sixth- and eighth-degree male and female cousins) who at the same time are members of the same generation. Of all other marriages it is said that they are unfavorable or unlucky, or
[565] else that they are forbidden. In the nobiliary related group there is a tendency to shift to samposikali and sampopinruang (the fourth- and sixth-degree male and female cousins respectively).

593 The Family

Two functions of the family /gezin/ will be discussed here.

The father officially occupies a predominant place in the family. The relationship to his sons is based upon the notion that he is in command and that it is impolite to contradict him (1). /25/ A son is supposed to know what is fitting, by

● 593 /25 cont./ 1. Talking back is referred to as nipolongi erona, "his wishes are crossed," or anempa bawa karaëng, "to slap the mouth of the master."

listening to what his father says and by answering in general, well-chosen phrases when the father is addressed. In practice the answers which a son gives are brief because he is afraid of not being able to satisfy such obligations, and of making a mistake, which might be regarded as impolite or result in ridicule. A son above the age of fourteen accordingly does not like to be in the company of his father; the relationship is too stiff for this. When his father comes in, he disappears as quickly as possible while mumbling some excuse. When a [574] father visits his married son, the latter will call his wife or his little son. The conversation then continues through them. Important matters, such as the marriage of his daughter, may be discussed by a father with his (married) son. This, too, is a conversation held in a formal tone. But this conversation merely establishes what has already been previously discussed by the father in informal conversations with his wife or his daughter-in-law.

The same relationship can be observed between brothers. Here the older one must be obeyed by the younger. Between them the opposition is greater; the older one tries to keep the leadership; the younger, especially if his personal qualities give him the opportunity to do so, tries to avoid his brother's authority. Their relationship is also stiff. The consequence is that unmarried sons in general, and unmarried younger brothers in particular, spend a great deal of time outside the house.

This does not apply to the relationship between mother and daughter, or to that between sisters. Since younger women are [562] dependent on house and grounds and away from these can only go about in company, a similar solution would not be realistic in practice.

593 /25 cont./ in practice. Younger women are dependent upon the older ones. The element of opposition is not to be found among them; on the contrary, what is prized is their mutual helpfulness and cooperation.

A sexual relationship between a woman and her son 593 practically does not occur. No examples of this were found in 835 the registers of the native courts. Only one of the informants could recall such a case, which was supposed to have taken place before 1905. Stories in which this relationship plays a 538 part are unknown to me.

/26/ A sexual relationship between a man and his daughter occurs with more or less regularity. In the registers of the native courts of all South Celebes, one encounters an estimated four or more such cases annually. This implies that such an occurrence is a rarity in a particular adat community which is still remembered after decades. Stories concerning a father-538 daughter relationship are found in the Islamic sphere. They generally run about as follows. A well-known religious scholar who has come from Sumatra marries a Makassarese woman. While their child, a girl, is still very small, he moves on, and only 20 years later does he return to Macassar. There he marries a young woman, and after a time he notices by a certain sign on her head or by a certain ornament which he gave to his wife 20 years before that it is his own daughter whom he has married. Together they search for someone who will tell them what they should now do. It is God who tells them that they have committed the greatest sin possible, but that this can be forgiven them because they knew not what they did.

593 In the forms of social intercourse and conduct in daily life, a fear of violating the existing prohibition is here reflected that is not observable in the mother-son relationship. If a man comes home and his grown-up daughter is alone in the house, her little brother or niece is called in as a matter of course. Then both feel more at ease. The risk remains that otherwise people would talk about them. Accordingly, a man prefers not

Accordingly, a man prefers not

593 /26 cont./ to go alone with his grown-up daughter to a kampong
574 where they are unknown, for instance, so that there they will not be regarded as a married couple and addressed as such.

593 The reason for this latter form of incest (salimara') occurring with
835 more or less regularity and that of mother and son so rarely was explained by an informant who said that in general the lower generation must obey the higher one, a son his mother and a daughter her father. So it seems generally assumed that
[833] initiative to a sexual relationship (in this case evil) originates with the man.

A sexual relationship between a man and his sister practically does not occur. I do not recall having encountered a single instance of this in the registers of the native courts. /27/

538 The brother-sister relationship is one of the leitmotivs in the La Galigo epic. The relationship of Sawerigading to his twin sister Tenriabeng is one of great intimacy (1). In the

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1. R. A. Kern, Catalogus van de Boegineesche tot den I Galigo cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek, alsmede van die in andere Europeesche biblioteken /Catalog of the Buginese Manuscripts belonging to the I Galigo Cycle in the University of Leiden Library, as well as of Those in Other European Libraries, Leiden, 1939/, Leiden, 1939.

heroic poem Datu Museng, the hero's wife I Maipa is likewise described as his twin sister. They were separated shortly after birth and did not meet again, ignorant of each other's past, until they were grown up. Datu Museng became enamored of her, and they married. So the poem is recited (2) by several

2. In the Makassaarsche Chrestomathie one finds another version. There it is

538 /27 cont./ related that I Maipa was the daughter of the Sultan of Sumbawa. As such, however, she was of nobler blood than Datu Museng, and their marriage was thus likewise a forbidden tie. Matthes, [113] Makassaarsche Chrestomathie /Makassarese Chrestomathy/, 1883: "Aanteekeningen," p. 88.

singers (pakeso'keso') (3).

[533 534] 3. A singer who accompanies himself on a two-stringed violin (keso'keso').

●593 In daily life the brother is, in the very first instance, the protector of his sister as a young girl. He is for her the "strong wall," as the verse says (4). He likes to accompany

4. See Chapter III, p. 297.

her and the older women when they pay visits to kinsmen living elsewhere. He is the one who reacts first in case she is siri'; this is as much as to say that he immediately starts the pursuit and stabs if she should want to flee. He carries her [585] as a bride out of the back rooms where she was dressed to the bridal bed in the front room. He is proud of her and of the fact that he may protect her.

601 The /nuclear/ family is clearly reflected in the kinship terminology (see list). It is apparent that only the members of the /nuclear/ family are indicated by individual terms and that for the rest the terminology makes distinctions only between generations. The distinctions made in ego's own generation,

591 /33 cont./ A matrilocal marriage is not a mandatory prescription. The houses of the parental couples are close to each other; kinship to father and mother are equally valued. On the basis of these facts, the observed tendency to matrilocal marriage remains unexplained. In my opinion, [182 the reason is to be found in the relationships obtaining among •593] the members of the family, and especially in the formal, stiff relationship between father and son, which makes it difficult for the latter to conduct himself in an unforced manner in the company of the former (1).

1. See pp. 31, 32.

The beginning of a marriage is frequently difficult (2).

2. See Chapter III, second part.

The parents who /34/ have brought it about and feel responsible for the smooth course of events do everything in their power to make it seem attractive for the young man to move in with his wife. That is not the case if he lives in his father's house. To this is added the fact that the young wife feels most comfortable in her familiar environment, with her mother and little sisters. If she should live elsewhere, it is much more difficult for her to go back to her mother, however small the distance between the houses may be.

182 The strict separation between the sexes, which results
562 in the young women being strongly tied to house and grounds,
591 thus furthers the occurrence of matrilocal marriages as does
593 the stiff relationship between father and son.

Sexual Relationships between Members of a Household

835 Sexual relationships between members of a household who do not belong to the same /nuclear/ family occur more

835 /35 cont. / occur at the courts of princes without being further discussed in public, even though they led to pregnancy.

684 In the same manner the court of justice handled a case
835 of a man's relations with his stepdaughter, and that of a man
593 with his stepgranddaughter. The court of justice declared
608 that although no blood relationship existed between the accused, these two young women were nevertheless regarded as daughter and granddaughter respectively, because they had lived with their stepfather and stepgrandfather from childhood on and had been reared by them. Here there exists a certain doubt, therefore, whether the case can be regarded as salimara'.[1]

608 Cases of sexual relation between a woman and her stepson
835 were not registered. This does not mean that these do not occur. At the most it may mean that these cases occur less frequently than those in which the man belongs to the higher generation (1).

587
593

1. The idea exists that when a widower remarries, his second wife treats her stepchildren with less kindness than her own. No heart-rending examples of this could be noted, however. In
[754] one case the hostile attitude originated with the two girls who suspected their stepmother of having killed their own mother by means of a formula (pangassengang), in order to be able to marry their father.

The relationship of a man
[578] with his stepson is a tense one. Quarrels occur that lead to physical violence and fights such as are unknown between a man and his own son.

1 [i.e. incest. - Aug/70]

571 /120 cont./ Opposition is inherent in the relations of men among each other. In the family the relation between father [593] and son -- and to a lesser extent that between brothers -- is strongly formalized. As a result, opposition within the family is greatly reduced in force.

Opposition is observable between relatives and especially between the prominent members of one group of relatives.

554 The relation between a high and a low and, likewise,
561 between an old and a young man, is also formalized. To con-
571 tradict a higher or an older man is prohibited. To speak in his presence soon becomes a sign of discourtesy. The manner in which these social relations are conducted makes a stiff impression.

571 Opposition is further observable between groups of relatives. Where there is an ornament, the worship communities are in opposition to each other. There is opposition between kampongs, between adat communities, and among the wealthy.

Within all these groupings, there are always latent oppositions present. They are merely not always noticeable.

571 Worship communities consequently do not always conduct
643 themselves as a unit (3). The opposition can frequently be
[794]

> 3. A realm, that is to say, a local administrative and political unit, and the worship community around the ornament belonging to the prince of that realm, coincide to a great extent.

traced back to the family of the prince, for instance, if the individual who has been appointed prince on the basis of his descent, does not, at the same time, possess the personal /121/ qualities necessary for the effective exercise of his office.

1:Chabot--188 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

/139/

Chapter III

Sex

593 In the chapter concerning kinship, the relationships of the members of the family among each other were treated separately. The relationship of brother to sister occupied a special place in this connection.

Their separation implies that their interests lie in different areas, that is to say, that both their activities as well as the places where they reside are different. These differences also form the pattern for the relationship between men and women in general.

562 The vertical tendency described in the previous chapter demands of the men that they be in a constant relation of opposition to other men. The violent actions and responses [831] that are expected of them go hand in hand with ideas about great sexual potency, which is ascribed to them. The high [157] demands made of men coincide with anxieties about not being able to fulfill these demands. A sense of inadequacy can be observed repeatedly.

157 In the first part of this chapter, modes of conduct, attitudes, and personality norms of the two sexes will be 562 described. After that, a number of inadequacy phenomena will be discussed. Prostitution as an expression of maladjustment on the part of women, and polygamy as an actualization of the vertical tendency by a man with exceptional personal qualities, will be briefly mentioned at the end.

581 In the previous chapter we referred to the central position which marriage occupies in Makassarese society. In the choice of marriage partners, the older people apply standards of selection based upon kinship, status, and personal qualities. They intend to bring about a normal sexual union between man and wife. The description of the marriage

857 /140 cont./ be able to run away again more easily. Little
867 boys are allowed to be somewhat rowdy and boisterous during a festival, but girls are forbidden such behavior: "Are you
[262] a boy?" an older girl then snaps at her. Little girls may not eat a certain kind of fish so that later, when they are grown up, they will not become man-crazy. At various festivities
[777] they receive "pitjuru," luck-bringing /141/ charms so that when they are grown up they will marry and have many children. The sexes are sometimes separated as early as the
[871] age of seven to eight years when children go to the religious instructor (guru ngadji), where they learn to recite the Koran. Then the girls receive instruction from the guru's wife in the back of the house.

593 One of the first frustrations of children after weaning
867 is caused by adult men, especially the father. When a man enters the house, women and children withdraw to the back part of the house. When there are guests, care is taken that the children make no noise. When an important man is in the house, this rule applies even more strictly. Little children who then make noise are threatened with: "He is angry at you." An old woman repeated to a three-year-old who quietly sat next to her, "He sees you, he is looking at you." The importance of the situation was imparted in this fashion; and a certain fear as well as a certain veneration for the superior found expression in this way.

867 The difference in /social/ level between children is
554 revealed partly by what is less tolerated in one than in another. When a karaëng comes for a visit to the house of the adat community head, his little son may run around and perhaps even sit down behind his father, but the children of kinsmen and servants remain in the back rooms, and the women take care that they are quiet.

864 A little girl learns from early childhood that it is not good to show herself naked: "Where is your sarong?" she is asked. This applies to boys only one to two years later.

595 /168 cont./ In view of the fact that according to Moslem law the conclusion of a second marriage is just as simple as the first, there must be other reasons why so few polygamous men were registered in this region. Such a reason is, in the first place, the opposition of the first wife.

One of the worst things that can happen to a woman is [581] that her husband takes a second wife. One of the wishes for [558] a newly married couple is the hope that they will grow old together. It was said of a childless old couple who had been together all their lives that this was proof that they were happy together, and it was regarded as a cause for rejoicing and an example for the younger generation. In the "little [585] games" /169/ that take place during the wedding festival, the woman must win. This reflects the wish that later she [593] will also have the upper hand in her relationship with her husband. And in answer to the question what this referred to mostly, it was stated that one thought of the provision of the necessities for daily meals and the taking of a second wife.

The reaction of the first wife is very violent. She declared that she would rather be cast out than suffer a co-wife (maru) by her side. She leaves the house without the knowledge of her husband -- which under normal circumstances would weigh heavily against her -- and returns to her parents, preferably with her children. In such a case there is no intention of leaving the man permanently. A statement by one of these women leaves no room for doubt about that. When she heard that her husband had contracted a second marriage, she did not leave for the distant kampong of her parents until she had made the vow: "If I come back here, I shall sacrifice a hen to you (ancestors)." In such a case it is possible for the woman to return only if her husband comes to implore her to do so. Her desire to come back prevailed. Sometimes, especially if the second marriage comes about through silariang, her negative attitude is successful. In one [586] case the man went to visit his second wife less and less. The

595 578 /170 cont./ which this rule was taken could not be traced down, just as it was not possible to find the Makassarese text.

595 The two wives each has her own house. In 24 of the 27 polygamous marriages, the two houses were even in different kampongs. If it is said of a man that he owns two houses, this means that he has two wives. The wives live each in her own house together with their children and a single kinsman, leading their own lives. They never see each other. They are thought to ignore each other. When they go to pay visits, kinsmen take care that the one does not come where the other is. At festivals the second wife always yields to the first, but in actuality she always gets just as much of a chance to be present, even though it is just for a short period of time. In practice, the two women know everything about each other that can be regarded of any interest at all. [521] Female "friends" tell the news, especially the bad news, that each wife wants to hear about the other. In the course of many years the sharpest edges are often worn off this relationship. The children of the one go to the house of the other with their father. An instance where the two women at a greater age visited each other from time to time remains an exception, however.

It is expected that the husband takes his first wife's feelings into consideration and that he will do nothing that could remind her of her rival. An old example is that a man must [593] put away the contents of his betel box before he comes to the [576] other wife, because filling this box is, all the way up to the 276 highest social circles, a special task that a woman performs for her husband, so that a woman, upon seeing the fresh betel leaves, is immediately reminded of the other woman (2).

595 /170 cont./ 2. Little betel is chewed
[178 by the generation that is
276] now thirty-five to forty
years of age or younger.

Nor does he ever name the kampong where the other wife lives as his destination when he leaves. To speak the truth would be an unforgivable rudeness. But a man who, in the opinion of his first wife, already was too much away from home was told: "When a man goes out a great deal, a wife is lazy with the cooking."

/171/ Co-wives display a stronger than normal desire to attach their husbands to themselves, in comparison with [593] monogamously married women. They make sure that the meal is ready when he comes home, that a clean sarong lies in readiness for him, and that his guests are especially well [574] entertained, since a man finds it pleasant if he is known as a good host. On the other hand, they know how to make their anger apparent to him by the same means, by letting him wait for his food, by neglecting to care for his clothes, and so forth. Among older men it can be observed that they stay for a longer time with the same wife. In the majority of cases this appears to be the first wife.

The second wife is always lower than the first; at least she is regarded as lower. This circumstance makes it easier for the first wife to be content with her existence. The great dread of a woman who was not related to her husband appeared to be the fact that now she would become the second wife because he married one of his nieces. As regards descent, however, she was regarded as his equal, and there was in every respect an acceptable reason why his niece should not be regarded as his equal.

595 The opposition of the first wife is not the only reason
606 why a second marriage comes about only with difficulty.
607 Another reason is based upon the opposition of the relatives.

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;

[589] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

●593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should [581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will become apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse 581 only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For 833 a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of [155] being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those [156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

585 /175 cont./ people attach great significance to the way in which these actions are performed by the young people, because they believe that they can discover from them the person's inclination toward the marriage partner, and upon this in turn they base the further (ritual) measures that must be taken, all of which are geared finally to the "good" union of man and wife.

In addition, little games take place during the festival, in the form of small contests between bride and bridegroom. At the same time, care is always taken that the woman wins. It is said that this is an expression of the wish that later in daily life the wife will be the boss in the house, because a couple is then regarded as happiest (1).

562
593

1. The relationship between man and wife in marriage is aptly characterized by saying that the wife stands on the index finger of the man (bainea ammentengi ri pandjodjona buranea), that is to say, that the wife must do what the man says. In actuality this idea is put into practice only with respect to certain points, for instance, where the siri' feelings play a part. A married man must therefore decide whether a sister or a sister-in-law living in the house with him may go to a festival, whether she may still go to school, and so forth. He may turn away a marriage request. In such matters he has his way. Thereby he feels responsible

562 /175 cont./
593

because, if something should happen, he is the one who would have to take action since he is the protector of the siri'. Therefore, his wife complies with his commands in these matters. But in other respects it is apparent that the woman is the boss in the house, and that the man is content with this situation. When discussions had to be conducted concerning the arrangement of a circumcision festival, the parents of the little boy to be circumcised were still too young to do this completely independently. The man's father indicated the large lines according to which the festival should be held. But he conducted these discussions not with his son but with his daughter-in-law. Only when the arrangement of the festival had been discussed in detail was this communicated to her husband, who now gave his official consent. Whenever man and wife are not agreed as to whether a large festival or a small festival should be held upon the occasion of some event or other, or if the man wants to buy a bicycle for his son while his wife wants to

562 /175 cont./ buy clothes, then the latter
593 acts according to her own wishes. At such times the man becomes angry, but he soon comes to accept the situation with the sigh that, after all, these are only unimportant matters. Questions involving siri' are, in his opinion, ultimately the important points, and accordingly he makes sure that these continue to be under his jurisdiction.

585 /176/ No two wedding festivals are alike. The respective
184 groups of relatives each have their peculiarities which find expression in details of the ritual. Within one and the same related group, each of the leading personalities leave their stamp both upon the organization of the entire festival, as well as upon the execution of the individual rituals. They show thereby that they can not only follow existing rituals, but also that they can add new rituals to these already existing.

Whoever has gone through several wedding festivals will have been struck by the great differences between them, as well as by the many traits they have in common. In the description that follows here of a number of subelements of the wedding ritual, I have followed, in the main, the notes that I took down at a single festival. In this case I am not striving for completeness. Otherwise the ritual would have had to be described much more fully. Behind each detail there again loom new ones.

585 /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen,
788 Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde,
[114] N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/
/New Series/, Vol. I,
no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 The person who performs this ritual is frequently the
[543] "bride's mother, " (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven
824 different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but some-
[801] times variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 1. These names are rapidly
824 recited, one after the other,
789 when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

585 /195 cont./ is not the issue, but rather the tactfulness in
833 getting the wife to perform the sexual act. They had thus satisfied the wishes of those around them. Their masculine pride
[156] was flattered because they had shown that they were good conquerors of women. This characteristic is particularly prized in Makassarese. A woman always shows herself averse to a man, even to her husband. It is the latter's art to win her for himself through a pleasant outward appearance, a well-chosen word, a strategic touch, and very little physical force. That is how the ladies' man Sawerigading (1) does it.

1. See R. A. Kern, I La Galigo, p. 333.

The art of conquering women that Sawerigading possessed to the highest degree is at most held up as an ideal to the young Makassarese. Even before the wedding ceremony takes
581 place according to Moslem rite, one of the older women con-
593 ducts a number of conversations with the bridegroom. She talks,
521 and the young man listens. She tells him that it will be difficult for him to make his wife happy, but that his happiness in his future life will be dependent upon this. She also tells him that he must not be rough with her. She asks him whether he knows what he must say to his wife later on and whether he knows what to answer when she asks him something. She tells him what questions he can expect and what his answers should be to them. They do not like to talk about this. I could only obtain a single example of this. "Where do you place me?" (Keremaĕ nupatinro) was given as an example of such a question, and the answer was supposed to be: "I place you above me" (Irateangkuko) (2).

2. It is possible that the only informant who drew my attention to these questions

521 /195 cont./ and answers owed them to
581 tarekat influence, and that
593 therefore they are not in general use. Elsewhere, people denied knowledge of their existence. Nevertheless, a report of these questions and answers seems to be in place here.

521 Such a conversation between older woman and bridegroom
585 bears an intimate character; it is regarded as of great importance for the future /196/ life of the bridegroom. The older one must have the confidence of the younger. The bride learns the questions and answers from one of her kinsmen, suitable for this instruction, and if the man and woman concerned are not related to each other, the older people establish contact concerning this matter in order to be sure that enough of a connection exists between the questions and the answers.

This conversation conducted in whispers between older and younger persons is not so intimate that an older man might not interrupt it with the question, "Are you being examined?" And there is general laughter. All the older people know what
[831] the two are discussing there. The instruction given to the young man is not so serious that an obscene remark could not be interjected.

585 Frequently as soon as the evening following the nikka',
833 when the guests have already returned to their houses, the bridegroom is taken by the older aunt to the partitioned-off shed where his bride is. The old women are still awake at this time. Some of them urge him to enter. They call him "my cock." Others try to hold him back from it, but this is mere make-believe. In so doing they are holding on to the idea that they must protect the young girl, as is the case in

554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaëng related group, that only a small number are contracted in that of the adat community heads, and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives.
582 The marriage registers are particularly useless for this purpose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling out the marriage registers know that the administration does not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this girl, a very special figure ahead of his time, had recorded the birth dates of his children in a notebook, and therefore a check was possible in this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

582 /199 cont./ cohabitation, frequently with permanent physical
or psychic injuries for the rest of her remaining life. By
593 child marriage, therefore, we understand here a marriage in
which at least one of the two partners is not sexually mature.
But then the conception of the matter given above is incorrect
in two respects as regards South Celebes. In the first place,
the bridegroom as well as the bride is not yet sexually mature
in two of the four cases at my disposal. After the sealing of
the marriage, the children did not live in the same house.
They are supervised by the older people, and not until the
girl has menstruated and the boy has begun to "crow" -- and
this is sometimes the case only after several years, -- does
ordinary cohabitation take place.

In the second place, even if the man is sexually mature
and the girl is not, it is not necessary to be too fearful of
the evil consequences of a child marriage. A man, after all,
[832] is /200/ taught that he must be tender and loving to his
young wife, and that he must try to win her for himself
gradually. Rough conduct in this respect on his part is disap-
proved even in an ordinary marriage.

582 It is clear that in child marriage in South Celebes the
possibility of ill-treatment of the overly young girl is not
excluded, nonetheless the possibilities for this are very limited.
Child marriage has not been institutionalized here. It is
contracted in cases where the older people have a stake in
keeping the influence of the young individuals upon the choice
of their marriage partners to a minimum.

However, in so doing, they still do not have the cer-
tainty that this marriage will also become "good." A girl
[833 who was not yet sexually mature at the contracting of her
593] marriage to an adult man resisted him for a number of years
after menstruation had already set in. This was accepted by
the husband as well as by her kinsmen. This is a case of a
married couple where one partner desires no sexual union, and
thereby causes the marriage to fail. In a section concerning

582 /200 cont./ child marriage this means merely that a child marriage does not necessarily have any particularly bad consequences.

Refusal of Sexual Union in Marriage

586 We have only spoken above of a marriage where the prescribed Moslem rite has taken place. In the same way, we shall now mean by divorce the separation of the marriage partners according to the rules of Moslem dogma. However, only a certain aspect of the Makassarese ideas concerning these subjects is reproduced by this.

585 At the wedding feast, the elders concentrate their efforts upon the bringing about of sexual union between man and wife. Not until this has taken place, is it really believed to have been brought about.

After some time it appears that in a number of these
593 marriages the partners nonetheless are not "good," that is to
833 say, that they do not have sexual intercourse. In the present-day stage of observation, however, this comes to light only if they do not live together for extended periods, and avoid each other. This state of affairs may last until the death of one of them. Only in a few cases, generally if one of the two
[586] wants to remarry, does divorce according /201/ to Moslem law take place. This is not much more than a formality which legalizes an already existing situation. The "being good" of man and wife constitutes the center of Makassarese married life. The difficulties seem to lie there.

833 Only after the normal festivities have been concluded can it become apparent whether the goal has been reached or not. The pabadjikang ritual in itself provides no guarantee that sexual intercourse of man and wife has actually occurred. It is possible that the young man or woman goes through the entire wedding festival in the customary fashion, that is, more or less tacitly, but continues to refuse the sex act and

585 /202 cont./ thought to be acquainted
833 with the formulas that are correct in the Moslem view. It is possible that this is a local development. Elsewhere in South Celebes I did not hear of such marrying again.

able to record three cases of this. All three took place from one to three years after the first wedding ceremony; and in all of them the couple shortly thereafter was "good" together.

833 It is believed that the individual himself is not responsible for his unwillingness. Therefore, nobody is angry at him.

[602] If the young man is unwilling, his wife's kinsmen are not angry at him. They receive him in a friendly manner when he comes to visit at their house. His wife remains shy and [593] withdrawn toward him, just as every young woman is toward her husband. She is not angry either, nor does she feel insulted by his refusal.

593 The man, too, is not angry. He sometimes brings some-
626 thing for his wife which she can use in the household, as is
833 customary between man and wife and as he would do if they were "good" together. Frequently, he spends the night at a married brother's or sister's house, by preference not in that of his parents, because the latter very clearly show him that he should not sleep in their house but with his wife. A certain amount of pressure is therefore exerted upon him. "People who act like that have a short life," it is said.

In case the wife refuses, there is a similar situation./203/. She is similarly told that women in such circumstances do not live long. "If a woman continues to refuse her husband, her [761] bier will creak" (1). Her husband is not angry at her, nor

593 /203 cont./ 1. That is to say, then
626 she will soon die. For
833 when a corpse is placed
[761] upon the bier made of
bamboo, the bier creaks.

does he feel shame because she refuses him. Her kinsmen feel a little embarassed (siri' siri') because they brought about the marriage and therefore also bear responsibility for her refusal, so they are extremely friendly toward the young man.

586 The belief that the performance of ritual can cause a man or wife to give up his (her) refusal to have sexual inter-
[833] course entails that one waits for a long time before officially dissolving the contracted marriage. This is usually done with the mutual consent of the older people. Only when the latter have given up hope, after at least a year has elapsed, that the marriage could still become "good," is one of the two spouses permitted to marry someone else. Only then is the divorce of the first marriage registered.

In the case of couples who have been living separately for a long period of time, people often do not exactly know whether the Moslem marriage dissolution has already taken place. Little interest is shown in this.

The unwillingness of a young man is thus accepted, even though people are not simply satisfied with this right away. But one does not accept his giving the talak /formal repudiation. -- Ed./. A case of a young man disposing of his wife against the wishes of his older kinsmen was unknown in Borongloë. Informants believed that he would disgrace his kin group by doing so.

593 Even though a couple is "good" together after the wedding
833 festivities are over, this relationship may not be lasting in a number of cases. After a shorter or longer period of time, no more sexual relations take place in such a case. This

593 /203 cont./ phenomenon can likewise be caused by either
833 the wife or the husband. People frequently give some unimportant incident as the reason. One man stated that he no
586 longer wanted to have sexual relations with his wife because
593 she had become angry at him when the lombok /red pepper/
833 that he had brought for her splashed into her eye as she was grinding it. Since then, man and wife no longer lived together. The latter would, however, at times get what she
593 needed for her /204/ daily sustenance from his warong
586 /shop/. Now and then they would speak to each other, and sometimes she would ask him whether he would not come and look at their child. They did not quarrel, and no repudiation took place. When their child, who had stayed with the woman, was about to marry, she let her husband know, but he told her that he was leaving the consent and arrangement of the festivities to her. Neither of them remarried. This situation lasted until the death of the man.

In another case where a married couple had been living separated for years, the reason given was the fact that the wife wanted to continue living with her own kin group and did not want to go with the husband to his. "They live separated" (sisala pamantanganna), it is said in such cases.

A few figures may make the relationships here described a little clearer.

586 On July 1, 1948, the number of persons residing in kampong Bontoramba who were divorced according to Moslem
[162] law and had not remarried was three, two men and one woman. The latter had been married to one of these two men. The wife of the other man lived elsewhere.

In addition, the number of people living in separation
586 but not (yet) divorced according to the law, amounted to
593 six, five women and one man. The latter was married to
[162] one of the five women. The husbands of the other four women lived elsewhere. Two of these four women had been married through silariang and were later deserted by their husbands.

586 /204 cont. / Of the total of seven marriages in which the
● 593 partners did not live together, though they were not divorced
162 according to Moslem rites, four were childless.

Four of these seven married couples belonged to the Kapala group (525 persons) and three to the Mangenre group (90 individuals).

The number of divorces among people residing in the adat community of Borongloë (around 14, 000 persons) who were recorded in the registers designed for this purpose from July 1, 1948 to July 1, 1949 amounted to seven. The percentage of divorced adult women was, according to the 1930 Census Report 1.7 per cent for the whole of Goa (1). My

1. Verslag van de Volkstelling, 1930, Part V, p. 69.

figures are too small to be expressed in percentages./205/ However, they show clearly that even in comparison with other districts, the number of divorces in this region is small.

Selection of Marriage Partners on the Basis of Kinship

582 We have already pointed out that marriages between members of the same family /nuclear family/ are forbidden.

Marriages between housemates are regarded as unfavorable (1). The marriage of a widow's son to the daughter of a

1. Unfavorable in this section is a translation of the Makassarese word, bambang, which means "warm."

582 /205 cont./ widower, where the widow and widower had remarried and lived together in one house with the children from their respective first marriages, was not carried out in the city of Macassar until the Kali of Macassar declared that no Moslem legal objections existed against this marriage. In Goa, after some hesitation, such a marriage was not sealed. The chance for an unfavorable outcome was regarded as too great.

[584] Where two young people living in the same house have a chance of being married, as happens once in a while in the populous houses of headmen, one of them is sent elsewhere beforehand and is made to marry from there.

A marriage between relatives who do not belong to the same generation is regarded as unfavorable. Husband and wife are regarded as belonging to the same generation. If, [601] genealogically viewed, they belong to a different generation, •593] there arises in the beginning of the marriage an uncertainty with respect to social forms and terms of address, which after a while disappears as forms and terms are adapted to the new relationship. Where man and wife stated that they were members of the same generation, whereas later it appeared that a difference of generations existed between them, it was found unpleasant to be reminded of this irregularity in kinship relations. The conflict which had already become buried revived, as it were, by such an observation.

Where a difference in generations between man and wife is observable, in almost all cases the man belongs to the older generation.

The marriage of a man to a cousin of the fourth degree (samposikali) or to a cousin of the tenth degree is regarded by many as an "ordinary" marriage, but a few regard it as [565] unfavorable. In /206/ the karaeng group of relatives, marriages between relatives of the fourth degree occur with greater frequency than in Borongloë. In these circles greater

428 /216 cont./ 1. The religious judge
588 (sjarat) acknowledges the share of the inheritance which is due her, but in the case of an "ordinary" division, that is to say, a division which takes place without the religious judge, her existence is officially ignored. At the most this relationship is used as a pretext, without being expressly stated as such, to leave the estate entirely or partially undivided.

593 The first person eligible to act when a woman has taken
684 part in a contact situation is her brother. A little poem
627 illustrates this:

[539]

Sari'battangadji todjeng,	Only the brother is the true,
iadji kalli' madjarre';	he alone is the strong fence,
pindu' tjikali	where cousins
naempoi ranggasela.	of the sixth and fourth degree waver.

There is no mention here of the girl's father. He is the one who must give the official consent to the marriage and later to the reconciliation, but if his son does not agree, he [602] gets into difficulties. Officially, all male kinsmen of the woman are siri' when she has fled, but those who take an active part in such a case are, in the first place, her brother and sometimes also a cousin of the fourth degree, or a follower (2) of her father. The boundaries cannot be sharply

2. "His siri' is that of his master," it is said.

593
602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
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3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/," Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri', /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
114 great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status, nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

627 /234 cont./ After the flight of a man with a higher woman, it is practically impossible to bring about a reconciliation (1). In all these cases it was therefore believed that

1. An exceptional case was reported on page 125.

there was a reason for the wife's kin group to feel more than usually siri', and as a consequence reconciliation also took longer than usual.

593 The tumasiri' who make the decision in these reconciliation matters that is followed by all kinsmen are the
627 closest male kinsmen, more specifically the father and the (oldest) brother of the woman. In case of a conflict between the two, the father declared in a certain case that he was leaving the matter to his son to regulate. In so doing, he externally maintained his position as leader in the family whom the sons must obey, but in reality it was his son who carried through his wishes. The influence of the woman's
562 mother and sisters is small in these siri' matters. They are
593 expected not to concern themselves with these things. Siri'
627 matters touch upon life and death; they are men's problems. An older woman may at some point confidentially make the observation to one of the older men that by now surely enough time has passed since the flight, but there is no reason to assume that any notice is taken of such a remark. In these matters women merely furnish their cooperation in subordinate matters such as the filling of the kampu, the baking of the cookies, and the preparation of the feast.

627 It is said that after the reconciliation great care is taken that all the wife's kinsmen, thus all the tumasiri', receive
602 a number of the cookies brought by the couple. For whoever has eaten of these cookies can never say later on that he was not in agreement with the reconciliation, and this implies that he will not make an attempt at stabbing during a later encounter

602 /234 cont./ with the tumannjala. The acceptance of the
627 cookies is therefore the overt sign that one is in accord with the reconciliation.

The limits of the kin group -- in the first chapter it was described in detail -- are vague. It is therefore impossible to include all those who must receive cookies /235/. At best, therefore, one sees to it that these cookies are offered to the houses of the prominent kinsmen and especially to those of leading men. But the individual who is not content with the reconciliation can easily avoid the cookies. The distribution of the cookies is an outward form which has little significance for the actual relationship. Nor does it seem that it had more significance formerly and that we are therefore dealing here with a so-called "outworn adat."

The same applies to the statement that a tamannjala being pursued is safe from a stab by the tumasiri' pursuing him, if he throws his cap inside the fence of the yard belonging to a kampong head or other functionary. People like to tell of this custom and add that this was formerly the case and that it should really be this way. Recent instances are unknown, however. It always remains a moot question whether, and if so to what extent, the pursuer adhered to this custom even in former times.

Cap and cookies adats are instances of forms which arise where strong feelings demand formalization. For the actual course of events they are of little importance.

684 It is impossible for a woman who has fled and has been
● 593 left alone, for instance because her husband has died, to
588 bring about a reconciliation with her kinsmen. One other means is nonetheless available to her. She can surrender herself to the mercies of her kin group. Thus a crying woman unexpectedly entered the house of her parents from which she had fled about six years earlier. "Kill me if you wish, here I am," were her words. She gave as the reason for her return the fact that she longed desperately for her mother. Her

684 /235 cont./ arrival aroused a great commotion, but the
593 situation that had thus arisen was accepted, and she was
588 henceforth not regarded as tumannjala. However, such cases remain a rarity.

Even married women resort to this method, though very rarely, if a reconciliation in the customary manner seems impossible. This was done by a woman, for instance, whose husband had taken a second wife and who was now receiving insufficient means of support from him. The same was also done by a childless woman. The action is regarded as a deed
[627] of desperation. In performing it the woman runs the risk of being killed, for in so doing she delivers herself to her brothers who would stab her to death, or at least /236/ would have to make an attempt at doing so in case of an accidental meeting in public. However, her act of desperation has as a consequence that the latter no longer feel the urge to stab. She who originally made them siri' now shows herself lesser than they.

Declaration of Death

There is also a way for the tumasiri' to escape the need to behave as tumasiri'. This is the "declaration of death." "I no longer have a child, neither in this world nor in the hereafter" (1), are the customary words. It is also said that

1. Tenamo anakku rilino nariahereka.

the child is "declared dead" (2) by the one who has spoken

2. Nimateangi.

these words, that he has cast it out (3), that it is no longer

3. Natallaki ana'na.

684 /236 cont./ recognized by him as his child (4). This
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4. Nisassali rimanggena.

declaration sometimes takes place in the mosque in the presence of the imam and other prominent men of the adat community. This simply adds more force to the words. The declaration can also be made at home without any intentional witnesses.

The utterance of the words may, in the first instance, be coupled with some ritual in the form of offering psang. On that occasion the religious official recites the initial words of the Koran. It is said that thereby the Prophet is regarded as another witness to the utterance of the declaration (5).

5. Nipappisa'biangi rina'bia.

Modern Islamites repudiate this ritual. They speak contemptuously of "the pisang reading" (amattja unti).

The consequence of this declaration of death, which is closer to the Islamic than the ancestral world, is not that a child is thereby regarded as disinherited. The religious judge (sjarat) took no account of it in regulating the personal estate of a man who had declared his daughter dead.

In practice it seems to be principally the father of the
593 fled woman who at present makes use of such a declaration.
588 Her brothers do not do so; they do not regard themselves bound
684 by their father's declaration. They consider themselves free,
627 both in their attempts to kill her, as well as in giving their assent to the reconciliation. /237/ Repeatedly, a tacit recall takes place as the father later also gives his consent to the reconciliation. But it also has happened that a reconciliation came about with all the tumasiri' except the woman's parents.

593 /237 cont./ In yet another case the brothers and cousins of
588 the woman tacitly agreed with the declaration uttered by
684 their father. In this case she had fled to a lower man, and
627 therefore the tumasiri', as they asserted, could not act as is otherwise customary after silariang.

Frequently, a special reason can be given for the deposition of such a declaration of death. The fact that a man regularly walked past the house of his wife's father in an insolent manner before the reconciliation, when he should have kept himself outside the view of his tumasiri' as much as possible was a reason for the latter to feel extra siri'. Another man whose daughter had gone to live with a distant
593 kinsman at the pasar of Borongloë and who was there receiving
684 various men saw in this a reason to repudiate her.

The declaration of death seems to be a new institution.
684 It relieves the tumasiri' of their duty to stab. On the other
627 hand, it makes a reconciliation difficult. The fact that
[177] existing ties are considered to be completely broken diminishes both the chance of stabbing as well as of reconciliation.

If siri' feelings, which in affairs concerning women can only be reconciled by death, could in future increasingly be satisfied by a declaration of death, we would have here an opportunity of solving the conflict in a manner less harmful to the many men who at present now realize that the honor of their related group is too dearly paid for by a jail sentence of an average of eight years. /238/

SUMMARY

105 In Makassarese culture four different forms of grouping can be distinguished, each with its own function.

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaëng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
576 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
593 an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).

123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is
177 evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaëng stands there but says nothing. Beside

124 They are small and pretty. They came from time to time to
576 sit on his lap and looked at me. He was serene and his
855 children were wonderful in behavior. Rahim got to the point at once and the Kepala kampong said that this fellow was the man. He indicated a rather angular fellow perhaps twenty-five years old, the kind of Adam's appled type. However, he seemed keen enough. He attended school (lower school only)
463 with Rahim. Then he [i.e., assistant to author--Analyst] got
311 into a trade working with a gold and silver smith. This happens to be one of the main trades of the village. Rahim said there were some farmers in the village, but there was not much wet rice land in the area. However, many people have sawah in other kampongs. Other trades in the village involved commercial enterprises, and being a prau man. A river runs by here and it is mentioned in Friedericy as the one where Goa once levied a river mouth tax on all praus. I
124 later found out that the lad was willing to give up his trade
465 for a while and work for me. He was somewhat ashamed
156 when Rahim asked him about a salary. He said he would leave that matter up to me and Rahim said that this was acting as a typical Makassarese, that is malu [timid, shy, ashamed], although I wonder if he would be so malu when talking about pay with the Chinese who runs the gold and silver business. Later I talked with Rahim about the matter of salary for this man. He told me that things were expensive now, the man had to give up his work, and so forth. He added that he needed more than three to four guilders a day
[593] for his family. And he added that if he did not receive enough his wife would complain. Evidently he must keep his wife happy. So even among the Makassarese a wife nags. Rahim is very strong on the point of getting and keeping in the good graces of one's wife. This is a revelation to me, as I thought women in Mohammedan lands kept their mouths shut. But here, perhaps, is an indication of the underlying qualities of Malayo-Polynesian women. Rahim finally said that one hundred rupiah per month would be all right. I asked about the regular pay which a smith might receive. He said that it was very good, as much as f.10 or f.15 per day. I then said that maybe f.100 was too low, and that I would go up to f.150. He seemed pleased that I was not going to be a chiseler, and said that I could pay a reasonable salary and then if I wanted to, at the end, I could give a bonus. I asked if I had better not give some sort of advance, and he agreed. Hence I gave f. 30 to be given to the assistant (named Mohammed Saleh) who will call on Rahim Thursday after Hari Merdeka.

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one family. They said that they had a very small house and were very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants
161 whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small
592 houses have many more. The population has risen some despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk about it, but they have no money so they have to remain. When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in. I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies. They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world, but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar,
207 and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay. There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst] put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

J 12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
C ● Makassar OG6
I Java OE1
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holds the title to it usually has no claim to reimbursement for the use of it; not even if there is a later divorce.

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Statements are frequently made about marriage property in terms of the burden of proof in case of controversy: "the possessions are owned in common, unless it is proved that the wife does not do the housekeeping." This may have a confusing effect. Actually, the determination of burden rests on the question of what is normal. And what is in conflict with the normal must be proved in each particular instance.

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While the marriage continues, the spouses each deal with the common possessions within his or her normal sphere. In the case of important transactions, they sometimes act together. But if the husband takes action, the consent of the wife is presupposed and the act is valid, even though he has not consulted her. If, however, the wife should openly oppose one act or another, then the husband cannot act alone, save in case of necessity. Third parties have to take this into account. The same thing is true in the incurring of debts. Obligations entered into by the husband or wife must be met as family obligations through utilization of their common property. Such debts are recoverable from this property, and if their joint property is inadequate, the "asal" possessions of the person who incurred the debt must be used. In Macasser, "asal" (sisila-) property may even be set aside for joint debts, in preference to the common property. But the "asal" possessions of a deceased person cannot be so used. If a husband or wife should have individual debts, such as premarital debts, then those debts are recoverable, in the first place, from the "asal" property of the party concerned, and, in the second place, from the common property in its entirety. There is no such thing as an undivided share of the husband or of the wife in the common property during the marriage. Therefore, seizure of an undivided share for the collection of a debt is an absurdity, according to adat law principles and practice. While a marriage exists, the estate cannot be divided against the will of the parties concerned.

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Division of marital property comes into play primarily in case of dissolution of marriage. If it is not evident that one of the spouses has so misbehaved that every claim to a part of the possessions has been forfeited, or that the wife relinquished her share as indemnification for repudiation (pages 181, 183), each of the spouses usually takes his or her "asal" possessions and possibly his or her share in the common matrimonial property. This common

826 /165 cont./ inward, while he is convinced that he will die if
158 this should really happen (1). Koro literally means "to shrink."

1. The signs reported with respect to women are: the breasts become flatter, the nipples shrink, and the labia have a tendency to recede. Only women help the female patient. The phenomenon is less frequent with women than with men.

Van Wulfften Palthe and Slot regarded the phenomena as expressions of an anxiety neurosis (2).

2. See Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, 1935, Vol. 75, pp. 836 ff. and 811 ff. respectively.

[595] The description of one certain case, as it was reported by an informant, ran as follows. A man of around forty-five years of age, married and with children, had taken a second wife. He had kept this fact a secret from his first wife because he was afraid of her jealousy. After a certain length of time had elapsed, however, his second marriage nevertheless became known. One evening when he had come home tired and sleepy, he was overcome with tremors and broke out in a cold sweat of fear. He had the feeling that his penis was becoming smaller and smaller and that it was suddenly going to turn inward. Upon his shouts for help, neighbors came running in to him. One of them held the penis tightly in order to prevent it from receding, and another man went

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548 /167 cont./ gave her little presents. Her father declared her dead, but her brothers did not follow his example. Consequently, there remained the threat of danger. After a few months she fled to Macassar with a man. An ordinary marriage by flight was therefore the end of the adventure of this woman who broke the ties with her parental house in order to gain greater freedom in Bontomanai than would have been possible in the midst of her own relatives.

156 548 It should not be expected that among prostitutes in the large city one will meet the modest, withdrawn types who, in the country, are held up as the ideal to the young girls. Rather one can expect among them those who submit with difficulty to the many restrictions imposed upon them. Further research would have to take place here.

I would venture to suggest that while in western Europe the innocent, misled, middle-class girl is found as well as the girl who becomes a prostitute for economic reasons, in South Celebes where no economic coercion leads to prostitution, women with aggressive characteristics, probably the adventurous type, practice prostitution.

Polygamous Marriage

162 595 As of April, 1940, there were 34 polygamous men among more than 13,000 inhabitants (1) in the adat community of

1. There is no sense in giving figures for polygamous marriages in the kampong Bontoramba. In 1940 there were none, and in 1949 new figures could not be collected after the war for lack of time.

162 /167 cont./ Borongloë. In the 1930 Census Report (2)
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2. Part 5, pp. 70-71.

figures for polygamous men in the province of /168/ Goa are not mentioned separately. With respect to the Macassar subdivision outside the community, it is stated that the percentage of "adult polygamously married men" is low, in this case below 2. Now, if we estimate the number of men in Borongloë at 6, 400, and the number of married men at a quarter of this, 1, 600, then the percentage for Borongloë would be more than 2. This could still be reduced further. For among the 34 polygamously married men there are 7 foreigners, to wit, 3 Indochinese, each married to two Makassarese women, 3 Buginese, and 1 Sajjid /sayid?/. The latter, who came from a kampong situated along the southern coast outside Goa, returned there as early as 1941. Of the remaining 27, it can be said that they were natives of Borongloë.

595 For four of these 27 polygamous marriages, the second marriage was carried out in the festive way. In the other 23 cases it took place after silariang. Of these four one involved the exceptional case that an approximately sixty-year-old, comparatively poor man married, with the assent of his first wife, a young girl, who subsequently came to live in the same house with them. The other three were "normal" [556] cases in which a well-to-do man with a certain personal authority contracted a second marriage against the wishes of his first wife and had a separate house built for this second wife.

In three of the 34 cases, a man was married to three women. Two of these men, the Sajjid and a Makassarese, had been able to carry out their second, as well as their third, marriages, only by means of silariang. The third, the adat community head, had himself arranged his second and third marriage.

595 /168 cont./ In view of the fact that according to Moslem law the conclusion of a second marriage is just as simple as the first, there must be other reasons why so few polygamous men were registered in this region. Such a reason is, in the first place, the opposition of the first wife.

One of the worst things that can happen to a woman is [581] that her husband takes a second wife. One of the wishes for [558] a newly married couple is the hope that they will grow old together. It was said of a childless old couple who had been together all their lives that this was proof that they were happy together, and it was regarded as a cause for rejoicing and an example for the younger generation. In the "little [585] games" /169/ that take place during the wedding festival, the woman must win. This reflects the wish that later she [593] will also have the upper hand in her relationship with her husband. And in answer to the question what this referred to mostly, it was stated that one thought of the provision of the necessities for daily meals and the taking of a second wife.

The reaction of the first wife is very violent. She declared that she would rather be cast out than suffer a co-wife (maru) by her side. She leaves the house without the knowledge of her husband -- which under normal circumstances would weigh heavily against her -- and returns to her parents, preferably with her children. In such a case there is no intention of leaving the man permanently. A statement by one of these women leaves no room for doubt about that. When she heard that her husband had contracted a second marriage, she did not leave for the distant kampong of her parents until she had made the vow: "If I come back here, I shall sacrifice a hen to you (ancestors)." In such a case it is possible for the woman to return only if her husband comes to implore her to do so. Her desire to come back prevailed. Sometimes, especially if the second marriage comes about through silariang, her negative attitude is successful. In one [586] case the man went to visit his second wife less and less. The

595 /169 cont./ latter, after a certain period of time had elapsed,
[586] asked for a divorce on the grounds that she was no longer being supported by him. In another case, the second wife escaped with another man (1). But sometimes the man

[687]

1. Officially this is called adultery, and the man should behave as though he were siri'. In reality he agreed to the divorce nor did he make an attempt at stabbing; nor do his relatives expect him to take the initiative which might lead to her being sentenced by the judge for adultery.

chooses the second /wife/.

595 In the majority of cases, however, the first wife accepts
578 the new state of affairs. But her relationship with her rival remains notoriously bad. Abuse, hateful remarks about the stupidity, the low blood, or about certain physical characteristics of the other woman, are common expressions of her feelings. These she airs more to her female housemates, however, than to her spouse. Older women teach her that the latter is inadvisable. In one of the old lontar of the Prince of Goa there occurs the following rule which aptly characterizes
[682 the conditions /170/: "This is the rule concerning murder.
672] If we murder our co-wife, no matter where, and if we tell this to the people who come running to the scene, saying, 'I have killed my co-wife,' then there will be no revenge taken upon us." (1)

1. This translation was saved as part of the prewar manuscript. The lontar from

595 578 /170 cont./ which this rule was taken could not be traced down, just as it was not possible to find the Makassarese text.

595 The two wives each has her own house. In 24 of the 27 polygamous marriages, the two houses were even in different kampongs. If it is said of a man that he owns two houses, this means that he has two wives. The wives live each in her own house together with their children and a single kinsman, leading their own lives. They never see each other. They are thought to ignore each other. When they go to pay visits, kinsmen take care that the one does not come where the other is. At festivals the second wife always yields to the first, but in actuality she always gets just as much of a chance to be present, even though it is just for a short period of time. In practice, the two women know everything about each other that can be regarded of any interest at all. [521] Female "friends" tell the news, especially the bad news, that each wife wants to hear about the other. In the course of many years the sharpest edges are often worn off this relationship. The children of the one go to the house of the other with their father. An instance where the two women at a greater age visited each other from time to time remains an exception, however.

It is expected that the husband takes his first wife's feelings into consideration and that he will do nothing that could remind her of her rival. An old example is that a man must [593] put away the contents of his betel box before he comes to the [576] other wife, because filling this box is, all the way up to the 276 highest social circles, a special task that a woman performs for her husband, so that a woman, upon seeing the fresh betel leaves, is immediately reminded of the other woman (2).

595 /170 cont./ 2. Little betel is chewed
[178 by the generation that is
276] now thirty-five to forty
years of age or younger.

Nor does he ever name the kampong where the other wife lives as his destination when he leaves. To speak the truth would be an unforgivable rudeness. But a man who, in the opinion of his first wife, already was too much away from home was told: "When a man goes out a great deal, a wife is lazy with the cooking."

/171/ Co-wives display a stronger than normal desire to attach their husbands to themselves, in comparison with [593] monogamously married women. They make sure that the meal is ready when he comes home, that a clean sarong lies in readiness for him, and that his guests are especially well [574] entertained, since a man finds it pleasant if he is known as a good host. On the other hand, they know how to make their anger apparent to him by the same means, by letting him wait for his food, by neglecting to care for his clothes, and so forth. Among older men it can be observed that they stay for a longer time with the same wife. In the majority of cases this appears to be the first wife.

The second wife is always lower than the first; at least she is regarded as lower. This circumstance makes it easier for the first wife to be content with her existence. The great dread of a woman who was not related to her husband appeared to be the fact that now she would become the second wife because he married one of his nieces. As regards descent, however, she was regarded as his equal, and there was in every respect an acceptable reason why his niece should not be regarded as his equal.

595 The opposition of the first wife is not the only reason
606 why a second marriage comes about only with difficulty.
607 Another reason is based upon the opposition of the relatives.

595 606 607 /171 cont./ The latter feel responsible for the successful course of affairs in his first marriage, and accordingly they have an attitude of disapproval toward a second marriage, since a lasting monogamous marriage is, after all, regarded as one of [581] the ideals of a successful marriage. When a second marriage has come about through silariang, they show their disapproval and frequently support the first wife. They yield only if the man appears to have enough authority to prepare and to carry [554] out his second marriage independently with his "own people." That is to say, he has a house built for his second wife, or else he buys one; and secondly, he is able to organize a wedding festival on his own, even if it is a small feast. If a man enjoys that much standing and if he possesses that much organizational talent, then his relatives are not merely content [557] with this second marriage. On the contrary, then they even prize him because the festive celebration of a second marriage is a sign of his personal standing by which his kinsmen also rise in standing. /172/

In such a case, therefore, the first spouse can expect little support from his relatives, and only consolation from her own closest kinsmen. The latter merely try to minimize the importance of this event, which is sad for her personally, and to make her accept it as well as possible. There is no question of any moral disapproval of the man's action. Such is the situation in the adat community of Borongloë.

In the karaëng related group, more second marriages are 565 contracted, especially with women of lower blood. These 595 men have less resistance to overcome. In the kampongs of the ordinary man everyone wages his struggle to gain more standing, and thus for a good marriage for his children. In general, common people do not like to have a girl marry a man who is already married. But if the difference in blood is generally recognized, as it is between a karaëng and a girl [557] from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in standing.

565 /172 cont./ standing. This is what underlies their thoughts
595 when members of the karaëng's kin group declare that lower people consider it an honor to give away their daughter in marriage to a nobleman.

A border line where people like to see their daughter or sister marry a superior who is already married, and where the superior is actually regarded as almost an equal and therefore the marriage is not desired cannot be exactly determined. The boundaries between the classes /standen, here statuses?/ are too vague for this.

554 Exceptional qualities are therefore demanded of a man who has two wives. Through the conclusion of a second
595 marriage he shows that he raises himself above his other relatives. This fact is not appreciated and is therefore counteracted unless he otherwise contributes particularly to
[626] the social standing of the group. If this should be the case, and and if he is able to show this through organizing a second marriage independently, then it is even accepted with a certain pride. There are always a number of men with less exceptional characteristics who wish to take a second wife. The silariang institution gives them the opportunity of doing so without their having to ask the help of their relatives. In these cases, however, his relatives accept this marriage with greater hesitation.

/173/ Second Part

Sexual Union in Marriage

582 In the first part of this chapter, the criteria of selection were pointed out which the older generation applies on the basis of younger people's personal qualities in the choice of

Again I had several men at the house, including a fairly high turunan radja. We went through about one half of the notes. I asked about the high percentage of unmarried women here and told them that the census reported that this was caused by the high prices. Saleh said no, the price was only f.88 for upper classes and f.20 for a slave. But I noted that he couldn't go to normal school because of the f.65. But, he said, there are ways of getting around this price. For example, one might give a rice field or something in kind rather than money. He said the trouble was mainly in the higher class, as it was hard to find suitable mates. But if it is too difficult one can move down a peg for a mate, but the result then is that the children are of lower status or class. The upper class man said that Fredericy's [i.e., H.J. Friedericy, De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren--Analyst] estimate of 40 pure ana' patola in Goa was rather high. He said that now there is only one, a woman. I think he said that she is not married, but I am not sure. Saleh agreed that it is also possible to run off and thus have a lower price. He also said that there is no real marriage unless the price is paid. All the fussy details apply mainly to the upper classes. And there again I see the fault in the Dutch material. They write of the uppers mostly. There is an absolute rule, a taboo, on a lower man marrying an upper woman [hypergamy]. Punishment for this was formerly death, by drowning. They agreed that this was looked upon as incest and as being sufficient cause of disaster for all. Such results as failure of the rice crop and so forth, might be expected. They put it that the mountains would refuse to send the rain. They laughed when I read from the notes that there was little divorce here because it was so hard to replace a wife. They seemed to agree that there was very little divorce. They said there was relatively little polygamy too, but the old sea captain has two wives now and has had many more. The two never lived together in polygamy now, he said, because they fight. Formerly, they could live in the same house. The present Radja of Goa has two wives.

583 565 435 114 [684] 586 595

Literacy: Saleh said to be careful regarding percentage figures on literacy. He said that everybody learns to read (or at least most people) Makassarese, and many learn to write it. It is taught in school, and also in the homes. Thus he might teach his wife if she were illiterate. He said that in the kampong 70 per cent of the people can read Makassarese and 30 per cent can write it. The figures are lower for Arabic and Roman letters. He has some figures in the material he gave me. He said that school children learn Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic.

212

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. 842
But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Per- 611
haps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here?
I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They [123]
listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families.
They said there simply was no control here. The more the
better. I talked at length regarding the future decision con-
cerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather
a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of
Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that
here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children,
but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very inter-
esting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories.

We quit at 6 P.M as the guru had to go to prayer. This is 512
Friday (or maybe he goes everyday).

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The 123
people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is 574
true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always 562
tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must al-
ways be served to guests, and the Kepala kampong said that
if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there
may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come
into the front when I am present, a difference from the be-
havior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served
by the Kepala kampong or his son or a retainer. The Kepala 576
kampong, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends
over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes
hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the
younger ones not so much.

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. 595 ●
Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten 852
days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several 574
houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is
sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant.
We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a 000
house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way
we saw the kampong Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later
the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watam-
pone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a
three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children
soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim
like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they
marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau.
The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am
not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the
marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the
marriage is completed.

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f.88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f.12 and a commoner might pay
567 f.22 or f.44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684 588] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

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565

D. Trade and Class Combinations

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Javanese	Chinese	Total
Skilled	44	75	2	4	-	125
Goldsmith	(30)	(19)	(1)	-	-	(50)
Leather	(4)	(39)	(1)	(4)	-	(48)
Other	(10)	(17)	-	-	-	(27)
Peddler	9	32	3	-	3	47
Farmer	2	13	-	-	-	15
Merchant	2	2	-	-	9	13
Unskilled	1	7	-	-	-	8
Sailor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Industry	1	2	-	-	-	3
Government	2	1	-	-	-	3
Coach-bike-shaw	1	1	-	-	-	2
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Teacher	-	2	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	1
None	4	11	1	-	-	16
Unknown	2	9	-	1	-	12
Totals	68	162	6	5	12	253

[595] Marriage Cases

8 cases of polygyny. All extra wives live outside the kampong. [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst]

7 cases involve noble men.

1 case is the case of a rich commoner, Liyu, the brick-tile-cement tycoon. He has made money, and now has a second wife.

E. Interclass Marriages: Aberrant (13)

M - Man
W - Woman
N - Noble
C - Commoner
S - Slave

	Ages	Trade	Number of case
NM-CW (11)	80-60	None	D 51
	70-60	Leather	E 17
	70-55	Goldsmith	A 9
	60-60	None	A 23
	60-57	Cycle repair	C 7
	60-40	Goldsmith	A 37
	60-24	Thatcher	E 13
	50-40	Leather	D 16
	35-30	Unknown	E 35
	30-25	Sandman	E-19
	25-18	Goldsmith	D-21

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaëng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
576 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
593 an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).

123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is
177 evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
● 596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaëng stands there but says nothing. Beside

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, 203
and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting 666
on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems 624
that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the 596
head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his
clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs.
Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like
Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc
splits.

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van 778
Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, 565
kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the
karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he
was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave.
As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next 574
door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and
the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people
around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a
broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-
Heekeren.

The store hasa brick underwall, and a house above. It
appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and
berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always ac-
cepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim
talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked be-
tween ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United 872
States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim 346
said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in 494
a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen 198
the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it ap- 435
peared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual
style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used
Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling,
but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth
grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further
schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong,
[i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa,
and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is
quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather
far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later.
That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I 212
asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim
said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general.
He added that there was a press in Makassar.

C third man in the Aru Pitu, who, together with the Arumpone
565 and the Makadangetana, form the self-government council of
634 the State. With them sits the Sulewatang Udjung, Minister of Information. The same general pattern holds in Wadjo and Soppeng. Each minister has a function, for example, police civil, etc. The Tomarilalang is a young fellow, tall, and good looking. He seems intelligent and quiet; though really dumb as I found out later.

C I talked with the Tomarilalang about changes, for example,
565 in clothing. I later found out from the Dutch police advisor
557 that the Arumpone fears the Tomarilalang, and others as
578 well, for possible intrigue. I also found out later that the Makadangetana, the old stocky fellow with a mustache who was formerly only a kampong chief, rose slowly until he became even Minister of War. So there is mobility at least within the higher class, and maybe within the middle class.

C I talked a great deal with Thierens, a young intelligent
647 Dutch controleur. He is sympathetic toward the native at-
563 tempt, and like most Dutch now working with them seems to be of the high and democratic type. For example, Thierens asked what I thought was the case among the conservatives who still hold on in Batavia. He saw much trouble ahead for the natives, and I agree. He said that now all the Dutch here are assistants to native officials. The police advisor later said that they were advisors only. I got the idea that the old ways were completely gone. I noticed the great respectful attitude of the Dutch toward native upper classes. They are now the second men. But, as far as I could see, the natives were also very polite. At least this seems to be so in South Celebes.

M Next day we went to the kampong of Bukaka which is al-
124 most inside Watampone. It has a population of about 3,000.
291 I went to the house of the Kepala kampong in my jeep with
●596 Sulewatang Udjung and Andi. Sulewatang Udjung is always
609 well dressed. He wears an elaborate, ornate closed jacket
574 and sarong, and on his head the horsehair and gold bordered songkok. He is an old fellow with a bad case of tuberculosis and Thierens warned him to be careful. But when I visit him he offers tea and awful gummy Buginese cake, and I must eat it. A large crowd lives in his house. There is much evidence of an extended family. He said he had eight children and thirty grandchildren. It seems that most of them are here. They are pretty good looking and rather well dressed. This is an indication of why they need political jobs. Andi, for
000 example, works in the Office of Economic Affairs. The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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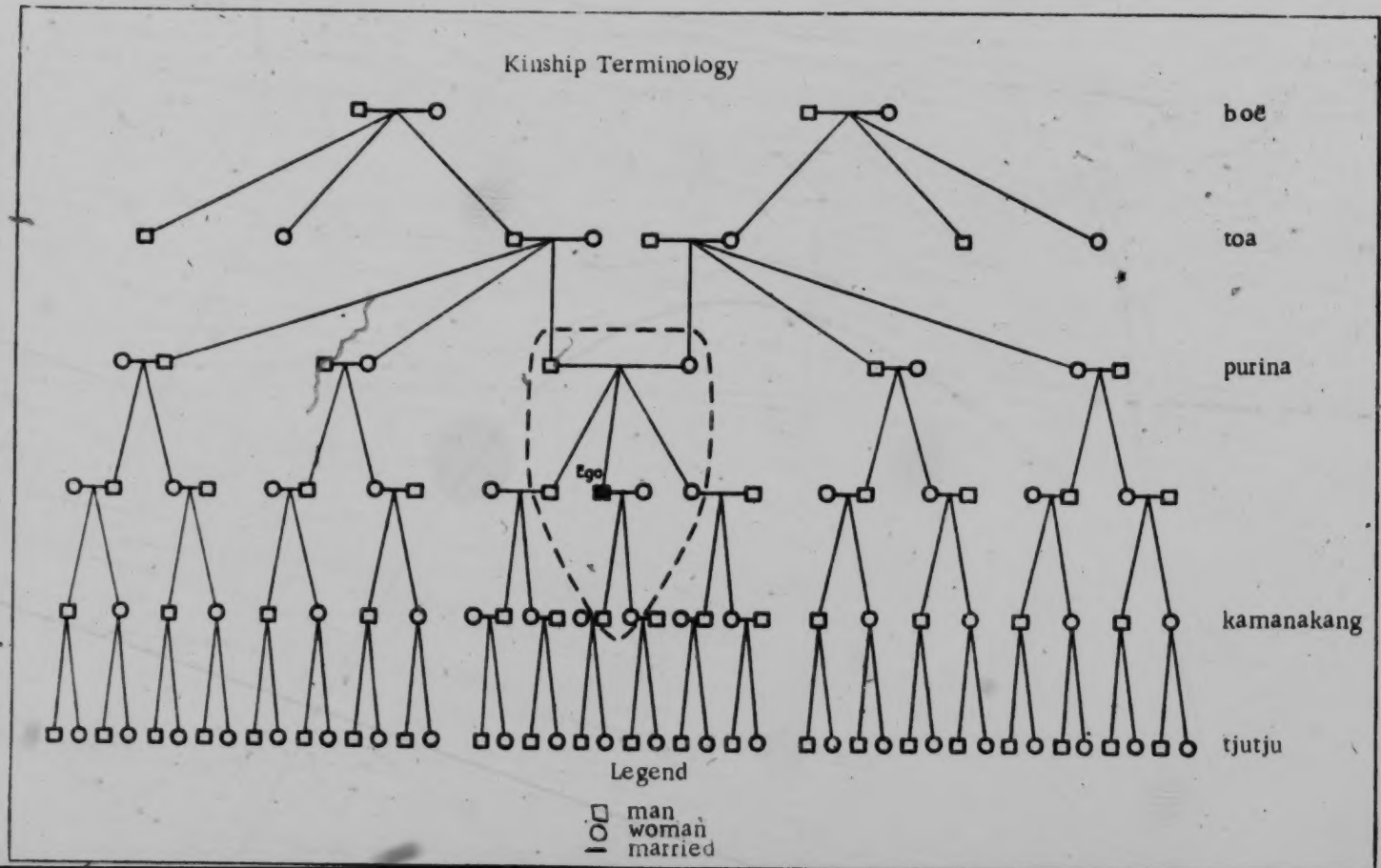
1:Chabot-viii E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6



582 /23 cont./ case. Upon analysis of these connections, there appears a clear preference for marriages with members of the same generation, and among these the most important place is occupied respectively by those between sampopinruang (sixth-degree male and female cousins) and by those between sampopintallung (eighth-degree male and female cousins).

Expressed in figures, this means that of the 69 ordinary, or festive, marriages (1) contracted between members of the

1. The total number of 89 must be reduced not only by 10 non-endogamous but also by 10 silariang marriages. A marriage is brought about either in a festive way or by way of silariang. In this latter case there is no question of a reasoned-out choice.

related group, in 60 cases the marriage partners were members of the same generation, and in 9 cases they were not. Of these 60 marriages, 8 were contracted between samposikali [601] (children of brothers or/and sisters; thus male and female cousins in the fourth degree), 30 between sampopinruang (children of samposikali, thus sixth-degree male and female cousins), and 22 between sampopintallung (children of sampopinruang, thus eighth-degree male and female cousins).

In the 9 marriages contracted between kinsmen of a different generation, the age difference of the spouses, with one exception, was no greater than that between members of the same generation. In the case of these marriages, a certain preference is to be noted for the marriage of a man to a woman of a lower /24/ generation over that of a man to a woman of a higher generation.

Marriages between children of brothers, between children of sisters, or between children of a brother and sister, are

538 /27 cont./ related that I Maipa was the daughter of the Sultan of Sumbawa. As such, however, she was of nobler blood than Datu Museng, and their marriage was thus likewise a forbidden tie. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomathie /Makassarese Chrestomathy/, 1883: "Aanteekeningen," p. 88.

[113]

singers (pakeso'keso') (3).

[533 534]

3. A singer who accompanies himself on a two-stringed violin (keso'keso').

593 In daily life the brother is, in the very first instance, the protector of his sister as a young girl. He is for her the "strong wall," as the verse says (4). He likes to accompany

4. See Chapter III, p. 297.

her and the older women when they pay visits to kinsmen living elsewhere. He is the one who reacts first in case she is siri'; this is as much as to say that he immediately starts the pursuit and stabs if she should want to flee. He carries her [585] as a bride out of the back rooms where she was dressed to the bridal bed in the front room. He is proud of her and of the fact that he may protect her.

● 601 The /nuclear/ family is clearly reflected in the kinship terminology (see list). It is apparent that only the members of the /nuclear/ family are indicated by individual terms and that for the rest the terminology makes distinctions only between generations. The distinctions made in ego's own generation,

●601 /27 cont./ finally, indicate the distance from the common grandparent, which appears to be of the greatest significance for marriage possibilities.

Kinship Terms

Kin relationship is designated by the term sibidja /28/ or [609] sipamanakkang. People who are not related to each other call each other tau maraëng (literally: "other people").

From the point of view of ego (man or woman), there is (are) named his:

1. father: mangge, bapa
2. mother: anrong, amma
3. brother: sari'battang (bura'ne)
4. sister: sari'battang (baine)
5. brothers and sisters of 1 and 2: purina
6. children of 5: samposikali
7. fathers and mothers of 1 and 2: toa
8. brothers and sisters of 7: toa
9. children of 8: purina
10. children of 9: sampopinruang
11. fathers and mothers of 7: boë
12. brothers and sisters of 11: boë
13. children of 12: toa
14. children of 13: purina
15. children of 14: sampopintallung
16. son: ana' (bura'ne)
17. daughter: ana' (baine)
18. children of 16 and 17: tjutju
19. children of 3 and 4: kamanakang
20. children of 19: tjutju
21. children of 6: kamanakang
22. children of 21: tjutju
23. children of 10: kamanakang
24. children of 23: tjutju
25. children of 15: kamanakang

601 /28 cont./ 26. children of 25: tjutju

27. children of 18-20-22-24-26: tjutju kulantu'

To indicate a man, bura'ne is placed after the terms named, to indicate a woman, baine.

28. Persons who are married to two brothers (or to two sisters) call each other lago.

29. One calls one's sister's (brother's) spouse ipara'.

30. In case a man and a woman not related to each other marry, a cousin of the man nonetheless regards himself as related /29/ (for instance) as a cousin to the woman. They then are bidja pasibesokang, literally, "drawn relatives" of each other. Except in the terms for father and mother, the difference in sex is not directly indicated. For when someone speaks of his purina, for instance, it is immediately clear whether he is talking about his uncle or his aunt by the manner and moment in which he does so.

Great stress is placed upon the difference between generations. With the exception of one's own parents, all those who belong to one generation above ego are called purina. Only if more specific designation should be necessary in a certain case is purina samposikali or purina sampopinruang used.

In the generation of ego's grandparents, the difference between his own grandparents and their contemporaries, their brothers, sisters, male and female cousins, and so forth, also has disappeared. All are designated by toa. This applies equally to the generation of the great-grandparents.

Exactly the same thing can be observed with respect to the lower generations: in the generation below ego, his own children are called ana', the rest kamanakang. In the generation of ego's grandchildren, all are called tjutju without exception.

As regards ego's own generation, it is a striking phenomenon that the differences in terminology are connected with the difference in distance that separates them from the common pair of ancestors. Thus, ego's own contemporaries are samposikali to each other; their children are sampopinruang to each other.

582 /205 cont./ widower, where the widow and widower had remarried and lived together in one house with the children from their respective first marriages, was not carried out in the city of Macassar until the Kali of Macassar declared that no Moslem legal objections existed against this marriage. In Goa, after some hesitation, such a marriage was not sealed. The chance for an unfavorable outcome was regarded as too great.

[584] Where two young people living in the same house have a chance of being married, as happens once in a while in the populous houses of headmen, one of them is sent elsewhere beforehand and is made to marry from there.

A marriage between relatives who do not belong to the same generation is regarded as unfavorable. Husband and wife are regarded as belonging to the same generation. If, [601 593] genealogically viewed, they belong to a different generation, there arises in the beginning of the marriage an uncertainty with respect to social forms and terms of address, which after a while disappears as forms and terms are adapted to the new relationship. Where man and wife stated that they were members of the same generation, whereas later it appeared that a difference of generations existed between them, it was found unpleasant to be reminded of this irregularity in kinship relations. The conflict which had already become buried revived, as it were, by such an observation.

Where a difference in generations between man and wife is observable, in almost all cases the man belongs to the older generation.

The marriage of a man to a cousin of the fourth degree (samposikali) or to a cousin of the tenth degree is regarded by many as an "ordinary" marriage, but a few regard it as [565] unfavorable. In /206/ the karaeng group of relatives, marriages between relatives of the fourth degree occur with greater frequency than in Borongloë. In these circles greater

M 6665 521 conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic l life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

M 602 565 212 601 M 602 171 M T 582 563 771

212 For hundreds of years they have

/4 cont./ had their own script and their own literature. The
181 element of strong seclusion is absent in their rural communities, with the exception, perhaps, of a number of thinly populated mountain regions.

114 In the fairly extensive literature one finds a great number of topics dealt with separately, but no comprehensive treatment. The best insight is still given by Kooreman (2). A more recent

[113] 2. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden /The Actual State of Affairs in the Government Region of Celebes and Its Dependencies/" Indische Gids, 1883.

important study is that by Friedericy (3).

[113] 3. H.J. Friedericy, "De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren /Status among the Buginese and Makassarese/" Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. IV, pp. 447-602.

[602] 121 With several authors one repeatedly finds the statement that kinship is regarded as of great importance by Buginese and Makassarese without any further elaboration of this point. The approximation of a community by way of kinship relationships has generally been accepted as correct by ethnologists since Rivers (4). Therefore, my attention first turned to this

4. W.H.R. Rivers, "The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry," The Sociological Review, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff., 1910.

612 /16 cont. / living together in the same territory (pa'rasangang),
621 whose members till the soil. Two pairs of opposing tendencies are observable here. In contrast to a striving toward endogamy, a much weaker striving to enter into marriage with non-kinsmen can be observed. In contrast to a striving to live together in the same territory, there exists an urge to disperse.

631 The Makassarese-Buginese section of the daërah /district/ of South Celebes is at present divided into provinces. Each /landsdrap/ consists of a number of territorial units, frequently called adat communities /adatgemeenschappen/. Each adat community in turn consists of a number of territorial units frequently called kampongs. The boundaries between provinces, between adat communities, and between kampongs are fixed on maps. This is a situation which anyone can immediately notice.

114 In addition it repeatedly appears in the literature that the writers are conscious of the fact that kin relationship
● 602 plays a very important role among the Makassarese. The foreigner observes that a Makassarese not only lives with kinsmen in one house, but also that he has kinsmen scattered throughout the country./17/ But no statements can be found in the literature with regard to the precise nature of kin relationship and its relation to the clearly discernible territorial division, and there exist only vague notions among foreigners who have become thoroughly acquainted with South Celebes, as well as among the Makassarese themselves.

124 Therefore, in carrying out this investigation, it was not possible to isolate a certain group of relatives as an object of observation; the boundary lines were always vague. The only form of grouping which was clearly outlined and which could therefore better serve as a starting point was the territorial one (1).

621 /18 cont./ remaining seven houses lived persons who, aside from their housemates, had no other kin in Bontoramba.

[602] All these people, however, from the members of the Kapala group to those of the occupants of the seven last-named houses, have kinsmen living outside Bontoramba -- sometimes also outside Borongloë, and sometimes even partly outside Coa. These outside kinsmen sometimes live in small groups of just a few houses, and sometimes in larger numbers. Summarizing the genealogical picture of the kampong territory 612 621 /19/ of Bontoramba, it is possible to state that 15 (1) larger

1. 1 group of 81 houses.
   1 group of 18 houses.
   1 group of 9 houses.
   1 group of 5 houses.
   1 group of 3 houses.
   3 groups of 2 houses.
   7 groups of 1 house. A total, therefore, of 15 different groups of relatives over a total of 129 houses. This count took place between June 25 and July 1, 1948.

and smaller segments of groups of relatives live together there. All individuals at the same time possess elsewhere, that is to say, outside of Bontoramba, one or more other, larger or smaller, segments of their groups of relatives. Furthermore, it appears that the Kapala group is strongly integrated, the Mangenre group weakly integrated, and that the Rest group cannot be called integrated at all.

This result displays a divergence from the definition of the related group given above in two respects. In the definition, as we have seen, the emphasis was placed upon the existence of a certain unity on the part of a genealogical group and its territory. First of all, one encounters several genealogical

612 /21 cont./ group. An individual has the choice, in such a case, as to which group of relatives he wants to join, and where he wants to live and work. The genealogical /22/ tie with the other group(s) remains in existence. Knowledge of this tends to disappear after one or a few generations.

574 It should not be expected that one would know all one's kinsmen who live in regions remote from each other. By paying 602 visits and extended stays, the younger generation becomes acquainted with kinsmen residing in various districts. The older ones observe them through this; their character is gauged and their marriage opportunities are discussed. It depends upon the impression made by them whether they will be more or less welcome guests at a later visit.

602 It depends upon an individual himself whether in later years he will keep up the ties established in this way. Thus, while one Makassarese, questioned about kinsmen living elsewhere, is able to refer to merely one or two districts where these are supposed to live, another one, conscious of the fact that the possession of many connections increases his social standing, declares that he has kinsmen everywhere and seems to be able to cite many names of kampongs.

Endogamy

582 The statement that the related group is endogamous means 612 that a great number of marriages are by preference contracted with a kinsman, and a small number with members of other groups of relatives. The figures given below are taken from a Kapala related group, that is to say, from a segment of this group living, and therefore registered, in Bontoramba.

Of the 89 married couples belonging to the segment of the Kapala group residing in Bontoramba, man and wife are related to each other in 79 cases, and in 10 they are not (1).

1. I am following the system of degree of relationship according

582 /24 cont./ likewise contracted without any definite preference for one of these marriages being apparent.

582 Knowledge of kinship relationships does not go beyond the eighth- and ninth-degree kinsmen. Relatives further removed 602 are "distant" (bella). If in rare cases people speak of a marriage between sampopingappa (tenth-degree male and female cousins; children of sampopintallung), one will probably hear the opinion expressed that this is an undesirable marriage. Others, however, do not seem to be aware of this.

Among the marriages contracted between sampopintallung (eighth-degree kinsmen), there probably also exist marriages of sampopingappa (tenth degree) or of kamanakang sampopintallung (ninth degree, thus, not members of the same generation). In such cases people are not certain any more about the exact relationships. Statements contradict each other, and in such cases of uncertainty there is a tendency to settle on that kin relationship which one regards as the proper and normal one for a marriage between kinsmen as the correct one.

The most common marriage is, therefore, the marriage between sampopinruang and sampopintallung (respectively, sixth- and eighth-degree male and female cousins) who at the same time are members of the same generation. Of all other marriages it is said that they are unfavorable or unlucky, or [565] else that they are forbidden. In the nobiliary related group there is a tendency to shift to samposikali and sampopinruang (the fourth- and sixth-degree male and female cousins respectively).

593 The Family

Two functions of the family /gezin/ will be discussed here.

The father officially occupies a predominant place in the family. The relationship to his sons is based upon the notion that he is in command and that it is impolite to contradict him (1). /25/ A son is supposed to know what is fitting, by

592 /31 cont./ Excluding the 23 houses without a complete family and the two-family house in which the two families were not related to each other, there remain 105 houses. Therefore, in 52 + 15 = 67 of these one or two families reside without other kinsmen. In the rest, namely 38 houses, one or more kinsmen lived with the families.

A tendency for a family to live in a house without other people can be observed.

592 602 Examining these kinsmen more closely, it becomes apparent that close relatives are the most numerous, and that only a few distant ones were taken into the house. Of these latter, it was always stated that they no longer had any brothers or sisters, and that therefore they had now been taken in here. After all, where there are no close relatives, distant relatives take their turn, and since there are often more of these, personal preference plays a role in the choice of the house where one settles.

In addition to the respective families, 61 additional persons lived in the 38 houses (2). The kin connections which will be

2. The single member of the household who was not a kinsmen (mentioned above) was not included.

recorded are traced from the oldest married couple residing in the house, a so-called basal married couple, regardless of whether the members of the household are related to the man or to his wife. These 61 persons then appear to be 7 mothers and 4 fathers, widows and widowers respectively; 14 unmarried sisters and 6 unmarried brothers; 9 grandchildren, whose father or mother was deceased or divorced; 8 aunts (paternal sisters) and 3 uncles (paternal brothers) of the basal married couple; 1 brother's son; 5 male or female first cousins (samposikali); and finally, 3 distant cousins (kamanakang samposikali) and 1 distant uncle (purina sampopinruang).

592 /31 cont./ By way of summary it can be stated that 40
602 of these 61 /32/ are first- or second-degree relatives of the basal married couple, and that 52 of the 61 are first-, second-, or third-degree relatives.

The conclusion therefore is that in the majority of cases a house is occupied by one family, that in general only unmarried, older and younger, kinsmen are taken into the house, and that more distant kinsmen (fourth degree and further removed) are only taken in if they have no close relatives. Uncles and aunts, accordingly, are only taken into the house by their respective nephews and nieces if they themselves are childless.

It is noteworthy that one of the three just-mentioned "distant cousins" set up a little house for himself shortly after the registration date. "He finds that more pleasant," was given as explanation.

If one excludes the group of 9 grandchildren, it seems reasonable, in the case of the 52 remaining persons to ascertain whether they are kinsmen of the man or of his wife. It appears that in 19 of the 52 cases someone lives in the house on the basis of his kin connection to the man, and in 33 cases on the basis of his kinship to the wife. Unless these figures
[591] are too small to draw conclusions, a slight preference for living with relatives on the mother's side would seem to be indicated. A similar result was produced by the investigation into marriage residence. At this point, a report on this subject seems in order.

Marriage Residence

462 In accordance with the division of labor between the sexes
562 in Makassarese society, the task of providing for the children, preparing the food, the weaving of sarongs and keeping them clean, and all matters which can be done in and around the house fall to the women. House and grounds constitute the woman's domain. Separation of the sexes is very marked.

591 /32 cont./ The tie among women who are relatives and live
602 in houses close to each other is very strong. In this situation, the result of the study of marriage residence fits very well. A tendency toward matrilocal marriage is observable.

In several cases it was observed that a married couple with children, plus, for instance, the father or an unmarried sister of the wife, lived together in one house. In such cases one is readily inclined to assume that one is dealing with a matrilocal marriage, /33/ as for instance where the wife's mother has died and the rest of the family has continued to live together with the man who has married into the family. In many cases, however, this is difficult to trace. The only pure, and at the same time workable, criterion for indicating when one is dealing with a matrilocal marriage and when with a patrilocal one is given in those cases where two or more married couples live together in one house, that is to say, where one parental couple lives with one married child. The number then becomes smaller; however, one is on firm ground. Twenty-two such cases were registered. The house with three married couples appeared to be inhabited by a parental couple with two married children. Altogether, therefore, 24 married children lived with their parents.

In contrast to 16 matrilocal marriages, there are 8 patrilocal ones. The figures illustrate no more than a tendency, albeit a clearly understandable tendency toward matrilocal marriage. This tendency becomes even more comprehensible if we also look at other factors.

The reasons given for a patrilocal marriage always concern expediency. As such the fact is mentioned that the man is the only child and that therefore he must provide for his parents; or that in so doing the man will stay closer to his sawahs. Or else it is said that there is more room in the house. If, on the other hand, one asks why the couple went to live with the parents of the wife, the reasons are more vague. It is regarded as a matter of course for which no special reason needs to exist that a man moves in with his wife.

286 /37 cont./ 1. Here again the Kapana group appeared to be comparatively the best provided. In its 81 houses, 73 looms were found; in the 18 houses of the Mangenre group, 11; and in the 30 houses of the Rest group, 17. In a few houses I observed two looms.
592

looms in their own houses and are therefore dependent upon kinsmen for use of one. Wherever the household is incapable of fulfilling a certain task, the latter is taken over by the related group. It is safe to assume that the lack of yarn during more than five consecutive years, in any case until 1948, the year of this registration, was the reason that no new looms were acquired, while disuse caused many of them to deteriorate. The remaining 101 will therefore probably be used up after a few years.

602 One can observe regularly that female relatives "get" from each other a household article or a few ingredients for a meal. In such a case one does not speak of borrowing, and it is not regarded as such, for these are all everyday matters. Without these items one is helpless, and therefore they use them among each other. Soap, rice (beras), and a saucepan are apparently equally common articles, but these definitely do not go from hand to hand every day. What is stated here applies to female relatives; among them this mutual assistance is a matter of course. But they have a [609] different attitude toward a non-relative. Should she come to get something several times in a row, there are many ways of making clear to her that this is little appreciated.
476

462 The men have the task of bringing home from pasar, garden, or sawah whatever is necessary for daily existence. They cultivate the sawah and garden. They provide the women with

462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The 462 household always constitutes the center of these activities. 592 Male members of the household work together at these jobs. [476] Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a single house are insufficient for a certain job.

By no means does every house have its own plow. 241 592 Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

[556]

1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangenre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

[602] is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

[609 427]

although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

476 Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each 602 other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

476
602 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened by this. A household that is apart from the others can request
476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency,
558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever
609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior.
592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower
361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 Differences are thus observable between a household which
612 lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in
621 the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of
592 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30
592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

592 /39 cont./ cases without children, or only a few as yet. Furthermore, such houses are occupied by a widow whose husband died before the reconciliation necessary after a marriage by flight and by a number of other such cases.
512 There exists a clear preference for kinsmen living together
602 in one house, and an aversion to non-kinsmen living together.
609 In the latter case there soon develops a relationship of followers (2), and that is disliked by those who realize that they will

2. See pp. 52 ff.

be in a lower place. Lonely parents who in a large related group would have been taken into the house of a nephew or niece now continue to live by themselves. They, together with the couples who fled and married, reduce the mean population per house.

The number of endogamous marriages appears to be higher
582 in the Kapala group than in the Rest group. In the Kapala
602 group, 79 endogamous marriages were registered (around 89 per cent) as against 10 marriages with strangers (around 11 per cent). In the Rest group these figures were: 15 endogamous marriages (around 45 per cent) as against 13 marriages with strangers (around 46 per cent).

612 It was noted that the Kapala group was better provided
556 with rice blocks, weaving looms, and plows. The first and last-mentioned objects are directly connected with the sawah area. The average sawah property of the Kapala group members is greater than that of the Rest group members (3).

3. See p. 52.

These figures, however, for the moment prove no more than that the members of the Kapala group have more goods than those of the Rest group.

Compared with the Rest group, therefore, we see the Kapala group as the more cohesive and wealthier one, in which

428 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through
471 inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong
602

1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there-
[241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

231 2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes,
556 goats, horses) among the
612 three groups is as follows:

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one
471 individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more
558 than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be re-
556 garded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

574
166
541 /55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A
542 child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother
[855] or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity.
[861] Experience teaches that in another environment such naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally, these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form
[602] a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time. Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

> 1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

158 To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations
865 can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however, another element of this culture must first be described; this is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

778 /65 cont./ told that members of the Muhammadijah
769 Association agitated against these pantasa', so that many people made no replacement when the old one was broken.

In 1949, 17 of the 133 houses in Bontoramba had a pantasa'. One stood in 10 of the 81 houses of the Kapala group, in 2 of the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and in 5 of the 33 houses of the /66/ Rest group. Several of these were obviously new, that is to say, they had been made one or only a few years ago. In 5 houses, a large standing basket (salosso) with ritual objects was found.

In addition to pantasa' one can also see so-called "andja'" in attics of houses. An andja' is a place on which one puts an offering. It is a hanging bamboo basin tray without turned-up rims. In the same enumeration, it appeared that there were 38 andja' in the 133 houses of Bontoramba, distributed over the three groups as follows: 30 in the 81 houses of the Kapala group, none in the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and 8 in the 33 houses of the Rest group.

778 One who wishes to bring an offering generally prepares
769 more than one parappo; 3 or 4 is customary. A woman
602 declared that at times she prepared as many as 12. The other parappo are then taken to the pantasa' or the andja' of the kinsmen who are believed to deserve them. Thus only a few of the kinsmen who have a pantasa' in their house receive a parappo. According to reports, this is determined by what the ancestors have prescribed. A Makassarese does not like to state the reason why he gives a parappo to some kinsmen and
554 not to others. It is possible to observe, however, that parappo
778 are by preference brought to the houses of those who are
769 appreciated for their personal qualities. And usually these
602 appear to be personalities generally appreciated in the group of relatives. They are the ones who know how to collect the most goods, whose advice is gladly asked, whose pitjuru (1)

1. See p. 242.

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is concentrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other. The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

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The Ornament-Worship Community

Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

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1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

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2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

794 /68/ Those who worship the ornament together form
796 the "worship community." The ornament of Borongloë is
602 worshipped in the first place by the head of the adat community and his relatives. Sometimes relatives living outside the adat community also take part in it. In the second place, followers and slaves of the head and his relatives also take part in the ritual. In the third place, there are the other subjects living in the adat community territory, and in the fourth place, there are those who live outside Borongloë who are not related to the head but who wish to participate for other reasons.

In practice the first two categories, quantitatively speaking, always form the largest contingent at the festivals. The third category at the same time should be the most numerous,
[622] but here one is satisfied with representation. The kampong head represents his kampong. Hence, all kampong heads are present at all important Borongloë festivals. Occasionally, they may send a statement that they were prevented from attending or else an observer.

The ornament of Goa is worshipped in an analogous manner first of all by the kinsmen of the Prince, regardless of whether they live in Goa or not; secondly, by the followers and slaves of the Prince and of his kinsmen; thirdly, by all (other) subjects of the Prince residing within Goa. This group is referred to when it is said that "the entire people of Goa"
[634] was present at a festival that was regarded as concerning the whole of Goa. At such festivals, the heads of the adat communities attend to represent their regions. Finally, the ornament is worshipped on such occasions by those who, although not related to the Prince and living outside Goa, nevertheless wish to take part in the festival.

[554] The size of the worship group is therefore larger in a stronger group of relatives. The ornaments of the most powerful provinces, such as Bone, Luwu, and Goa, are worshipped all over South Celebes.

782 /76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 778 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The [24 746] annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place here.

Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably 241 of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere. 634 In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament 778 sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 A summary of the above yields the following result:

602 182 By worship community we understand a group of people who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

794 /76 cont./ qualities. After this person's death the grouping
602 again breaks up. The members then affiliate themselves with
182 others, each according to his own choice. There is no continuity.

Between the prominent members of a group of relatives there always exists a relationship of opposition, which is only intensified by the worship communities. There exists no possibility for such a related group to present a durable and powerful unity to the outside world.

A group of relatives with an ornament is more strongly integrated. /77/ Where there is an ornament, a worship community can be found which comprises a number of people in addition to the related group. The size of this community, however, cannot be precisely indicated.

It is therefore uncertain who constitute the worship community of an ornament. Nooteboom's definition of an ornament, given above, could therefore be simplified. An ornament is an object which is worshipped by a community of individuals.

182 In addition to this worship community, there are a num-
794 ber of extremely weak and small worship communities in a
778 group of relatives. They comprise no more than one or
602 several households. Their members turn to their ancestors in their own pantasa' for family or household affairs. In addition, they can also always turn to the ancestors who are worshipped at the ornament.

644 Ornaments are also in the hands of ordinary kampong
182 people. The royal ornaments are therefore not "inherent to
778 the royal dignity" (1).

1. See Friedericy, op. cit., p. 501.

Neither is royal dignity "exclusively reserved for those who are of purest blood" (1). In that case the principle of

565 /78 cont./ the other groups, and that it has the power to enforce this prohibition /79/ The special characteristics of the nobility serve as class prerogatives.

Among the lower /people/, this rarely gives rise to difficulties because in the majority of cases no one values the idea of taking over a special characteristic from just any other group.

565 582 The noble groups of relatives which live in the respective provinces are, like the nonnoble ones, not completely endogamous. Marriages between members of these groups who therefore live in two or more different provinces occur regularly. In this respect the noble related group acts like the lower ones.

114 565 The prince's group of relatives constitutes a well-integrated group whose efforts within the province is directed at maintaining the existing balance of power. Friedericy gathered his material among the nobility. His description of the organization of the classes is in many respects the picture which one obtains of the society if one views it through the eyes of the nobility. He thus places great emphasis upon the characteristics which distinguish the nobility from the other groups, and upon the "intermediary classes" with terms applying to them. One of these terms is ana' tjera'. Among the nobility this designates a child of the marriage between a man of the nobility and a woman from the people.

565 602 Among the nobility class and kinship coincide to a great extent. A commoner can only be admitted into the nobility by way of kinship, that is to say, by marrying into the nobility. Such a marriage, however, does not immediately lead to complete admittance. Terms such as ana' tjera' regulate this. Admittance is accomplished only after several generations. These terms are therefore only in use among the highest class. They have a negative emotional quality. These terms are never heard among the people. To them a child of a mixed marriage is someone of noble blood, even after two or three generations. Such a person has standing just through "blood" alone.

584 /85 cont./ 1. At one count, he arrived
565 at 18, not counting the
marriages of his own children.

In so doing, the existing tie between high and low is greatly strengthened. The person who has brought about one's marriage /86/ is never forgotten. Such a marriage ceremony is on a much smaller scale than the higher person would have for his own child; nevertheless, it is always more expensive than it would have been had it been given by the kinsmen of the marriage partners themselves. Hence, the lower person
[554] receives as festive wear, for instance, a headdress of a certain color or a kris of a certain type, to which he actually has no right, but whose use is granted for the occasion by the higher person. As a result his standing rises.

554 3. From this example it appears further that the general notion that all kinsmen should be each other's equals is incorrect.
602 It is clear that the adat community head, who is a prominent
582 man in his group, insofar as he chooses them from among his kinsmen, favors children of other prominent members of his group as spouses for his children. Accordingly, a tendency toward endogamy exists among the prominent members of the related group. Furthermore, even among kinsmen such great differences in standing may exist that a marriage bond is regarded as undesirable by one of the parties.

The conflict of these tendencies becomes most clearly apparent in a well-integrated related group through the marriage policies of its prominent members. For the ordinary members this conflict is less urgent. They find sufficient possibilities for marriage within the group.

The Bride Price (sunrang)

554 For a Makassarese, the marriage of his child is an extreme-
585 ly important event because it demonstrates the standing that

583 /89 cont./ If one wants to obtain a general view of the amount of sunrang paid in the course of one year, the following figures will serve that purpose. In Borongloë (a good 14,000 inhabitants), the Imam, charged with keeping the marriage registers, had to record 107 marriages between July 1, 1948 and July 1, 1949. Of these, the sunrang amounted:

in 2 cases to 26 reals
in 24 cases to 24 reals
in 2 cases to 22 reals
in 77 cases to 20 reals
in 1 case to 12 reals
in 1 case to 5.00 guldens.

563 583 The amount of 5.00 guldens was registered at a marriage between Javanese who were part of a group of approximately 200, living together in kampong Pakatto. This low sunrang, for the Makassarese regard the amount as such, is one of the reasons why the latter are inclined to regard the Javanese as people of the very lowest status.

567 583 The sunrang of 12 reals was paid to the father of a woman who was regarded as a slave of the adat community head.

565 583 602 Nine of these 107 marriages were contracted between individuals from the kampong Bontoramba. In seven of these nine cases, the sunrang was not 20 but 24 reals, and in only two cases was it 20 reals. This situation which, if one considers the total number of marriages for which 24 and 20 reals were paid respectively, is very unusual and can only be partly interpreted. For each of the seven cases the people were able to give a certain reason. These follow here.

/90/ Both a son as well as a daughter of the Kapala of Bontoramba were married in this year. For both a sunrang of 24 reals was regarded as appropriate. In the case of one couple, the mother of the wife had Buginese kinsmen among whom, in their own country, a much higher sunrang than that of 20 reals was always paid. In the case of another couple, the woman was regarded as related to the adat community head; "she was not equal" (tena nasangkamma), said the Imam, and therefore

565 583 602

/90 cont./ she was not allowed to receive 26 reals (!), but this kin relationship was nevertheless sufficient to raise her above the normal 20 reals. In the fifth case, the man was a kinsman of the Imam himself. It was an act of friendliness on the part of the bridegroom's kinsmen to offer the bride, who actually was regarded as lower, the sunrang customary in his group, because, in so doing, they showed that they accepted her completely as an equal (sunranna bura'ne naerang). In the sixth case, kin relationship with the ex-kapala of an adjoining kampong (Buttadidi) was given as the reason why 24 reals were paid, and in the last case, an aunt of the girl declared that a sunrang of 24 reals had always been customary in her kin group. The curious thing in this case was that this aunt herself had contracted a marriage by flight with a man who was regarded by her kinsmen as so much lower that they had never been willing to agree to a reconciliation (1).

1. For further elaboration of this case, see Chapter III, third part.

With the exception of this last-mentioned case, the first six marriages involved individuals of the Kapala group. It is not impossible that the marriage ties established by the Kapala with the kin group of the adat community head (2) constituted

2. A daughter of the Kapala married a kamanakang (French: neveu /nephew/) of the adat community head.

a reason for the Imam to record a sunrang of 24 reals in a number of cases for the kinsmen of this Kapala, against which he would have had objections in other cases. Finally, the adat community head is the one who must guard against the sunrang

565 /90 cont./ of his subjects approaching too closely his and
583 that of his kinsmen. The differences must continue to exist.
602 Everyone is convinced of this.

A number of observations can be made in relation to these
554 data.

583 1. It appears that in stating the reasons why /91/ a certain sunrang is paid at a certain wedding, the primary consideration concerns the woman. "The sunrang of the woman may never go down," it is often said. This means that the sunrang of a girl may never be lower than that which was paid for her mother. At the wedding of a woman to a lower man -- the exceptional case will be discussed below -- the latter always pays the sunrang of the woman. In addition, he makes a large number of other extra payments. In the case of the marriage of a man to a lower woman, the man's party likewise frequently pays the sunrang that is customary in the woman's group. Sometimes, however, the man wants it to be apparent that he is very favorably inclined towards his in-laws, and then he pays the sunrang customary in his own group, but this is a favor on his part. In the ordinary case, that is to say, at a wedding between two people who are regarded as equals in standing, the woman is, as it were, the gauge of value of her group. Her sunrang must not go down because her standing, which finds its most important expression in the sunrang, must not go down thereby, since this would lower, in turn the standing of her group of relatives.

554 2. Being a follower (1) appears to be a reason for raising
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1. See pp. 133 ff.

the sunrang above the level of the group to which this follower belongs, another example showing that being a follower raises a person's standing.

554 3. The office of kampong head appears to be a reason
583 for receiving a higher sunrang for one's sister and daughter.
[622]

554 /91 cont./ The same can be said of the imam's office. The
583 Imam of Borongloë, who furnished information concerning the amount of the sunrang, explained several times that in a certain case a higher sunrang had been paid than was prescribed because the woman in question was related to him. This illustrates the
[602] advantage of kinship, for the woman was honored by the Imam with a higher sunrang than would otherwise have been possible. He would not have been able to refuse the request to record a higher sunrang without being accused of snobbery, for this would have shown that he no longer wanted to recognize his kinsmen as equals and thus no longer as kinsmen. /92/

563 4. The sunrang appears to be locally bound. Buginese
583 who have a regulation in their own country by which a much
631 higher sunrang is paid have to submit to the local regulations. It is a public secret that actually they frequently pay their own sunrang of 44 reals but that in the registers an amount of 24 (22 or 20) reals is recorded. The marriage official knows about this and silently acquiesces. Officially there is no violation of the principle that the head of a certain territory is entitled to the highest sunrang.

554 5. It is necessary to be acquainted with the period when
583 the regulation was issued (1940) in order to understand how it
659 is possible that in spite of the existing regulation a higher sunrang was paid for a sister of the adat community head than by the head himself. For the sister, who married in 1939 (before the new regulation came out), a sunrang of 28 reals was received, but when this head himself married fully a year later (after the new regulation), he was not allowed to pay more than 26 reals. There was no getting around the recent prescription issued by the Prince. Considering this situation, the somewhat annoyed remark of this head that in future he would take good care that no one received more than 26 reals was quite understandable.

554 6. The sunrang is not always equal even for people who
583 are kinsmen. A little leeway is possible, and it is just this
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554 /92 cont./ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status, or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
554 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of
578 this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage
602 candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang,
557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
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583 /93 cont./ 1. Not, if one asks this
557 information of the Prince.
602 He gives the list as it is
fixed by him. But
lower people are less positive.

can only be understood on the basis of the conflict of tendencies indicated above. The amount of the sunrang is never completely fixed. A small increase is always possible, so people do not like to be rigid about certain marriage possibilities within the group of relatives. There are, to be sure, always kinsmen with whom a closer tie is not desired at that moment. [554] Where people proudly point to their extensive kin group, this does not signify mutual equality of the members, but it is a sign of social standing, and people do like to talk about that.

In the previous chapter it became apparent that marriages 582 between kinsmen of the eighth degree occur regularly, and 602 those between relatives of the tenth degree, very rarely. There is, therefore, a point at which the knowledge of the kin relationship has disappeared, namely, when for three successive generations no marriages have been contracted between the descendants of two brothers and/or sisters. If this fact is considered in relation to the preference for endogamy among the prominently placed kinsmen, then one can see how it is possible that some gradually drop from the circle of those known as kinsmen, through the lack of desired personal qualities or through a poorly executed marriage policy. /94/ If someone likes a kinsman of the sixth degree, and both of them allow their children to marry, this ties remote lines together, and the striving for a cohesive group of kinsmen has then been realized. But if such a marriage (between eighth-degree male and female cousins) does not come about, this means that a small number of individuals come to be separated from this large group and are either absorbed into another group or else continue to lead their own life as a small group. In the

582 /94 cont./ last-mentioned case, we may speak of a drop in
602 standing, even though the sunrang is maintained at its former level. If there are individuals who have become separated from a well-integrated related group, this means that they were quite unsuccessful in their striving to rise; if they had been successful, the other members of the group would have endeavored to bring about a marriage with one of them, since success attracts kinsmen as well as non-kinsmen.

Vertical Mobility of Individuals

554 The level of an individual is determined by his descent
562 as well as by his personal qualities. It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall. Striving to rise is not a primary requirement for women.

554 A man is able to increase his standing through personal
581 qualities. The acquired standing may be consolidated in a marriage. The outcome of all striving is, with a single exception, marriage with a woman of approximately equally high position.

554 The marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly
565 forbidden. The only case in which it is directly apparent that
582 the woman is higher than the man is a marriage of a woman of the nobility to a man who is not of the nobility. The qualities in which a man must excel in order to be able to contract such a marriage are clearly stipulated.

Such qualities are given as learnedness, courage, and wealth. It is told of Sjech Jusupu, a highly venerated saint in South Celebes whose grave is always visited by crowds of people and whose life history people like to recite, that he, as an already recognized sage /95/, asked for the hand of the daughter of the Prince of Goa. The Prince would gladly have consented to this, but the members of the Royal Council (Hadat) of Goa,

/103 cont./ master, and the latter already felt offended if
571 one of his followers so much as received a poor reception. If
675 a follower's horse or buffalo were stolen, the master would say: 'My buffalo or my horse is stolen,' and he would leave no stone unturned to get back the stolen property and to avenge himself upon the culprit -- more accurately, the one who insulted him --, for he would not dream of handing over the thief to the authorized judge.

"The tie between Anakaraeng and ana ana was voluntary and consequently could be broken. The Karaeng rarely dismissed his followers because of bad behavior. As a rule he did so if the follower did not satisfy his far-reaching /104/ obligations or had been disobedient. The follower, on the other hand, would choose another Karaeng if he thought that he was being insufficiently protected, if his master demanded too many services of him, or if, in his opinion, another follower was more favored. Such a break in relations was rarely resorted to, however, because the follower would incur the hatred and vengeance of his former master.

"The Karaeng were also obligated to provide for the material interests of their followers. They helped them with paddy fields, with paddy, plowing, cattle, and sometimes with money, for instance in cases of marriages and deaths. Not all Karaeng, however, fulfilled this obligation; many were more intent upon their own interests than upon that of their ana ana.

"The higher the social standing of an Anakaraeng, the
554 more followers he had. Conversely, the more followers he
565 had, the greater was his standing and influence, and the
571 anakaraeng /sic/ who had the most followers was at the same time the most prominent and the most influential.

"Followers consisted of distant blood relatives, people
571 who from generation to generation had been the followers of
[602] one single kin group, and people, frequently foreigners, who

571 [607] /104 cont./ had voluntarily become followers. They lived not only in the vicinity of their master; some resided even outside the Glarangship or regency, and only came if they were called or required protection.

571 631 "If a follower found himself in a dispute, if he had committed a misdemeanor which might put him in difficulties, or else if he had been harmed or insulted, he would not turn to his head, his Glarang, or to the regent, but rather to his master, his Karaeng, who acted as his protector, safeguarded his rights, and always tried to help him out of difficulties. It is obvious that the more prominent, the more influential the person who concerns himself with the interests of his follower, the easier it was to obtain justice, the more chance there was to be judged in the right even if one were wrong. Conversely, it was all the easier to go unpunished if one had committed an offense.

"This system of followers underwent such an expansion that not only Anakaraeng, but all nobles, and even well-to-do natives had followers. Consequently, in addition to the division of the /105/ land area into Glarangships and Kalompowan kampongs, there existed a division of residents into nobles, each with his followers, so that everyone of them constituted a power in the regency."

571 648 The quotation was long but valuable. Kooreman further points out that the function of the European administration is actually that of a super-karaeng, able to provide effective protection for all who ask for it, without any obligations being attached to this. In his opinion, this had as a consequence that in the course of decades the appeal for protection to the anakaraeng decreased, so that their power disappeared at the same time. As a result, little states within the state -- in the sense of a nobleman forming with his followers a unit within the realm -- no longer occurred.

178 571 From the data available at present, it appears that in the course of the last 75 years the forms in which the system of

571 /106 cont./ and subsequently had continued to live there
591 even after the reconciliation. Furthermore, there lived in Bontoramba a young woman, an orphan who had gotten into difficulties with her parents, who lived elsewhere, and so she had been taken into the house of one of the prominent /107/ kampong residents. In the third place, a Javanese, an ex-colonist, should be mentioned here. He had come to live in the house of one of the Mangenre group to work for this person (1). Similar cases are known to occur in each kampong.

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1. The two last-named individuals were registered as kinsmen of the master of the house in the census.

571 Nowadays a kampong head frequently has someone in
622 his house who carries letters for him and performs extra
202 errands. This function is created by the need for a confidential
602 messenger (2). Frequently the head will take a young kinsman

2. In Borongloë the suro (literally, "messenger") has come to have the job of attending to community labor /gemeentediensten/ -- until shortly before the war, corvée /herendiensten/. He does not run errands. This development, however, varies greatly from one locality to another.

for this purpose.

571 In principle, kinsmen are equals, and therefore there
602 can never be any question of a relationship of followers between

571 /107 cont./ them. If, for instance, a young unmarried
602 man goes to work for a prominent uncle (3), this is always a

[554 466]

3. Here used in the sense of purina, thus someone belonging to a higher generation.

temporary arrangement. For a person who helps his uncle thereby increases the difference in standing existing between that uncle and his own family. Consequently, a young man will prefer, in the long run, to work for his parents, younger brothers, and unmarried sisters rather than to help his uncle gain more social standing.

People who work for a blood relative can be called
554 followers, but this occurs only if they /108/ serve as followers
571 of one head together with non-kinsmen. In that case they
602 occupy the highest position among them. Because of their less pronounced personal qualities they are bound to obey, that is, to follow their kinsman, but with respect to the other followers they are higher, and therefore the leaders, by reason of their descent.

The dwelling of the adat community head is the center
634 of Borongloe. The adat community office is, as it were, merely one of its extensions. Matters of taxation, transferences of land and cattle, quarrels which end in fights, elopements, marriages, foreigners, and all that concerns the ornament worship are handled by the head. In the case of some problems the persons involved were referred to the office and to office hours, but the head receives most of them at his home where their problem is discussed and settled right away, if possible.
571 An active head in this way attracts much information. A
634 number of followers will regularly be found around him.

These work for him in the sawahs and in the gardens, and in addition they run errands for him. Some of them

571 /108 cont./ prefer to carry messages or summon people;
634 others are especially charged with the care of horse and gig (bendi). As good followers, however, they are at the same time the ears and eyes of their master. They report to him everything that happens in the kampongs so that he remains
571 fully informed. They may, in certain cases, proceed harshly
634 if someone commits a discourtesy against the head, for it is
626 also their task to punish a breach of authority in a manner clear to everyone. Each attempt to undermine authority must be suppressed. Not to react to it is regarded as a sign of weakness. In these times of fixed boundaries this is not so serious, but in the period before 1905, there immediately existed the threat of a defection with all its consequences.

571 The followers of the adat community head of Borongloë
634 numbered seven in July, 1948. They included, first, one of
[602] his cousins (samposikali); second, a Javanese who had remained in South Celebes as ex-romusha (1), had learned the

1. A Japanese word which acquired the meaning of "forced laborer."

language, and had come to feel at home in Borongloë; and third, five sons and sons-in-law of followers of his father when he had been head.

/109/ Another adat community head had the same number of followers, but among them were three contemporaries linked to him through personal ties that dated from previous periods of his life, among others his school period. These ties now constituted the basis of their follower relationship.

The difference between these two adat community heads is clear. In the latter case we are dealing with a head who, for the maintenance of his power, relied, at least in part, on the ties personally created by him. In the first case, the head,

571 /109 cont./ whose personal qualities were of little account
634 among the Makassarese, relied almost entirely upon ties created by preceding generations. That he was able to maintain himself as head during these times is merely due to the support of his father, the former head, and to that of the Self-government of Goa.

The kinsmen of the adat community head live distributed
554 over three kampong territories. In his group of relatives it
571 is always pretended that the number of followers living with
602 and among the kinsmen in these kampongs is very large. This
634 is done to make the social standing of the group appear as great as possible. After all, the possession of many followers indicates that a group rises considerably above those around them. In effect, in the adat community head's group of relatives only eight houses with followers were found. The occupants in each case had a special tie with one of the head's kinsmen. They performed the customary tasks for the head and cooperated at the festivals of other members belonging to this group of relatives.

According to reports, the number of followers of the
554 karaëng group is very large, especially the number of those
565 whose previous generation also worked for this group of
571 relatives. The karaëng are each supposed to have had one or more followers who frequently lived in the neighborhood of the master (1). This conception of the situation corresponds

[241]

1. It is related that here working the sawah is entirely in the hands of followers because people do not like to see a karaëng working in the sawah.

662 /123 cont./ he can better serve goals for himself, his kin
557 group, and possibly for his country, by not keeping to a cer-
571 tain agreement, he withdraws. One cannot count upon loyalty between equals with respect to the agreements made among them. Loyalty unto death is to be found only between high and low (1).

> 1. Here, too, there are limits. Personal loyalty of a lower toward a higher person is held in esteem. But loyalty on the part of a related group of lower people toward a higher /group/ lasts as long as the former know themselves to be dependent upon the latter, and so long as they do not have a more powerful higher /group/ to which they can turn for help and protection.

Now, if we look a little more closely at a number of opposition phenomena on various levels, it appears that a general direction can be pointed out in spite of confusing differences.

622 The kapalakampong strives to keep his kapalaship for
554 himself and his kinsmen, for the person who has authority over a non-kinsman is higher than that non-kinsman.
602 Furthermore, his kinsmen, at least those within his kampong territory, share in the higher standing which he possesses in this way. With respect to the members of his own group of relatives and with respect to that of other groups residing in his territory, the position of the kapala is different. In his own group he belongs to the prominent men. In that capacity

554 /123 cont./ he hears everything that goes on. In his turn he
602 derives from his kapalaship the standing necessary to exert
622 influence within his group.

With the members of the other groups, his influence in
622 many cases extends only so far as is necessary to carry out the
[602] tasks enjoined on him by officials of the Inland Administration via the Self-government and adat community heads. This, therefore, frequently concerns administrative matters, but in view of the fact that administration and the exercise of actual power are not separated here, his influence is very great. For the residents of the kampong territory, the kapala is the man to whom they must pay their taxes. He is the one who regulates community labor, with whom the request for the clearing of a new plot of land must be registered in the first instance, from whom an aspirant kampong /124/ resident must request permission to settle, to whom guests staying overnight must be reported, and so on.

He must be known therefore in all such daily matters. He is the link between the residents of his kampong and the adat community head. Accordingly, it is important for all kampong residents to be on friendly terms with him. His influence soon ceases with non-kinsmen. He does not enter into affairs which are important to them as kinsmen. If he makes an attempt to extend his influence further, opposition arises. The opposition between the various group of relatives in one and the same kampong territory finds expression, among other things, in the exercise of the function of gurukampong.

793 The gurukampong is the lowest religious official in the hierarchy in which the kali stands at the top for the entire realm and in which the imam is subordinated to the kali for affairs inside the adat community. In his turn, the gurukampong is again subordinated to the imam for matters concerning the residents of his kampong. His task is to make the imam acquainted with births and deaths, marriages, and cases of people who want to get a divorce. He lends a hand at a birth,

793 /124 cont./ burial, and grave visits insofar as Moslem ritual must take place there.

602 793 The gurukampong therefore deals directly with the intimate kin-group life, and for that reason people prefer a kinsman to fulfill his function. A group of kinsmen living together in one kampong territory, in addition to the Kapala group, consequently has its own guru (1). In one kampong territory one finds,

> 1. In Bontoramba, the Mangenre group (18 houses) has its own guru. A number of other Buginese residing there are also helped by this man. The others, Makassarese, in cases when they require it, ask for help from the guru of the Kapala group.

therefore, in many cases one or even two gurus working for their own kin groups, in addition to the actual gurukampong. They try to enter into direct contact with the imam. This provides them with an independent position toward the guru of the Kapala group. Sometimes (as in Bontoramba) the kapala [622] permits this. The guru of the Kapala group must then content himself with that. But the kapala and his guru, as well as the imam, can oppose this attempt.

621 622 666 /125/ Where the Kapala group is not the only one in the kampong but by far and away the largest, a struggle can frequently be observed, even though it has not yet assumed any distinct form. Wherever two almost equally large groups live next to each other in a single territory, the struggle comes more clearly to the fore. An example of this is to be found at the election of a new kapala. Election takes place, according to the election regulation of 1927, by the majority of votes of the able-bodied men. The struggle is conducted, on the one hand, through attempts to attach the kampong residents who do not belong to either of the two competing groups of relatives to one's side, and, on the other hand, by strengthening the tie with the adat community head; or, if this is possible,

622 /126 cont./ kinsman of the previous kapala, is demonstrable. In 7 of the 14 kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë, the kapala changed between 1939 and 1949. Three of these were succeeded by a son, one by a son-in-law, one by a younger cousin, and two by someone from another group of relatives. In the first of these cases, the old kapala was a Sajid /Sayid?/, a stranger who was forced to leave the kampong and the adat community because of woman trouble. In the last case, the new kapala was a distant kinsman of the adat community head. This man had sailed across many seas as a KPM sailor. He possessed a quiet influence over people and was elected without much opposition.

[626]

622 It seems, therefore, that the kapala and the prominent
602 members of his group of relatives strive to maintain themselves
662 in their own kampong territory, to strengthen their own position if possible, and to raise their own standing outside the region by establishing ties with equal or slightly higher groups.

634 The adat community head conducts a policy which inside
602 his region is, in the first place, directed at making his own
662 group of relatives into as strong a unit as possible, and, in the second place, to strengthen as much as possible his influence in the kampong where he has no kinsmen living. The latter is done by establishing a marriage tie, or by trying to have a

602 /126 cont./ kinsman or a trusted follower named as kampong
634 head. Thus, at an election for a kapala, the brother of the
662 adat community head was set up as a candidate against a member of the leading group of relatives residing there. This
[666] brother obtained a number of votes from members of the Rest group living there, but nevertheless lost the election. Only after the first ballot had been declared a test ballot, and the second produced the same result, did the adat community head give in.

634 The adat community head counteracts the formation of
661 power centers in his region. He looks with disfavor upon marriage connections between the closest kinsmen /127/ of his various Kapala, unless it is he himself who brings about such a marriage. Furthermore, he knows that an ornament which is in the hands of one of the Kapala groups always signifies a potential threat to him.

Insofar as he is concerned with affairs outside the adat
634 community, the adat community head generally endeavors
661 to establish ties either with his fellow adat community heads
643 or with his prince and his kinsmen. The prince looks with disfavor upon the former practice for it threatens to create a direct power center within his realm. He would be even more averse to a tie between one of his adat community heads and a neighboring prince. Although this need not be expected from the heads of the adat communities lying close around the center of Goa, in the marginal, mountainous regions
634 the situation is different. There it has happened that a local
643 head defected from his prince in order to follow another (1).
662

1. "Although the mountain Makassarese continued for a long time to resist a union with the maritime Makassarese, and in 1817 under Aroe Mampoe submitted to the new Prince of Goa,

634 /127 cont./ Karaeng Lembangparang,
643 Aroe Bakara had neverthe-
652 less obtained some following among them. This following grew gradually and made it possible for him to cause the greatest part of the Goa mountain districts to defect from their Prince."
Eerdmans, p. 398.

These heads, living along the frontiers of the realm, frequently did not so much follow the most powerful of their neighbors, but rather the one who permitted them the greatest freedom of action in their territories. After 1905 the boundaries were also fixed in this area.

In the interior the prince tries to create as powerful a unity as possible in his kingdom by working for unity in his own related group in the first place and, furthermore, by extending as much as possible his influence in the adat communities under his jurisdiction.

The Prince of Goa conducted this policy successfully during the years preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War. In a short period of time he succeeded in having one of his kinsmen appointed as adat community head in two of these adat communities.

602 These two former heads' respective groups of relatives
634 went down in standing through this action. After all, they
558 derived this standing in the very first place from the headship, and now they seemed to have been pushed back into the rank
602 of the ordinary groups of relatives. At this moment they
634 merely endeavored /128/ to surround the new adat community
662 head of karaëng blood as much as possible with their own
557 people, so that they could still remain leaders among the

602
634 /128 cont./ other groups of relatives in their adat communities,
662 even though in this position they merely carried out the com-
557 mands of the karaëng.

The karaëng, on his part, constantly tried to break through this tie which was, as it were, placed on him, by seeking contact with the prominent members of the other groups. The latter saw in this a chance to occupy a prominent position in the adat community through the karaëng, a position which they had not enjoyed previously. On the other hand, they did not dare to place themselves too much in the foreground in relation to the kin groups of the former heads, taking into account what might happen if the Prince's influence, at present penetrating more deeply, should again diminish.

The adat community heads who had remained in power felt themselves threatened by the Prince's political successes. "We are becoming unimportant, " said one of them.

648 In a discussion of the relationship of the prince of Goa to his fellow princes, three different points must be kept in mind. First, territorially speaking we go beyond Goa in such a discussion. The entire Makassarese-Buginese region then becomes the field of investigation. Secondly, due to the fact that a number of events that took place at the courts of the princes were more or less regularly recorded during the last few centuries, we are able to use a number of historical data in this discussion which are unknown to the adat community heads and kampong heads. Thirdly, we must first indicate the position of the Netherlands East India Company and later the Government of the Dutch East Indies with respect to this opposition, which was ultimately intended to capture the hegemony of South Celebes.

175 If we look at what Eerdmans reports about this, we get
648 the impression that the conduct of the Netherlands East India Company repeatedly brought about a reversal in the power relations existing at that moment, but that this did not produce any alteration in the manner in which the princes

000 /131 cont./ circumstances the appearance of daëng Mangemba became temporarily possible in 1927. For this, see Z(entgraaff), Celebesproblemen, pp. 5 ff.

177 643 602 662 With the disappearance of these figures, however, the opposition within the circle of the prince and his closest relatives did not disappear. After all, this opposition has its basis within the family in the relationship between the brothers. What disappeared was merely the form of opposition described by Kooreman in 1883, a power within the realm under the leadership of a man of high nobility, based upon force directed against the prince.

The opposition itself remained dormant. In the years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War, it emerged principally in a number of questions concerning hereditary succession.

In 1949 it again became apparent, this time in parliamentary form. It appeared that relatives of the various princes and Self-government members had seats in the representative councils which at that time were set up both for the daërah (the South Celebes Council), as well as for a number of kingdoms (among others the Bone Council). Compared to their ruling kinsmen, these men of the nobility are progressive individuals, but in a number of cases their endeavors merely seem aimed at eliminating the ruling prince and at one of them becoming the prince himself. They conduct the traditional South Celebes policy merely under new names and in new forms.

177 648 In November, 1948, the High Hadat (Hadat Tinggi) for the entire region of the daërah of South Celebes was set up. It was intended as an administrative body in which the various princes should have a seat. Unity was thereby created which

175 /134 cont./ Shortly after the formation of the federated
648 state of East Indonesia, the Makassarese Nadjamuddin daëng
602 Malewa became prime minister. He belonged to a related group of officials living in Macassar and, aside from possessing a particularly keen intelligence and /135/ quick mind, he was endowed with those personal qualities which the Makassarese regard as indispensable for a leading figure.

Each individual with particularly good personal qualities creates a tension in his group of relatives. The tension which the Nadjamuddin aroused was simply of special dimensions.

The unity of this group of relatives was reinforced by the pressure from outside. After the formation of the new federated state, there developed in the ministries at Macassar a silent struggle between the various population groups -- Ambonese, Balinese, Makassarese, Menadonese -- for official positions. Under the pressure of the others, the Makassarese joined forces.

The new premier understandably found no Parliament that was able to comprehend the place ascribed to him in western Europe. The clearly defined rights and obligations, tied as they are in Europe to the ministers, could not be directly communicated here. As a result, the premier again resorted to the ancient Makassarese pattern of government.

Nadjamuddin ruled via his kinsmen and followers, who were active as officials in the ministries. In the Makassarese view, therefore, they constituted at the same time the highest social class.

The idea that this rule would be merely temporary, since, after all, it was dependent upon political conditions, was foreign to them.

The fall of Nadjamuddin as prime minister was conceived by the Makassarese as an impairment of his social standing and therefore also of theirs. The feelings of siri', (1) which came into being through this state of affairs

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/135 cont./ 1. See Chapter 3, third part.

led them to turn away from the other population groups. The separatist tendencies of the time, which here assumed a political form, have their basis here.

Expectation of Salvation

668 In South Celebes expectations of salvation display a number of characteristics which in various points agree with the phenome[illegible]escribed above in this chapter. That is the reason fo[illegible]g them here. The general traits are the following.

A m[illegible]man prophesies that the days of the exist-
[587] ing rule a[illegible]bered. All princes, Dutchmen, foreign Easterners /136/ will be killed or go away. Natural disasters and eclipses of the sun are close at hand; taxes will no longer have to be paid, and feudal services will no longer have to be performed (1). The person who makes these forecasts

1. There arose "a commotion because a certain Baso Oewa Taéna, who also called himself Baso Daëng Magassieng, predicted an eclipse of the sun, during which Battara Gowa (Sangkilang) would appear and would marry his daughter to him, Baso. After streams of blood had flowed and all Europeans and foreign Easterners had been removed, a mighty

571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten.

Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
584 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
602 who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia' tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free companionship, it seems to take very little to make a Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
571 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
834 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
848 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang
583 cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

585 /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen,
788 Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde,
[114] N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/
/New Series/, Vol. I,
no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 The person who performs this ritual is frequently the
[593] "bride's mother, " (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven
824 different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but some-
[801] times variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 1. These names are rapidly
824 recited, one after the other,
789 when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

585 /202 cont./ thought to be acquainted
833 with the formulas that are correct in the Moslem view. It is possible that this is a local development. Elsewhere in South Celebes I did not hear of such marrying again.

able to record three cases of this. All three took place from one to three years after the first wedding ceremony; and in all of them the couple shortly thereafter was "good" together.

833 It is believed that the individual himself is not responsible for his unwillingness. Therefore, nobody is angry at him.

[602] If the young man is unwilling, his wife's kinsmen are not angry at him. They receive him in a friendly manner when he comes to visit at their house. His wife remains shy and [593] withdrawn toward him, just as every young woman is toward her husband. She is not angry either, nor does she feel insulted by his refusal.

593 The man, too, is not angry. He sometimes brings some-
626 thing for his wife which she can use in the household, as is
833 customary between man and wife and as he would do if they were "good" together. Frequently, he spends the night at a married brother's or sister's house, by preference not in that of his parents, because the latter very clearly show him that he should not sleep in their house but with his wife. A certain amount of pressure is therefore exerted upon him. "People who act like that have a short life," it is said.

In case the wife refuses, there is a similar situation./203/. She is similarly told that women in such circumstances do not live long. "If a woman continues to refuse her husband, her [761] bier will creak" (1). Her husband is not angry at her, nor

428 588 /216 cont./ 1. The religious judge (sjarat) acknowledges the share of the inheritance which is due her, but in the case of an "ordinary" division, that is to say, a division which takes place without the religious judge, her existence is officially ignored. At the most this relationship is used as a pretext, without being expressly stated as such, to leave the estate entirely or partially undivided.

593 684 627 [539] The first person eligible to act when a woman has taken part in a contact situation is her brother. A little poem illustrates this:

Sari'battangadji todjeng,	Only the brother is the true,
iadji kalli' madjarre';	he alone is the strong fence,
pindu' tjikali	where cousins
naempoi ranggasela.	of the sixth and fourth degree waver.

There is no mention here of the girl's father. He is the one who must give the official consent to the marriage and later to the reconciliation, but if his son does not agree, he [602] gets into difficulties. Officially, all male kinsmen of the woman are siri' when she has fled, but those who take an active part in such a case are, in the first place, her brother and sometimes also a cousin of the fourth degree, or a follower (2) of her father. The boundaries cannot be sharply

2. "His siri' is that of his master," it is said.

593
602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
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3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/, " Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri', /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
114 great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status, nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

When she is being discussed, one of the older women,
[571] sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop
[602] at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say, they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

588 /231 cont./ Rappung shook hands with those present (a'djama taëng) in the order of rank and status, first the Imam [554 who urged him to go to his wife, who remained seated motion- 576] less. He just touched her hand. He then went to the two witnesses, first the oldest, then the Imam's younger brother, and finally to his two kinsmen who had come along.

The Imam opened the round copper box (kampu) in which the sunrang was contained. In it were: two kalomping (betel leaves folded in a special way), two pieces of areca nut, a few grains of rice, and 4.25 guldens. Of this, 0.25 gulden was designated for the Kali of Goa, and 0.25 gulden for each of the witnesses. The rest was for the Imam. And finally there was a small lump of earth symbolizing the sawah transferred as sunrang. The money was taken out of the box and distributed. Thereupon, the couple left, and with them their companions.

[493] Two three-wheeled bicycles with baskets (tallu roda) stood in readiness. Rappung and his wife sat down on the one in front. "They find it pleasant to sit close together" (nangai siampika), those on the second tallu roda shouted, but Djawi turned her back to him /232/ and by this demonstrative aversion showed that she knew how a just-married woman should behave.

Reconciliation

602 627 The reconciliation can be defined as the solemn arrival of the two tumannjala together with the man's kinsmen and acquaintances at the house of the father or one of the brothers of the wife. There many of her kinsmen are gathered for the occasion. Wife and husband ask for forgiveness from all those present and offer the sunrang, the fine, and cookies.

622 627 The kampong head, or a higher functionary, is always present on such an occasion. He is the one under whose authority the reconciliation comes about. In his presence the

627 /234 cont./ After the flight of a man with a higher woman, it is practically impossible to bring about a reconciliation (1). In all these cases it was therefore believed that

1. An exceptional case was reported on page 125.

there was a reason for the wife's kin group to feel more than usually siri', and as a consequence reconciliation also took longer than usual.

The tumasiri' who make the decision in these reconciliation matters that is followed by all kinsmen are the closest male kinsmen, more specifically the father and the (oldest) brother of the woman. In case of a conflict between the two, the father declared in a certain case that he was leaving the matter to his son to regulate. In so doing, he externally maintained his position as leader in the family whom the sons must obey, but in reality it was his son who carried through his wishes. The influence of the woman's mother and sisters is small in these siri' matters. They are expected not to concern themselves with these things. Siri' matters touch upon life and death; they are men's problems. An older woman may at some point confidentially make the observation to one of the older men that by now surely enough time has passed since the flight, but there is no reason to assume that any notice is taken of such a remark. In these matters women merely furnish their cooperation in subordinate matters such as the filling of the kampu, the baking of the cookies, and the preparation of the feast.

593 627 562 593 627

It is said that after the reconciliation great care is taken that all the wife's kinsmen, thus all the tumasiri', receive a number of the cookies brought by the couple. For whoever has eaten of these cookies can never say later on that he was not in agreement with the reconciliation, and this implies that he will not make an attempt at stabbing during a later encounter

627 602

602 /234 cont./ with the tumannjala. The acceptance of the
627 cookies is therefore the overt sign that one is in accord with the reconciliation.

The limits of the kin group -- in the first chapter it was described in detail -- are vague. It is therefore impossible to include all those who must receive cookies /235/. At best, therefore, one sees to it that these cookies are offered to the houses of the prominent kinsmen and especially to those of leading men. But the individual who is not content with the reconciliation can easily avoid the cookies. The distribution of the cookies is an outward form which has little significance for the actual relationship. Nor does it seem that it had more significance formerly and that we are therefore dealing here with a so-called "outworn adat."

The same applies to the statement that a tamannjala being pursued is safe from a stab by the tumasiri' pursuing him, if he throws his cap inside the fence of the yard belonging to a kampong head or other functionary. People like to tell of this custom and add that this was formerly the case and that it should really be this way. Recent instances are unknown, however. It always remains a moot question whether, and if so to what extent, the pursuer adhered to this custom even in former times.

Cap and cookies adats are instances of forms which arise where strong feelings demand formalization. For the actual course of events they are of little importance.

It is impossible for a woman who has fled and has been
684 left alone, for instance because her husband has died, to
593 bring about a reconciliation with her kinsmen. One other
588 means is nonetheless available to her. She can surrender herself to the mercies of her kin group. Thus a crying woman unexpectedly entered the house of her parents from which she had fled about six years earlier. "Kill me if you wish, here I am," were her words. She gave as the reason for her return the fact that she longed desperately for her mother. Her

habot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

585
602
291
301
482

A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.

769
778
352
415

The little ancestral house (pantasa') in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END plate 3]

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

M 6665 521 conservative PNI [PartaiNasional Indonesia, i.e.,Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic l life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare, There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

M 602 565 212 601 602 171

M T 582 563 771

595 /170 cont./ 2. Little betel is chewed by the generation that is now thirty-five to forty years of age or younger.

[178 276]

Nor does he ever name the kampong where the other wife lives as his destination when he leaves. To speak the truth would be an unforgivable rudeness. But a man who, in the opinion of his first wife, already was too much away from home was told: "When a man goes out a great deal, a wife is lazy with the cooking."

/171/ Co-wives display a stronger than normal desire to attach their husbands to themselves, in comparison with monogamously married women. They make sure that the meal is ready when he comes home, that a clean sarong lies in readiness for him, and that his guests are especially well entertained, since a man finds it pleasant if he is known as a good host. On the other hand, they know how to make their anger apparent to him by the same means, by letting him wait for his food, by neglecting to care for his clothes, and so forth. Among older men it can be observed that they stay for a longer time with the same wife. In the majority of cases this appears to be the first wife.

[593] [574]

The second wife is always lower than the first; at least she is regarded as lower. This circumstance makes it easier for the first wife to be content with her existence. The great dread of a woman who was not related to her husband appeared to be the fact that now she would become the second wife because he married one of his nieces. As regards descent, however, she was regarded as his equal, and there was in every respect an acceptable reason why his niece should not be regarded as his equal.

595 606 607

The opposition of the first wife is not the only reason why a second marriage comes about only with difficulty. Another reason is based upon the opposition of the relatives.

595 /171 cont./ The latter feel responsible for the successful course
●606 of affairs in his first marriage, and accordingly they have an
607 attitude of disapproval toward a second marriage, since a
[581] lasting monogamous marriage is, after all, regarded as one of
the ideals of a successful marriage. When a second marriage
has come about through silariang, they show their disapproval
and frequently support the first wife. They yield only if the
man appears to have enough authority to prepare and to carry
[554] out his second marriage independently with his "own people."
That is to say, he has a house built for his second wife, or
else he buys one; and secondly, he is able to organize a
wedding festival on his own, even if it is a small feast. If a
man enjoys that much standing and if he possesses that much
organizational talent, then his relatives are not merely content
[557] with this second marriage. On the contrary, then they even
prize him because the festive celebration of a second marriage
is a sign of his personal standing by which his kinsmen also
rise in standing. /172/

In such a case, therefore, the first spouse can expect
little support from his relatives, and only consolation from
her own closest kinsmen. The latter merely try to minimize
the importance of this event, which is sad for her personally,
and to make her accept it as well as possible. There is no
question of any moral disapproval of the man's action. Such
is the situation in the adat community of Borongloë.

In the karaëng related group, more second marriages are
565 contracted, especially with women of lower blood. These
595 men have less resistance to overcome. In the kampongs of
the ordinary man everyone wages his struggle to gain more
standing, and thus for a good marriage for his children. In
general, common people do not like to have a girl marry a
man who is already married. But if the difference in blood is
generally recognized, as it is between a karaëng and a girl
[557] from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then
the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because
in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in
standing.

595 /170 cont./ 2. Little betel is chewed
[178 by the generation that is
276] now thirty-five to forty
years of age or younger.

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[557] from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in standing.

554 /213 cont./ On this occasion there is always a superior,
588 functionary or someone of higher blood present, because only
627 then does an inferior control his siri' /214/ feelings. It would
684 be a great discourtesy to act according to one's own opinions against the wishes of a superior and on top of that in the superior's presence. In a conflict of impulses to kill or not to kill, the presence of the superior makes not killing acceptable.

A superior, however, cannot without further ado impose his will upon inferiors. More clearly than elsewhere there appear here the limits of power that a superior has over an inferior. Coercion on the part of the superior to bring about a reconciliation has as a consequence not only the fact that no reconciliation is brought about, but it even intensifies existing difficulties. Below, we shall see examples of this.

After reconciliation there is no more question of siri';
588 relationships are again normal. But during the entire period,
●607 from the moment of the flight to the reconciliation, the
684 relationships between the fleers, tumannjala ("people who have made a mistake"), and the wife's male kinsmen, the tumasiri' ("people who are siri'"), is bound to various rules. In practice there are many generally accepted ways of meeting the difficulties that have arisen through these siri' feelings, which will be described below. One repeatedly comes upon situations, or hears opinions defended by those involved, which are comprehensible only on the basis of ideas concerning challenging and killing. This does not mean that each silariang marriage is intended in the first place as a challenge, but it is regarded as such. Subsequent conduct is in accordance with it.

A man who has been made siri' by a violation of sexual
627 prohibitions is therefore expected to kill the one who has
684 transgressed. But it is not a matter of indifference how this killing takes place. By preference, it must be done in a manner worthy of a man, that is to say, by a stab with a knife (badi') in the open.

124 612 /17 cont./ who now wished to improve his position by being regarded as a distant kinsman of the Kapala. It was the daughter of the Kapala himself who made it clear to him that [608] his opinion could not possibly be correct. /18/ Furthermore, [609] the strangers, that is to say, the non-kinsmen married to a member of the Kapala group, whose children thus also belonged to this group, were likewise counted among the Kapala related group.

In the sole instance in which -- while the married couple 124 612 were not related to each other -- individual kinsmen of the man, as well as of the woman (who belonged to the Kapala 592 group), lived in their house, the man's kinsmen were not included in the Kapala group; he himself was.

Aside from traceable relatives, a number of relatives by 124 marriage were therefore also counted among the related group. 612 The latter should accordingly be defined more accurately as a traditional bilateral endogamous group of relatives.

Among the Buginese, none of whom were related to the Kapala, a prominent man called Mangenre was used for the same purpose as the Kapala in the first group, so that with respect to the occupants of a number of houses, it can be said that they belong to Mangenre's group of relatives. With regard to the occupants of the remaining houses, the mutual kinship [128] relationship, insofar as it existed, could then be easily established. For the sake of convenience, the first group will be called the Kapala group, the second the Mangenre group, and the last the Rest group.

The result of this investigation showed that of a total of 129 621 houses, the Kapala group occupied 81, the Mangenre group 18, and that the Rest group lived in the remaining 30 houses. [612] The latter's members belonged to 13 different groups of relatives. The members of one group of the Rest group lived distributed over nine houses; those a second group over five houses, and those of a third over three houses. In three cases persons related to each other occupied two houses, and in the

835 /35 cont./ occur at the courts of princes without being further discussed in public, even though they led to pregnancy.

In the same manner the court of justice handled a case
684 of a man's relations with his stepdaughter, and that of a man
835 with his stepgranddaughter. The court of justice declared
593 that although no blood relationship existed between the accused,
● 608 these two young women were nevertheless regarded as daughter and granddaughter respectively, because they had lived with their stepfather and stepgrandfather from childhood on and had been reared by them. Here there exists a certain doubt, therefore, whether the case can be regarded as salimara'.[1]
608 Cases of sexual relation between a woman and her stepson
835 were not registered. This does not mean that these do not occur. At the most it may mean that these cases occur less frequently than those in which the man belongs to the higher generation (1).

587
593

1. The idea exists that when a widower remarries, his second wife treats her stepchildren with less kindness than her own. No heart-rending examples of this could be noted, however. In
[754] one case the hostile attitude originated with the two girls who suspected their stepmother of having killed their own mother by means of a formula (pangassengang), in order to be able to marry their father.

The relationship of a man
[578] with his stepson is a tense one. Quarrels occur that lead to physical violence and fights such as are unknown between a man and his own son.

1[i.e. incest. - Aug/st]

609, 123

Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Land Dyak OC8
Flores OF9
●Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8
Ambon OH4
Ceram OH9

/For data on the reception of the foreign traveler, investigator or author by the local people, see also category 574./

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distributed over nine houses; those a second group over five
houses, and those of a third over three houses. In three cases
persons related to each other occupied two houses, and in the

601 /27 cont./ finally, indicate the distance from the common grandparent, which appears to be of the greatest significance for marriage possibilities.

Kinship Terms

Kin relationship is designated by the term sibidja /28/ or [609] sipamanakkang. People who are not related to each other call each other tau maraëng (literally: "other people").

From the point of view of ego (man or woman), there is (are) named his:

1. father: mangge, bapa
2. mother: anrong, amma
3. brother: sari'battang (bura'ne)
4. sister: sari'battang (baine)
5. brothers and sisters of 1 and 2: purina
6. children of 5: samposikali
7. fathers and mothers of 1 and 2: toa
8. brothers and sisters of 7: toa
9. children of 8: purina
10. children of 9: sampopinruang
11. fathers and mothers of 7: boë
12. brothers and sisters of 11: boë
13. children of 12: toa
14. children of 13: purina
15. children of 14: sampopintallung
16. son: ana' (bura'ne)
17. daughter: ana' (baine)
18. children of 16 and 17: tjutju
19. children of 3 and 4: kamanakang
20. children of 19: tjutju
21. children of 6: kamanakang
22. children of 21: tjutju
23. children of 10: kamanakang
24. children of 23: tjutju
25. children of 15: kamanakang

286 /37 cont./ 1. Here again the Kapala group appeared to be comparatively the best provided. In its 81 houses, 73 looms were found; in the 18 houses of the Mangenre group, 11; and in the 30 houses of the Rest group, 17. In a few houses I observed two looms.

592

looms in their own houses and are therefore dependent upon kinsmen for use of one. Wherever the household is incapable of fulfilling a certain task, the latter is taken over by the related group. It is safe to assume that the lack of yarn during more than five consecutive years, in any case until 1948, the year of this registration, was the reason that no new looms were acquired, while disuse caused many of them to deteriorate. The remaining 101 will therefore probably be used up after a few years.

602 One can observe regularly that female relatives "get" from each other a household article or a few ingredients for
476 a meal. In such a case one does not speak of borrowing, and it is not regarded as such, for these are all everyday matters. Without these items one is helpless, and therefore they use them among each other. Soap, rice (beras), and a saucepan are apparently equally common articles, but these definitely do not go from hand to hand every day. What is stated here applies to female relatives; among them this
[609] mutual assistance is a matter of course. But they have a different attitude toward a non-relative. Should she come to get something several times in a row, there are many ways of making clear to her that this is little appreciated.

462 The men have the task of bringing home from pasar, garden, or sawah whatever is necessary for daily existence. They cultivate the sawah and garden. They provide the women with

462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The 462 household always constitutes the center of these activities. 592 Male members of the household work together at these jobs. [476] Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a single house are insufficient for a certain job.

241 By no means does every house have its own plow. 592 Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

[556]

1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangenre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

[602] is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

[609 427] although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

476 Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each 602 other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

476 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened
602 by this. A household that is apart from the others can request
476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency,
558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever
609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior.
592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower
361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 Differences are thus observable between a household which
612 lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in
621 the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of
592 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30
592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

592 /39 cont./ cases without children, or only a few as yet. Furthermore, such houses are occupied by a widow whose husband died before the reconciliation necessary after a marriage by flight and by a number of other such cases.
592 There exists a clear preference for kinsmen living together
602 in one house, and an aversion to non-kinsmen living together.
609 In the latter case there soon develops a relationship of followers (2), and that is disliked by those who realize that they will

2. See pp. 52 ff.

be in a lower place. Lonely parents who in a large related group would have been taken into the house of a nephew or niece now continue to live by themselves. They, together with the couples who fled and married, reduce the mean population per house.

The number of endogamous marriages appears to be higher
582 in the Kapala group than in the Rest group. In the Kapala
602 group, 79 endogamous marriages were registered (around 89 per cent) as against 10 marriages with strangers (around 11 per cent). In the Rest group these figures were: 15 endogamous marriages (around 45 per cent) as against 13 marriages with strangers (around 46 per cent).

612 It was noted that the Kapala group was better provided
556 with rice blocks, weaving looms, and plows. The first and last-mentioned objects are directly connected with the sawah area. The average sawah property of the Kapala group members is greater than that of the Rest group members (3).

3. See p. 52.

These figures, however, for the moment prove no more than that the members of the Kapala group have more goods than those of the Rest group.

Compared with the Rest group, therefore, we see the Kapala group as the more cohesive and wealthier one, in which

684 /224 cont./ here used in the sense of "make little verbal jokes"), but he refused to go with her. At the request of her father she was then returned to her kin group by authority of the judge. "We have enough kinsmen who can marry her," was the explanation for this request, and so it happened. In these two instances, the determined attitude of the man was accepted, while at the same time he was not regarded as tumannjala. The explanation for this may be the character /225/ of the girl, who in both cases was known not to possess the modesty and timidity which girls really should have.

588 626 684 A number of times a woman fled to a stranger in the belief that he made her siri', while in his own mind he had done something quite ordinary. Thus, a Christian Sangirese who was appointed as foreman over a number of Makassarese turned in public to the sister of one of them to ask where her brother was. A few days later she fled to him. After having been instructed by friends, he reacted according to Makassarese expectations. He paid the sunrang and the fine and behaved as beseems a good tumannjala until the reconciliation had taken place according to Makassarese custom. Only the Moslem marriage ceremony did not take place.

689 609 When an Indochinese in such a situation refused to marry, the imam took the girl back to her kin group. The latter regarded neither him nor her as tumannjala. "He does not know our adat," they said, and that was a sufficient explanation for them.

834 684 There are countless reasons which make a woman siri' and lead her to take refuge with a certain man. In each case forbidden contact with this man can be demonstrated. Frequently this contact is accidental. The girl who was addressed by the Sangirese just mentioned was at that moment engaged in drawing water. She did not answer, which was perfectly natural from the Makassarese point of view, but her father had observed the situation and said: "I sent you to the well to

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

S
838 Van der Veen said that there are only a few real hermaphro-
824 dites here, but that there are many homosexuals. And here
772 is something! Boys who show feminine tendencies are fed maize because it is linked with the earth (female principle), and not rice, because the latter is heavenly and connected with the male principle.

000 Ambon: I met an insurance man at the Rotary Club meeting in Makassar, at which I spoke. His name is Kaihatu. He is from Oma, on Saparua, I think [Haruku]. Anyway, he said that they have quite a bit of pela [ally, in the sense of institutionalized friendship] practices there. One cannot marry a person of a fellow pela village. Thus Oma and a village on another island [Saparua] are in a pela relationship to each other. This involves a great amount of mutual aid. Although one can not marry a person from the other village it is evidently possible to marry in one's own village. Kaihatu said that even in a far away place such as Java, if a man of Oma meets one from a pela village he will help him in all ways possible. And he will never think of marrying. This custom is still strong, and even the moderns have no idea of breaking it. He also said that there was much black magic and that such beliefs are firm. I will see him later.

M
609 South Celebes: On my way back from Malino I was stopped
126 by two lads at Lebon pasar. They were on their way from
291 Makassar to the village where the Goa radja lived. They were selling clothing and asked me for a lift saying that there were two men. But soon two more appeared, and finally there were seven. All got in the jeep with their luggage. They were jolly and friendly. They pointed out a special black cape worn by nobles (but not only by nobles; perhaps only by women?) on the road. This type of cape is really beautiful, even out in the country. At one point they asked to stop and bought two large bunches of bananas. I asked them why. They said that the bananas were for me! And these the "surly Makassarese". I took a fast photo of them [with a Polaroid Land camera] and they were overjoyed. I gave one to them, and they are going to make copies for all. They posed with considerable pride. The kraton [court] of the radja was white walled, but inside it looked like the ordinary native houses.

M
[115] South Celebes: the following information was obtained
181 from van Heekeren of the archaeological service and Abdul
609 Rahim, Guru, an assistant of Cense and Chabot. They said
177 that the Makassarese and Buginese are very conservative. They claim that they will not change much. Thus, if they are asked why they do not use the potter's wheel, for example,

they will say that their fathers did it this way. Van Heekeren knows of a family still living in a cave (where?). When he asked them why they were not living in the nearby village, they said that their fathers from away back had lived in caves, and there had been no change. He said further that in Mandar there must still be a few of the Toala type. They live far back, and bring in tribute to the radja. He will look for them he said. But he thinks that the Toala are merely mountain Buginese. He added that Toala radja are very glad to see whites because their relations with whites have always been good. Men like Adriani and Kruyt started this good tradition and hence they like whites. Also, the Makassarese and Buginese never had too many whites around and so there are good feelings in this respect. He said that Bone is a good example of this. There [in Bone--Analyst] the 1906 war was regarded as a sporting proposition. Afterwards the radja was restored. The flag shows clasped hands, Dutch and Bone. Speelman said that as long as the chain he gave to the radja of Bone remained unbroken the two peoples would remain friends. He gave an enormous chain. Also inscribed on the flag is a statement to the effect that they will remain friends as long as the sun continues to shine. When there were troubles after the war, the Bone radja declared his position strongly and raised the Dutch flag. M 181 609 177 C 175 648

Even the younger generation admires and believes in the mana of the radjas. Thus if President Soekawati [President of the State of East Indonesia] appears there is little reaction, but if the radja appears there is great feeling. C 778 565

Van Heekeren is going on an expedition to Galumpang in the southern part of West Toradja territory. He is excavating a neolithic site there. It takes about six days of walking beyond the end of the road to reach the site. C 114

Abdul Rahim is to get me a man, probably a relative, to start the work in the kampong of Balombaru. This kampong is six kilometers south from the center of Makassar, and is Rahim's own village. It is two kilometers beyond the city limit, in Guru. It is said to be a good place for my work in as much as it has most of the typical characteristics, including the influence of nobility. I will start tomorrow. M 124

Flores: I met [in Makassar] the Radja of Sikka. He looks like an American Negro. His name is D. Silva, and he is evidently a Catholic. His secretary is a Dutchman. This seems to be the pattern now in East Indonesia, with the Dutchmen acting very obsequious.

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 562
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197]
words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaëng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaëng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaëng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609 ●
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favorably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when [114]
in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

The previous discussion took place in the evening in the house of the Kepala kampong [of Balombaru--Analyst]. As we talked about various subjects I found that whenever I spoke about the United States I got a good reaction. The village head, a spirited individual, said that he wanted to go there. I said that in a few years perhaps he could. I found out later that one reason the Kepala kampong appeared to be so clever is that he once was a sailor and traveled a good deal. One source said that this was not true but that he had merely been a customs official. In any event he does act like a very special person. 521 156 842 829

I said that there were few children per family in the United States because of the long period of education and the great expense involved. They said that in Makassar everyone wanted lots of children. However, they volunteered nothing regarding education. Then the village head said jokingly that he was going to the United States to help the population problem there. He said that if he got there he would make lots of children! That is the spirit I notice here. The men are very jocular. They like good and rough conversation. In their talk they are quite direct. There is little refinement, halus, such as there is in Java. Nevertheless, they are remarkably polite. All goes very nicely. And there never seems to be an embarrassing or false step.

Later in the evening, I sat with a Dutchman. An acquaintance of his was drunk. He said that he was not interested in the United States when I talked about it. He was very rough indeed, and the other Dutchman was ashamed. Maybe it was a matter of the alcohol involved. 006

These folk are amazingly attractive. Maybe they are not so when just amongst themselves, and perhaps their appearance now is because of the presence of a visitor. I would like to know what goes on from day to day, and if they are on their best behavior now. 609 123

I talked Malay with them and this went over quite well. I told them about the United States and about Yale and about the shrinking world. Perhaps they are just polite, but they seemed interested. One thing went over especially well. I said that there was no pangkat [rank, class] in the United States. I gave the case of President Truman. His father was a tani [farmer] and he had no special rank. Nevertheless he worked himself up. But the thing which hit the Kepala kampong the hardest, and that which he told most eloquently to the people, was that every four years a man like Truman must stand up before the country for election. And if he is not

123 chosen to remain in office he then goes back to where he
609 came from. This evidently was quite something to them. I always added that this was neither better nor worse, but just a different way of doing things. I think I put the point across. I said that in the United States we had large houses and big buildings because the weather was so cold. But basically the principles were the same. I said that they used bamboo for struts and supports while we used steel. They used clay to work where we use cement. Then I brought up the point that they knew considerable about the United States as a result of having seen many moving pictures. On the other hand, we know nothing about Makassar.

272 At this point, without any pressing business, the Kepala kampong called for some coconut water. We had quite a time about the word coconut milk in English. Someone was told to strip a few coconuts and the coconut water was quite good, although I could see that it would spoil rapidly. It was served in glasses, though Rahim asked first if I preferred it from the
[833] nut directly. In Bontorio it is said that this coconut water causes impotence, but the men drank it.

563 The assistant showed me some silver filigree work. It
326 struck me as mediocre, but I said that it was fine. Later van
439 der Wetering, Secretary of the Centrum Cultureel Stichting [Cultural Foundation Center] in Makassar, said that it was poor and made for the tourist trade. They use a kind of tamarind acid to clean such silver work. It is actually quite banal. One fellow said that the Chinese brought the silver
435 from Hongkong and gave it to the smiths. Later they bought the finished article back and sold it. The fellow who was the constructor of the building said that there was much trouble nowadays. He needed a truck but could get one only by paying f.80 per day. But he could make only f.75 per day. When I commented: apa boleh buat [what can be done about it?] they laughed.

829 We talked about mobility and change from generation to generation. I said that in the United States a son seldom followed the trade of his father. Although this was not too clear they seemed to be surprised. They implied that if the father was a smith, his son would be one also.

609 After a hearty farewell, we went back to the Karaeng. He
156 was there, and there were still many people around. We went in and noted that the atmosphere was entirely different. He is a kind of United States business man in type. He is close mouthed and position-proud. Perhaps he was just embarrassed. However, I missed the give and take that was so

noticeable in the Kepala kampong's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim. M 156 609

I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs, a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampong had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampong's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better. M 565 342 554

At the Karaëng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa". I 192

I asked Rahim about the Karaëng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i.e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaëng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes. M 156 554

I went back to the Karaëng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaëng as well as to the Kepala kampong. Rahim said that the Karaëng was ana tino [i.e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i.e., the nine electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought. M 124 565

The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him. M 124

Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were M 541 533 177

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
● 609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

C third man in the Aru Pitu, who, together with the Arumpone
565 and the Makadangetana, form the self-government council of
634 the State. With them sits the Sulewatang Udjung, Minister of Information. The same general pattern holds in Wadjo and Soppeng. Each minister has a function, for example, police civil, etc. The Tomarilalang is a young fellow, tall, and good looking. He seems intelligent and quiet; though really dumb as I found out later.

C I talked with the Tomarilalang about changes, for example,
565 in clothing. I later found out from the Dutch police advisor
557 that the Arumpone fears the Tomarilalang, and others as
578 well, for possible intrigue. I also found out later that the Makadangetana, the old stocky fellow with a mustache who was formerly only a kampong chief, rose slowly until he became even Minister of War. So there is mobility at least within the higher class, and maybe within the middle class.

C I talked a great deal with Thierens, a young intelligent
647 Dutch controleur. He is sympathetic toward the native at-
563 tempt, and like most Dutch now working with them seems to be of the high and democratic type. For example, Thierens asked what I thought was the case among the conservatives who still hold on in Batavia. He saw much trouble ahead for the natives, and I agree. He said that now all the Dutch here are assistants to native officials. The police advisor later said that they were advisors only. I got the idea that the old ways were completely gone. I noticed the great respectful attitude of the Dutch toward native upper classes. They are now the second men. But, as far as I could see, the natives were also very polite. At least this seems to be so in South Celebes.

M Next day we went to the kampong of Bukaka which is al-
124 most inside Watampone. It has a population of about 3,000.
291 I went to the house of the Kepala kampong in my jeep with
596 Sulewatang Udjung and Andi. Sulewatang Udjung is always
● 609 well dressed. He wears an elaborate, ornate closed jacket
574 and sarong, and on his head the horsehair and gold bordered songkok. He is an old fellow with a bad case of tuberculosis and Thierens warned him to be careful. But when I visit him he offers tea and awful gummy Buginese cake, and I must eat it. A large crowd lives in his house. There is much evidence of an extended family. He said he had eight children and thirty grandchildren. It seems that most of them are here. They are pretty good looking and rather well dressed. This is an indication of why they need political jobs. Andi, for
000 example, works in the Office of Economic Affairs. The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that

there is much news exchange carried on in the pasar. Most 203
people, they said, are not much interested in any news except that which applies to local affairs.

Ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world: 829
there is little good geographical knowledge to be had except in 186
the school. This is the big thing here.' They saw my point when I told them about van Baal's argument that children lose pride when they see that Goa is little and unimportant, while their fathers think of it as the navel of the world and can thus feel that they belong to a great place. They seemed a bit puzzled and distressed. As for ideas regarding the population of Indonesia and the world, they said that maybe ten individuals knew the population of Indonesia (though it is being spread by the Ministry of Information in propaganda). As for the population of the world, Saleh said he did not know this, and that no one else in the village did. He said that there was plenty of local patriotism.

Contact relations with other villages and neighborhoods: Of this there is not much yet, but they said that the old enmity against the Buginese is now gone. They could tell me nothing regarding any other enmities. However, they admitted that in higher political circles rivalry probably persists. We talked about the arrest of the Goa and Bone royalty and they are not sore about this; indeed, they merely said that they had no knowledge of these things. They added that they could not understand why the Dutch took the Goa radja because he is a quiet man who sat in the palace all the time reading kitab. They have a feeling for justice, but feel so ignorant and get so little news that they don't even try to comprehend why things like that happen.

Modern dancing: I remarked that there was plenty of 177
modern dancing in the Philippines. They said that it was 535
simply non-existent here, and that seems to be the case. 609●
This is a real difference. They said that the people merely like to look at it. They evidently meant the staring at European dancing couples which I have observed. But tolerance stands out all over. There is no criticism of the "wickedness" of alien customs, etc. There is merely an attitude of "that is the way it is."

Flores: The following information was obtained from the 000
Secretary of the Cultureel Centrum here. His name is van der Wetering. This Cultureel Centrum here is a branch of a private organization in Amsterdam which gets a subsidy from the East Indonesian government. Van der Wetering said that the Catholic Mission has Flores, the Protestant

before going into battle. It is said that the water rises in it 773
whenever Goa goes to war. Thus it rises no more. From 778
then on, it was quite a walk to another well and to a fenced-in area where there were three stones in a row. They were also low and flat. It was on the center one that the real Tumanurung, a beautiful girl, suddenly appeared. It was the population of this kampong who discovered and talked with and received her.

Then I went back to the car and went off to Bone. I find 609
these Makassarese here very cooperative and polite. The atmosphere in the kampong is good. I got the results of the 162
kampong census typed up by Nunuhitu, and later made up a preliminary reckoning. It is only for three of the kampongs, or rather three of the small kampongs. These are (1) Balombaru proper, (2) Bontotangnga, and (3) Sappabulo. The results are as follows:

	M	F	Total	
1.	144	143	287	(99+)
2.	32	28	60	(114)
3.	121	134	255	(90-)
Total	297	305	602	(98)

AVERAGE NUMBER PERSONS PER HOUSE [592]

1.	5.6	Houses:	1.	51
2.	4.6		2.	13
3.	5.2		3.	49
Total	5.1			113

NUMBER CHILDREN PER ADULTS

	Adults	Children	Child per Adult
1.	141	146	1.04
2.	36	24	.67
3.	105	150	1.43
Total	282	320	1.14

TRADES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS 162
[data for three kampongs, Balombaru, 463
Bontotangnga and Sappabulo--Analyst]

	1	2	3	Total
Goldsmith	32	1	2	36 [sic]
Leather-worker	2	6	7	15
Farmer	-	-	13	13
Shop-keeper	6	2	1	9
Smith	-	1	7	8
Salesman (peddler)	1		6	7

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there
203 are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery
205 goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs. M 304 881 852

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heaven ones. This explains a difficult point. M 565 173 793

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace. M 778 793

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former. M 562 609 ●

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime. C 669 643

[567]
612 /20 cont./ households are the only non-kinsmen who live in
621 their kampong territory. /21/ In each case, therefore, one encounters two more or less strongly integrated groups of relatives per territory, with, in addition, a nonintegrated Rest group regarded as small and insignificant.

612 Furthermore, it appeared that members of one and the same related group lived scattered all over South Celebes. In this respect, too, there is therefore no question of unity between a related group and its territory. The reason for this is evident. For this it is first necessary to show how a related group should be conceived.

The territorial division taken as a starting point in the investigation described above has the advantage of making a sharp demarcation possible, namely a division between houses inside and outside the kampong border. The related group as a genealogical unit lacks these sharply defined boundaries. An individual frequently belongs to more than one group of relatives, and people who are closely related to each other, first cousins, for instance, thus often belong not only to a common kin group, but also to mutually distinct ones. This is a direct consequence of the fact that marriages are regularly contracted between people who are not of the same kin group.

582 A child resulting from such a marriage may contract an
●611 endogamous marriage either in his father's group of relatives
612 or in that of his mother, because through his father he belongs to the latter's related group, and through his mother to hers. And where father and mother in their turn were born to a man and wife who were not related to each other, the same child can contract an endogamous marriage in any one of the four different groups of relatives of the four grandparents. After all, he belongs to four different groups of relatives.

612 It is clear that a division of the Makassarese into sharply distinguished groups of relatives is fully imaginary.. Each individual belongs to more than one group of relatives and would therefore also have to be apportioned to more than one such

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. 000
During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today. The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and [439]
import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is hardly worth speaking of.

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. For- 436
merly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C. [pro- 178
bably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East India Company)--Analyst]coins and also kepeng. Now they still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me.

As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including 177
four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were 489
three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. 493
There is much travel by bus today.

As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic 428
and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main 562
thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance 591
it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that 611
the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one. But the girls generally get the house. This is important because the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more property than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Nevertheless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he [578]
might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really excited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would fight, and even knife him.

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. 842
But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Per- 611 ●
haps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here?
I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They [123]
listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families.
They said there simply was no control here. The more the
better. I talked at length regarding the future decision con-
cerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather
a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of
Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that
here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children,
but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very inter-
esting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories.

We quit at 6 P.M as the guru had to go to prayer. This is 512
Friday (or maybe he goes everyday).

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The 123
people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is 574
true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always 562
tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must al-
ways be served to guests, and the Kepala kampong said that
if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there
may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come
into the front when I am present, a difference from the be-
havior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served
by the Kepala kampong or his son or a retainer. The Kepala 576
kampong, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends
over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes
hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the
younger ones not so much.

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. 595
Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten 852
days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several 574
houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is
sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant.
We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a 000
house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way
we saw the kampong Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later
the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watam-
pone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a
three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children
soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim
like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they
marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau.
The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am
not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the
marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the
marriage is completed.

621 /15 cont./ Kampong Bontoramba has approximately
[161] 800 residents. There one finds one of the two public schools
[368] which the entire adat community of more than 14,000 individuals boasts. Along the large road a bicycle repair shop has arisen, and there are more coffee warong /shops/ than in many other places. A large group of Buginese, attracted by a
166 great deal of fallow land and good transportation facilities, has built its houses there in the course of the last 20 years. The Makassarese who live there at present arrived no more than 60 years ago. Coming and going never takes place en masse in Makassarese country. In successive stages a pioneer receives more members of his kin group in his house; by successive stages other people move away.

[554 A certain period of settlement by a large group is /16/
565] noted mostly when a man of high nobility moves and many follow him. Formerly, in periods of insecurity for the individual, this was probably a more usual manner of migration, but today it no longer is. Thus, around 1900, a large number of kinsmen coming from kampong Pakatto, situated eight kilo-
[621] meters further up the road, settled in Bontoramba. As kinsmen /familiele den/ constituting a part of the same related group /ver wantengroep/ they organized themselves anew in Bontoramba and adjusted to the new circumstances, at the same time striving for the realization of the usual Makassarese ideals. To this end, they followed the old Makassarese adat.

The Bilateral Related Group

612 The Makassarese related group /ver wantengroep/ should
621 be described as a bilateral endogamous group of relatives (1)

> 1. Kin relationship is indicated by the term sibidja or sipamanakkang.

whose members worship their ancestors (pattautoaang) at the places and times designated, and at the same time as a group

612 /16 cont./ living together in the same territory (pa'rasangang),
621 whose members till the soil. Two pairs of opposing tendencies are observable here. In contrast to a striving toward endogamy, a much weaker striving to enter into marriage with non-kinsmen can be observed. In contrast to a striving to live together in the same territory, there exists an urge to disperse.

631 The Makassarese-Buginese section of the daërah /district/ of South Celebes is at present divided into provinces. Each /landsdrap/ consists of a number of territorial units, frequently called adat communities /adatgemeenschappen/. Each adat community in turn consists of a number of territorial units frequently called kampongs. The boundaries between provinces, between adat communities, and between kampongs are fixed on maps. This is a situation which anyone can immediately notice.

114 In addition it repeatedly appears in the literature that the writers are conscious of the fact that kin relationship
602 plays a very important role among the Makassarese. The foreigner observes that a Makassarese not only lives with kinsmen in one house, but also that he has kinsmen scattered throughout the country./17/ But no statements can be found in the literature with regard to the precise nature of kin relationship and its relation to the clearly discernible territorial division, and there exist only vague notions among foreigners who have become thoroughly acquainted with South Celebes, as well as among the Makassarese themselves.

124 Therefore, in carrying out this investigation, it was not possible to isolate a certain group of relatives as an object of observation; the boundary lines were always vague. The only form of grouping which was clearly outlined and which could therefore better serve as a starting point was the territorial one (1).

114 /17 cont./ 1. It is therefore not surprising that in the summary chapter on social organization in his book Beginselen en Stelsel van het Adatrecht /Principles and System of Adat Law/ Ter Haar assigns "the village and district communities of South Celebes" to the "communities in which the genealogical factor... has no significance" (p. 15). Using the available literature, his conclusion could not be different. Here it will become apparent how incorrect this interpretation is.

124 Hence kin relationships of the residents of a kampong territory were recorded. For this purpose the names of all kampong residents were taken down from house to house, and at the same time kinship connections of the occupants were collected for each house. The kinship connections between the occupants of various houses were then traced. In so doing it appeared simplest to ask everyone whether he was related to [592] the Kapala or his wife, and if so, in what degree. The fact that, aside from a few exceptions, members of a household always turned out to be kinsmen facilitated the investigation because it was possible to indicate precisely which houses belonged to the Kapala's group of relatives and which did not.

124 Everyone was counted of the Kapala's group of relatives
● 612 who believed himself to be related to him or his wife and of whom this was not denied. The latter happened once. It concerned a kampong functionary who had few kinsmen in Bontoramba but who had obtained influence through his personal qualities (his organizational ability, his eloquence) and

124 /17 cont./ who now wished to improve his position by being
612 regarded as a distant kinsman of the Kapala. It was the
daughter of the Kapala himself who made it clear to him that
[608] his opinion could not possibly be correct. /18/ Furthermore,
[609] the strangers, that is to say, the non-kinsmen married to a member of the Kapala group, whose children thus also belonged to this group, were likewise counted among the Kapala related group.

In the sole instance in which -- while the married couple
124 were not related to each other -- individual kinsmen of the
612 man, as well as of the woman (who belonged to the Kapala
592 group), lived in their house, the man's kinsmen were not included in the Kapala group; he himself was.

Aside from traceable relatives, a number of relatives by
124 marriage were therefore also counted among the related group.
612 The latter should accordingly be defined more accurately as a traditional bilateral endogamous group of relatives.

Among the Buginese, none of whom were related to the Kapala, a prominent man called Mangenre was used for the same purpose as the Kapala in the first group, so that with respect to the occupants of a number of houses, it can be said that they belong to Mangenre's group of relatives. With regard to the occupants of the remaining houses, the mutual kinship
[128] relationship, insofar as it existed, could then be easily established. For the sake of convenience, the first group will be called the Kapala group, the second the Mangenre group, and the last the Rest group.

The result of this investigation showed that of a total of 129
621 houses, the Kapala group occupied 81, the Mangenre group 18, and that the Rest group lived in the remaining 30 houses.
[612] The latter's members belonged to 13 different groups of relatives. The members of one group of the Rest group lived distributed over nine houses; those a second group over five houses, and those of a third over three houses. In three cases persons related to each other occupied two houses, and in the

621 /18 cont./ remaining seven houses lived persons who, aside from their housemates, had no other kin in Bontoramba.

[602] All these people, however, from the members of the Kapala group to those of the occupants of the seven last-named houses, have kinsmen living outside Bontoramba -- sometimes also outside Borongloë, and sometimes even partly outside Coa. These outside kinsmen sometimes live in small groups of just a few houses, and sometimes in larger numbers. Summarizing the genealogical picture of the kampong territory 612 621 /19/ of Bontoramba, it is possible to state that 15 (1) larger

1. 1 group of 81 houses.
   1 group of 18 houses.
   1 group of 9 houses.
   1 group of 5 houses.
   1 group of 3 houses.
   3 groups of 2 houses.
   7 groups of 1 house. A total, therefore, of 15 different groups of relatives over a total of 129 houses. This count took place between June 25 and July 1, 1948.

and smaller segments of groups of relatives live together there. All individuals at the same time possess elsewhere, that is to say, outside of Bontoramba, one or more other, larger or smaller, segments of their groups of relatives. Furthermore, it appears that the Kapala group is strongly integrated, the Mangenre group weakly integrated, and that the Rest group cannot be called integrated at all.

This result displays a divergence from the definition of the related group given above in two respects. In the definition, as we have seen, the emphasis was placed upon the existence of a certain unity on the part of a genealogical group and its territory. First of all, one encounters several genealogical

612 19 cont. groups in one territory, and, secondly, it appears
621 that a genealogical group lives scattered over several territories. Both deviations from the initially advanced principle demand closer elaboration.

166 In the first place, certain historical factors which contributed
178 to the development of this situation should be pointed out.
621 These are increase in population, greater security since the year 1905, and irrigation by which sawah cultivation became possible in districts hitherto unsuited for this, with the result that migration of small groups took place with much greater frequency than was previously necessary or possible. To an increasing degree, strangers requested permission to settle in a certain kampong territory (2).

2. Such, at least, is the official decree; in practice permission is not asked until the house has already been built and the sawah has already been broken.

621 In the second place, the difference in meaning of the term "kampong territory" at the present time and half a century ago should be pointed out. At that time the boundary of a territory coincided with the boundary of the power exercised by the related group residing in that region. The boundary changed in proportion to the power exercised by this group segment. This applied in the first place to /20/ the boundaries of the present-day kampongs. It also applied to a lesser degree to the boundaries of the present-day adat communities and provinces. After the arrival of the Dutch East Indies Government
621 in the region of the principalities in 1905, maps were made
648 in the course of the first few decades, and the boundaries
631 were indicated on them. The situation at that time was essentially fixed. Within the established boundaries, displacements of power subsequently took place. Territorial and power boundaries, therefore, no longer coincided at that time.

612 /20 cont./ A kampong head was appointed to rule over a
621 kampong territory. This head thereby also obtained authority
622 over the members of other groups of relatives which gradually
691 came to live in that territory. Formerly, it is probably true to say, such a new group would have built up a small power center of its own there and would have displaced the existing one. Today such a group must actualize such a striving for power within fixed territorial administrative boundaries. This occurs frequently through a struggle for the headship of the region concerned, whether it is a kampong, an adat community, or a kingdom. The idea remained that a genealogical group should be in command of the territory inhabited by this group, and thus also of all those who lived in it. The striving for this can be observed repeatedly.

612 This striving is always directed primarily against the other
621 group living in the territory which approaches the first-mentioned most closely in standing, in this case, therefore, the Mangenre group. But in view of the fact that this group is small and little integrated, the members of the Kapala group do not feel themselves threatened, and accordingly little is perceptible of their striving.

The same picture that was here given with regard to Bontoramba can also be observed in the majority of the other kampongs.. A sample made in 1940 in kampong Pakatta indicated that there two groups of relatives of almost equal size resided in the kampong territory with a few separate households (a very small Rest group, therefore).

The only related group in the adat community which
[634] occupied an entire kampong territory practically by itself was that of the adat community head. Members of this group live distributed over two to three kampong territories. As the headman's group of relatives, however, they stand in contrast to all other Borongloe groups of relatives in the adat community
[567] territory. A few households of slaves (1) and a few separate

1. See below pp. 149 ff.

[567]
612 /20 cont./ households are the only non-kinsmen who live in
621 their kampong territory. /21/ In each case, therefore, one encounters two more or less strongly integrated groups of relatives per territory, with, in addition, a nonintegrated Rest group regarded as small and insignificant.

612 Furthermore, it appeared that members of one and the same related group lived scattered all over South Celebes. In this respect, too, there is therefore no question of unity between a related group and its territory. The reason for this is evident. For this it is first necessary to show how a related group should be conceived.

The territorial division taken as a starting point in the investigation described above has the advantage of making a sharp demarcation possible, namely a division between houses inside and outside the kampong border. The related group as a genealogical unit lacks these sharply defined boundaries. An individual frequently belongs to more than one group of relatives, and people who are closely related to each other, first cousins, for instance, thus often belong not only to a common kin group, but also to mutually distinct ones. This is a direct consequence of the fact that marriages are regularly contracted between people who are not of the same kin group.

582 A child resulting from such a marriage may contract an
611 endogamous marriage either in his father's group of relatives
612 or in that of his mother, because through his father he belongs to the latter's related group, and through his mother to hers. And where father and mother in their turn were born to a man and wife who were not related to each other, the same child can contract an endogamous marriage in any one of the four different groups of relatives of the four grandparents. After all, he belongs to four different groups of relatives.

612 It is clear that a division of the Makassarese into sharply distinguished groups of relatives is fully imaginary.. Each individual belongs to more than one group of relatives and would therefore also have to be apportioned to more than one such

612 /21 cont./ group. An individual has the choice, in such a case, as to which group of relatives he wants to join, and where he wants to live and work. The genealogical /22/ tie with the other group(s) remains in existence. Knowledge of this tends to disappear after one or a few generations.

574 602 It should not be expected that one would know all one's kinsmen who live in regions remote from each other. By paying visits and extended stays, the younger generation becomes acquainted with kinsmen residing in various districts. The older ones observe them through this; their character is gauged and their marriage opportunities are discussed. It depends upon the impression made by them whether they will be more or less welcome guests at a later visit.

602 It depends upon an individual himself whether in later years he will keep up the ties established in this way. Thus, while one Makassarese, questioned about kinsmen living elsewhere, is able to refer to merely one or two districts where these are supposed to live, another one, conscious of the fact that the possession of many connections increases his social standing, declares that he has kinsmen everywhere and seems to be able to cite many names of kampongs.

Endogamy

582 612 The statement that the related group is endogamous means that a great number of marriages are by preference contracted with a kinsman, and a small number with members of other groups of relatives. The figures given below are taken from a Kapala related group, that is to say, from a segment of this group living, and therefore registered, in Bontoramba.

Of the 89 married couples belonging to the segment of the Kapala group residing in Bontoramba, man and wife are related to each other in 79 cases, and in 10 they are not (1).

1. I am following the system of degree of relationship according

582
612 /22 cont./ to which the parent-child relationship counts as one degree; brothers are therefore related in the second degree, and cousins /neven, French cousin/ in the fourth degree, and so on.

582 If one pursues the reasons why these 10 married outside
583 their related group, it appears that in 5 cases the marriage occurred after the couple had carried out silariang (2). In

2. A marriage by flight. For details of this, see Chapter III, third part.

this case the individuals concerned do not pay any attention to the existence of kin group ties. In the 5 other cases, the
557 reason always given was that the strangers belonged to groups
582 of relatives with which /23/ the older generation who brought about the marriages gladly entered into marriage ties in view of their social standing.

In 2 of these 5 cases, a female member of the related group married a stranger. In the other 3 cases, a man married a girl from outside. In the chapter on status we shall return to the marriage policy carried out by the older people. At present it is only necessary to point out that no special preference to marry either a boy or a girl outside the related group can be indicated, but rather that closer attention is paid with a girl than with a boy that she does not marry someone who is regarded to be even a trifle below her in standing.

582 The statement that the related group is endogamous signifies, therefore, that marriages are by preference contracted between kinsmen, but it says nothing further concerning the kinship connections which are regarded as important in this

476 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened
602 by this. A household that is apart from the others can request
476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency,
558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever
609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior.
592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower
361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 Differences are thus observable between a household which
●612 lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in
621 the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of
592 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30
592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

592 /39 cont./ cases without children, or only a few as yet. Furthermore, such houses are occupied by a widow whose husband died before the reconciliation necessary after a marriage by flight and by a number of other such cases.
592 There exists a clear preference for kinsmen living together
602 in one house, and an aversion to non-kinsmen living together.
609 In the latter case there soon develops a relationship of followers (2), and that is disliked by those who realize that they will

2. See pp. 52 ff.

be in a lower place. Lonely parents who in a large related group would have been taken into the house of a nephew or niece now continue to live by themselves. They, together with the couples who fled and married, reduce the mean population per house.

The number of endogamous marriages appears to be higher
582 in the Kapala group than in the Rest group. In the Kapala
602 group, 79 endogamous marriages were registered (around 89 per cent) as against 10 marriages with strangers (around 11 per cent). In the Rest group these figures were: 15 endogamous marriages (around 45 per cent) as against 13 marriages with strangers (around 46 per cent).

612 It was noted that the Kapala group was better provided
556 with rice blocks, weaving looms, and plows. The first and last-mentioned objects are directly connected with the sawah area. The average sawah property of the Kapala group members is greater than that of the Rest group members (3).

3. See p. 52.

These figures, however, for the moment prove no more than that the members of the Kapala group have more goods than those of the Rest group.

Compared with the Rest group, therefore, we see the Kapala group as the more cohesive and wealthier one, in which

612 /39 cont./ living is more comfortable. The tendency toward
556 joining the Kapala group can be demonstrated. Integration is stronger there.

To be affiliated with a large related group seems to offer
612 only advantages. There is, however, another phenomenon which suggests the opposite. /40/ Members of the Kapala
[166] group appear to move away repeatedly. This fact cannot be discussed, however, until the relationship of the related group to the land has first been described.

The Relationship to the Land

612 The relationship of the related group to the land was
423 characterized as that of a group whose members live together in the same territory and work the land. This characterization will now be elaborated upon. The majority of kampong residents do seem to have land in the kampong where they reside, but a number of them in addition have land in other kampongs.

Some figures will be presented at this point to illustrate the relationship of people to land. The average landownership of Bontoramba residents within their territory amounts to 23 ares of sawah land and 56 ares of dry land per house. In addition to land in Bontoramba, some Bontoramba residents also own land in other kampongs. If one adds these figures to the first, then it appears that the average landownership per house in Bontoramba amounts to 54 ares of sawah land and 69 ares
[162] of dry land. The average number of persons per house is 6.04 (1).

1. Figures concerning land date from 1949. The average number of residents per house that year amounted to 6.04 as against 6.1 in 1948.

423 /40 cont./ Some variations should be introduced into
612 these figures. Broken down by the Kapala, Mangenre, and
556 Rest groups they are:

Kapala group:	77 ares sawah land
	88 ares dry land
Mangenre group:	6 ares sawah land
	66 ares dry land
Rest group:	23 ares sawah land
	22 ares dry land

These figures thus indicate the average per house for these three groups, which consist of 81, 19, and 33 houses respectively (2).

[171]

2. In the Indish Verslag /(Dutch East) Indies Report/ of 1941, Part 2, p. 264, the average area of arable land of the native population for Java and Madura (in 1940) is given as: 0.072 hectare of sawah land and 0.096 hectare of dry land per capita. This is a little less than was found in Bontoramba (0.088 hectare of sawah land and 0.113 hectare of dry land per capita).

/41/ The noticeably low figure for the sawah land in the Mangenre group is not directly explainable. We shall return to this point below.

[592] Not all houses have landowners. In the Kapala group, landowners live in 73 of the 81 houses; in the Mangenre group, in 7 of the 19 houses; and in the Rest group they live in 14 of the 33 houses.

The members of the Kapala group are thus clearly rich in land compared with those of the two other groups. Among

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/41 cont./ them landownership is also more regularly distributed over the various houses.

It appeared that the few houses of the Kapala group without landowners were homes of younger people who worked the lands of their parents or an older brother and who received a part of the harvested crop in exchange for this. The Mangenre group and the Rest group include warong owners /shop-keepers/, the bicycle repairman, merchants, and "porters." The last named are men who transport goods for another person to a distant pasar and who receive their wages partly in money and partly in goods. Several of them do not own any land.

[482
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Those who own land outside Bontoramba live scattered over 57 of the total of 133 houses (1); 53 of these 57 are

1. In 54 houses there are people who own only sawah land elsewhere, in 14 those who own only dry land elsewhere. In 11 houses, therefore, there are people who own both sawahs as well as dry land.

occupied by members of the Kapala group, 4 by those of the Rest. According to these figures people of the Mangenre group do not seem to have land anywhere outside Bontoramba. It may well be that these figures are incorrect, probably too low, especially as regards the Mangenre group. The land-tax administration registered the names of landowners in each kampong, and it would thus be necessary to go through all the land-tax registers of South Celebes (there are a few thousand of them) in order to state with certainty that no other land than that reported are held by Bontoramba residents. And it is just among the individuals of the Mangenre group that one might expect to find that they have more land in their homeland of Pangkadjene (2).

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/41 cont./ 2. This suggestion is based both upon the figures following below for kampong Pakatto, the homeland of the Kapala group, as well as upon the impression obtained in the colonists' kampongs.

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/42/ I limited my investigation to the registers of the remaining kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë. In only 7 of these 13 were names of Bontoramba residents encountered by me. The distribution was as follows:

	Sawah Land	Dry Land	Number of Sawah-land Owners	Number of Dry-land Owners
Pagentungang.	1,432 ares	--	48	--
Songkolo . . .	280 ares	354 ares	4	5
Buttadidi . . .	684 ares	37 ares	23	3
Borong	308 ares	904 ares	6	8
Tjambaja. . .	1,428 ares	798 ares	21	5
Pakatto	514 ares		4	
Parang Banua .	54 ares		2	(1)

1. In Indonesian landholding statistics land held in mortgage or as security was always included.

A glance at the map shows that the first three kampongs border on Bontoramba, and that the fourth is situated very close to it. Kampong Pakatto was already mentioned as the one from which many of the present-day Bontoramba residents are derived;

423 /42 cont./ some of them still appear to have land there, ob-
471 tained through inheritance. The great number of landholdings in Tjambaja is connected with good reclamation opportunities there.

The people from Bontoramba own no land in 6 of the 14 kampongs of Borongloë. Their ownership is concentrated in their immediate vicinity, with the exception of Pakatto and Tjambaja. Territorial-administrative kampong boundaries, [612] therefore, do not seem to affect the relationship of kin groups to land. The distance from the house to the land does seem to be of importance. There is reason to assume that the number of Bontoramba residents owning land outside their adat community as well as inside it (with the exception of people from the Mangenre group) is inconsiderable.

In addition to the Bontoramba residents who have land outside Bontoramba, there are a number of persons residing outside Bontoramba who own /43/ land within the territory of Bontoramba. There were 90 such people. Of these, 68 lived in one of the 13 other kampongs of Borongloë. They owned, together, 1, 522 ares of sawah land and 1, 758 ares of dry land. In the adjoining kampongs of Buttadidi, Pagentungang, Songkolo, and Borong, there lived respectively 27, 8, 11, and 7 of these landowners. In addition, there are 3 more landowners who live in the kampongs of Pakatto, Parang Banua, Bontoa, and Borongkaluku, while in Kotjikang there are 2, and in Tjambaja 1. There does not appear to exist any special interest in Bontoramba territory on the part of Pakatto or Tjambaja residents; this was different the other way around.

The remaining 22 landowners, of whom 2 lived outside Goa and 20 within Goa but outside Borongloë, owned 645 ares of sawah land and 498 ares of dry land (1). Here it is only

1. Among these 22, there were 13 sawah owners and 10 dry-land owners. One man owned dry land in Bontoramba as well as a sawah.

423 /43 cont./ noteworthy that of these 20 landowners, 12 lived in
471 kampong Romangpolong situated very close to Bontoramba, where the Kapala of Bontoramba has a large number of kinsmen.

The following figures indicate how the sawah land is
471 distributed over the various houses.

556 The inhabitants of 25 out of the total of 133 houses own
612 more than 1 hectare of sawah land. Twenty-one of these are houses belonging to the Kapala group, and 4 belong to the Rest. The inhabitants of 8 of these 25 houses own more than 2 hectares, and of these, 7 belong to the Kapala group, 1 to the Rest. Only one man has more than 3 hectares; in fact, he owns 7.5 hectares of sawah land. He owes this to his own abilities.

The relationship of individuals to their land, as is apparent from these figures, may therefore be stated quite simply. The administrative kampong boundaries (2) do not appear to be

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2. The kapala collects the taxes on all land located in his kampong territory. He takes care that all men who live there and are able to perform work carry out their services. He reports offences committed in his district, etc.

relevant to the location of land which belongs to kampong residents. Landownership is not restricted by kampong territory.

311 The distance from the living quarters to the fields is,
423 generally speaking, small. The land of the majority of people is located in their own kampong and in one of the kampongs adjoining it. Those who owned land in Tjambaja also had land in Bontoramba itself. This shows that people do not purchase or work /44/ land at a greater distance away until they already own some in their immediate vicinity. The exchange of land
437 between people having land in each other's kampong of residence,
425 with the intention that both will have a piece of land close by, instead of one far removed from their house, occurs regularly.

428 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through
471 inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong
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1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there-
[241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

231 2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes,
556 goats, horses) among the
● 612 three groups is as follows:

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one
471 individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more
558 than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be re-
556 garded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

471 /46 cont./ had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his participation in the life of the kampong at this communal festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
●612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
[626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated, this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
773 "Lord of the Land," the following story was told. /47/

1. Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga," niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land," called Besenga.
2. Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

162 /51 cont. / 9 per cent of the total number of residents,
166 were born outside; 30 individuals (approximately 3. 5 per
621 cent) were born outside Goa Province.

The percentage of those born in Bontoramba appears to
162 be greater in the Kapala group, the most settled one, than
166 in the other two groups, namely 82 per cent as against 54
612 per cent in the Mangenre and 52 per cent in the Rest group.
621 The following table makes these percentages clear.

	Total Number of Individuals	Born Outside Bontoramba	Born Outside Bontoramba but Within Borongloë	Born Outside Borongloë but Within Goa	Born Outside Goa
Kapala Group	536	81	51	28	2
Mangenre "	94	42	17	5	20
Rest "	173	84	51	25	8
Residents of Kampong Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949	803	207	119	58	30

/52/ The large number of people in the Mangenre group
born outside Goa, namely 20 of the 42, is striking. In the
Kapala and the Rest group these numbers are 2 and 8
respectively of the 51. An explanation for this is to be found
162 in the fact that their land of origin lies outside Goa; many
166 of them were born there. This trend continues longer than
612 one would expect because people prefer children to be born
621 in the house, or at least in the land, where the mother was
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/52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

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2. Migrations

It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

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I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949). Births and deaths were not registered because they were not relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81

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/53 cont./ Kapala-group houses had remained unchanged in their composition, as well as 4 of the 19 belonging to the Mangenre group, and 14 of the 33 belonging to the Rest group.

Those who had been registered as residents of Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949 and who did not live there a year ago were registered as immigrants, and those who lived there on July 1, 1948 but who were no longer present on July 1, 1949 were registered as emigrants. Persons who in the course of the year had gone to live in another house in the kampong were registered as transmigrants (1). Distributed over the three

1. Transmigrants are counted once as individuals, but they bring about a change in the composition of two house /holds/s.

groups (Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest), one obtains the following picture of the mobility of individuals.

	Immigrants	Emigrants	Trans-migrants	Total Number of Individuals Who Changed Houses
Kapala	26	18	34	78 of a total of 536 members of the Kapala group
Mangenre	6	23	12	41 of a total of 94 members of the Mangenre group
Rest	10	12	4	26 of a total of 173 members of the Rest group
Total	42	53	50	145 of a total of 803 kampong residents as of July 1, 1949

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/53 cont./ This means, therefore, that over a period of one year, two-elevenths of all kampong residents changed houses.

The subdivision into Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest group shows that the largest migration took place in the Mangenre group, where almost /sic/ two-fifths of the group members moved, while in the Kapala and Rest groups approximately one-seventh of the members changed domicile. As a reason for this we could cite the fact that the Mangenre group most closely approximates what is called below a group of colonists. The members of such a group seem to form little attachment to their place of residence. Many of the Mangenre group moved away to Macassar, where, according to reports, they were able to earn more money than in Bontoramba.

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According to these figures, migration is just about equal among men and women. /54/ For 72 migrating men there are 73 migrating women.

The difference in migration between married and unmarried people does not seem to be great. Here one should differentiate the cases where only a married man or woman changes houses from the migration of a complete family unit.

In one year, 22 families with 35 children moved in Bontoramba, a total of 79 persons. In 8 of these 22 cases, a young couple moved away from the parental house. A two-family house in this way became a one-family house. This reflects the striving of each family to have its own house (1).

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1. A young man or woman who moved to his (her) spouse's family after marriage, thus changing a one-family dwelling into a two-family dwelling, was registered as a transmigrant.

Three families who wanted to live closer to their sawahs

186 /61 cont./ but the majority are only interested in owning
563 land back in the homeland.

Language and common residence strengthen, at least for the time being, the integration of the colonists.

The Worship Community

612 The Makassarese related group was defined as a group of
769 relatives whose members worship their ancestors at places and times designated for this purpose.

Participation in ancestor worship is linked to kinship. For instance, one whose grandparents were not related to each other, and whose two pairs of grandparents were not related to each other either, belongs to four different groups of relatives and may participate in the ancestor worship of all four different groups. In practice, an individual participates primarily in the worship of the group with which he lives. But he may also share in that of his kinsmen, even if he does
[557] not have daily contact with them. His choice in this is determined to a great degree by the social standing of these kinsmen. There is a demonstrable preference among people to turn to the prominent members of the related group in ritual matters.

769 Here we will first describe the most significant aspects of the ritual. Subsequently, we will make comparisons with the ornament ritual.

Essentials of the Ritual

In spite of local differences and despite personal viewpoints of the person carrying out the ritual, the pinati (1), there is

1. See pp. 82, 83.

a high degree of uniformity in the ritual prescriptions. A number of elements are to be found everywhere, such as rice, oil, incense, and water. Some actions /62/ are carried

769 /62 cont./ out in the same sequence in every instance. They will be briefly reported here.

[793] By donning a white headdress, the pinati makes himself distinguishable as the one who is going to bring about contact [777] between the living and their ancestors. The throwing of rice, usually in puffed form (bente), over the offerings is done because it is believed that rice brings good luck. The pinati sprinkles a circle of drops of oil around the offerings with the little oil bottle. After he has placed incense in a burning incense vessel, with the latter, he describes the same circle, first three times counterclockwise and then once clockwise. This done, he places the offering, the "parappo" (1), prepared

1. See p. 84.

by himself, inside the circle next to the offering bowls. Both the puffed rice as well as the parappo is momentarily held over the incense vessel each time for purposes of purification, so that whatever enters it will always be pure. An imaginary circle thus separates that which is brought into contact with the ancestors from the rest of the world. The pinati then places a few fingers of his right hand as it were against the circle and mumbles for a few moments. In so doing, the ritual is concluded.

What he mumbles is kept secret by the pinati. At the same time he always communicates the factual events to the ancestors. Thus, at the time of planting: "We have come here to report to you that we are going to plant; if we obtain a good harvest we will offer the best of it to you." Or at the harvest festival: "Here I bring you the best of my harvest."

The Pinati

612 The Pinati of Bontoramba was a kinsman of the Kapala.
793 His standing was high in his related group because of his personal qualities. He functioned as a regulator of marriages and

612 /62 cont./ always had a leading role at the conferences
793 concerning the expenses of the wedding feast, and so forth, which always precede the marriages. He knew the wedding song and was a valued expert on, and healer of, diseases. The title of such a functionary is sanro. With one single exception, he was called in for help in all these matters only by the members of the Kapala group. He further managed the harvest festival, which involved the entire territory /63/ of Bontoramba and in which, for that reason, members of other groups also took part. In ordinary life he did not distinguish himself either in clothing or outward appearance from other residents of Bontoramba.

796 He himself prepares the essence of what is offered, the
462 parappo. The further preparation of the ritual, which is very detailed and consumes a great deal of time, is carried out by the women. Each and every one of the women is better informed about ritual matters than the men. The preparation of the offerings, the hallowing of the water to be used at the ritual, the hallowing of the bowls and dishes from which they will eat, the finding of leaves of a special, prescribed nature necessary at the ritual, the making of the candles (kandjoli), all these are elements of the ritual taken care of by the women. They are also not activities familiar to every one of them. The names of the leaves and the arrangement of the offerings have their own significance. In these things one may not make a mistake. An informant once characterized the situation by saying, "Islam is the religion of the men, ancestor worship that of the women." Whenever there is no pinati present, therefore, one will see one of the older women taking his place. At small festivities concerning a /nuclear/ family, the women frequently conducted the ritual themselves. The pinati functions where the entire community is involved in the festival.

778 /63 cont./ The Parappo

796 The parappo belongs to the essential part of what is offered to the ancestors. The word means: "to offer or give something to a superior." The parappo is an insignificant-looking little bundle of pisang leaves of about the size of one or two fists full. Its contents seems to consist of betel leaves folded in various ways. Each way of folding has its proper name (for instance: poto, tontong lebong, putu rabing, kalomping). A little piece of areca nut and a very small amount of lime (paleo) goes with every betel leaf. The number of these leaves varies according to status. In the Prince of Goa's kin group the number 9 forms the basis of the parappo (1),

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> 1. By the number that forms the basis of the parappo is meant that a parappo consists in one case of 4 poto, 4 kalomping, etc., and in another case of 6 poto, 6 kalomping, etc.

while in the kin group of the head of the adat community it is 7. /64/ In that of kampong people, the numbers 7, 6, 5, and 4 occur.

612 A number of further differences should be pointed out
778 which vary with the related group. At the ritual on the
184 sawah, the number of leaves in some groups is a little smaller
796 than at a wedding or other kin group feast. Four and 6 respectively were the numbers in the Kapala group in Bontoramba. In a few groups of relatives a further distinction was observed between boys and girls. If the number of leaves for a boy is 6, then it is 7 for a girl (1). A distinction

> 1. These numbers were observed at a number of birthday festivals.

612 /64 cont. // is likewise made between the offering presented
778 to the ancestors in the attic and that which -- on the occasion
184 of the same festival -- is delivered into the water. At a
796 festival in the Kapala group the numbers were 6 and 7 respectively.

The Rojong Song

533 The rojong song constitutes another significant element
796 of the ritual. Old women hum the sounds unintelligibly and monotonously; the exact words frequently are not known to them. This song occurs at wedding feasts and other important solemnities in the related group, and it is coupled with the beating of drums (ganrang). The rojong song recorded in Borongloë before the war has disappeared. The woman who gave it to me was overcome by all kinds of misfortune. She was not prepared to repeat it to me.

Food Taboos

612 In a single related group there is awareness, however
262 feeble, that the members of the group may not eat a certain animal (2). In Goa it is still generally known, perhaps,

2. Dr. Chr. Nooteboom drew my attention to this phenomenon for the first time in 1939.

that the members of the karaëng group (the nobility) may not eat the meat of the white buffalo.

In the related group of the head of the Borongloë adat community the realization faintly continues that a certain type of eel may not be eaten. To explain this the following
773 story is told: A woman who had violated a prohibition was
612 punished for this with the task of carrying water in a basket
262 from the river to a certain place. The basket, however, did

773/64 cont. / not hold /65/ water. An eel appeared which curled
612 up inside it and in this way closed off the seams of the basket
262 with the slime of its skin, and in that way the woman was able to carry out her task. Out of gratitude she there upon vowed that she and her descendants would not eat the eel and its descendants.

[184] However, neither in the Kapala group nor in any of the other groups in Bontoramba were people able to produce such a story. Nor were they able to name a certain animal that a number of relatives were prohibited from eating.

Pantasa'

778 In the attics of Makassarese houses one frequently finds
769 a pantasa' (literally, "bedstead"). This is a little house on posts, from 70 to 100 centimeters tall, hung with mosquito netting. It has a small entrance going up to the front of the house (sapana) such as only the nobility possesses. In this little house one can see a small pillow and a little mat.

The care of these pantasa' primarily involves having a candle burn by its side every Thursday evening at sundown (malang Djuma') and always having ready a glass filled with water, a little bowl with betel and areca nuts, and a cup of water for washing one's hands, such as is customary at every meal. It is believed that the ancestors (pattautoaang) descend here. Therefore, care is taken at all times to leave whatever is customarily presented to an honored guest.

In or near these pantasa' is to be found a small closed basket (baku paballe, literally, "medicine basket"). A number of objects belonging to the ritual are kept in it. Next to the pantasa' one finds, in some cases, a large open basket (salosso), where the larger ritual objects are kept.

[648] It is told that formerly almost all the houses had their pantasa', but that in 1905 the Dutch troops destroyed a great number of them because they were used in blood sacrifices, which always had renewed opposition as a result. It is further

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is concentrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other. The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

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The Ornament-Worship Community

Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

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1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

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2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
794 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the daërah.

778 /69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other
617 ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament.
634 For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community
[726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

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/69 cont./ subordination, the weapons of the men of Borongloë were ritually painted with blood near that ornament, in preparation for the battle.

The history of this related group and its ornament has not become clear (1).

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1. Oral traditions are always fragmentary. Each group of relatives counts only a few men or women who know anything about the history of their kin group; Their knowledge is limited, however, to a few events, and these at the same time are only those which prove the greatness of the group. A regular narrative can never be obtained. Only in a concrete difficult situation does one of the most important members of the group tell how formerly in a similar situation the solution was found, and how, in his opinion, the conditions at present should be viewed and the difficulties solved. The narrator in so doing chooses his words so casually and easily that it is clear that he does not regard himself as tied to a certain text or even to details. On the contrary, one receives the impression

538 /69 cont./ that he improvises and illuminates the present-day state of affairs by the aid of a few data, just as seems to him best for his group at that moment. At the same time, he seems to be completely convinced of the 'objective' correctness of his representation of the historic facts.

612 794 /70/ The members of these two worship communities are the members of the local group of relatives, a few kinsmen residing outside the kampong boundaries, an occasional follower, and a very occasional slave, as well as possibly also a stranger who for some reason or other joins in the worship.

778 794 [654] Ornaments are therefore found in the kingdom, the adat community, and in the kampong. Nowhere is the worship community of an ornament sharply delimited. The larger the actual power of a group of relatives, the larger does the worship community of this group's ornament seem to be.

612 778 The relationship between the ornaments is a reflection of the actual power relation of the groups of relatives. Two occasions at which this could be observed will be reported.

796 778 612 1. At the ritual "purification of the land" (akawarru butta), which took place for the last time in Borongloë a number of years before the Second World War, the head with his kinsmen and followers carried the ornament of Borongloë through the various kampongs of the adat community. In each kampong they spent the night, a buffalo was killed, a celebration was held, and offerings were made at the ornament. In the kampongs where the people possessed an ornament, the

612 /70 cont./ subordination of the latter with respect to that of
778 Borongloë was expressed in the ritual. These festivities
796 strengthened the sense of solidarity within the adat community, and by the wealth displayed on these occasions, they raised the standing of Borongloë both in its own, as well as in others', eyes.

2. A few days before the inauguration of the new prince of Goa in 1947, the ornaments of Goa and of Borongloë encountered each other at a certain place located in Borongloë
[103] by the name of Tamarunang. The following myth is connected
539 with this place.

1. Pau-pauanna Tamarunang.	The story of Tamarunang.
2. Riolo, riwattu erona appare' kota Karaëngnga ri Goa,	A long time ago, when the Prince of Goa wanted to build a fort,
3. nanrai' assuro angngalle batu ri binangaja ri Songkolo.	he commanded his people to enter the interior in order to get rocks in the river near Songkolo. /71/
4. Naandjo tau angngallea batu narasai naalle batu aganna Barugaja ri Songkolo.	And the people who got the rocks at that time, accidentally brought back a rock such as lies near the Baruga of Songkolo (1).

[344]

1. A baruga (see Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 195) is a festival shed. At the spot designated as "the baruga of Songkolo," no festival shed is in existence, however. The rock which lies there today is the investiture rock of Borongloë.

/72 cont./

539 djaia niareng Tamarunang.

that it should be called "the one not falling off the raft" (Tamarunang).

612 778 796 The explanation of the name is clear. In addition, the relationship of Tamarunang to Songkolo and to Goa is indicated.

In conversations that I had in 1948 concerning the significance of this encounter of the ornaments, the Prince emphasized the fact that it expresses the subordination of Borongloë to Goa. For the rest, the case was presented as being insignificant. As for Borongloë, the head declared that by means of this ritual Borongloë had lent support to Goa, without which this country would have been regarded as severely weakened.

If one is to conceive of the rock in the myth as a symbol of Borongloë, then the independence of Borongloë in relation to Goa is here clearly represented (1).

1. The narrator was the Kapala of Bontoramba.

612 778 A group of relatives without an ornament seems to exercise only little actual power. The relationship of opposition between prominent members of this group appears to be the most important reason for this.

Where an ornament is present, the oppositions existing between prominent members of the related group are not removed. In a number of cases they merely recede into the background behind an appearance of unity. Where the local relationships give rise to it, such oppositions come to the fore, possibly with even greater bitterness. The fraternal struggle of Sidenreng is a classic example of this (2).

2. See pp. 159-161.

Where there is an ornament, two groups of relatives may sometimes merge into one. An example will serve to illustrate this point.

634 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man
612 in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived
621 together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua. When he became head in that year, the members of both groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to
[361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration, the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua, as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen from at least two of these groups.

571 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course
612 of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the
[278] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around the adat community head. The tendency toward separation is increased by the difficulty of communication across the Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie
[764] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
764 to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

592 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth
612 in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
669 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past," he wrote in 1883 (2).

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

532 /74 cont./ After the subjection of the princes of South
778 Celebes in 1905, this period of the tomanurung had passed,
612 however. Tomanurung were thought to deceive and to disturb
669 the peace. They were no longer given an opportunity to create a federation. In spite of this, however, the belief in the tomanurung did not disappear.

It may be that the Kapala of Bontoramba counts on the possibility of a tomanurung appearing who will unite his presently well-integrated group with a number of neighboring groups into a federation. The group from which the ornament of the federation is derived will, as a matter of course, have the leadership. The Kapala is prepared for this. The image is, as it were, an ornament in statu nascendi /in the nascent state/.

The Sacred Spot of Borongloë

778 A five-minute walk from the head's house leads to a
773 grove, the so-called "Flat Rock," (batu lappara') of Borongloë (3). On it /75/ stood, according to the myth, the

[103]

3. Many call the rock batu napara', which according to Matthes' dictionary (p. 635) means "a smooth rock with the bottom part in the water; a rock that is stretched out flat."

ancestral couple of the present-day head's group of relatives, at the moment when they made their final statements to the people prior to ascending to heaven (1).

1. Friedericy relates this myth in his own words in his dissertation. See there, pp. 506 ff.

557 /83 cont./ A certain equality of marriage partners is
581 assumed. One who has gone up in standing through personal qualities and who on the basis of this is able to marry off one of his children to a member of a group that is actually regarded as a little higher has attained the highest goal. It becomes apparent to everyone that through this marriage he has risen in standing. The standing that he has thus built up is, as it were, fixed by this circumstance. In a later social evaluation of his children, his achievement is used as a basis of judgment. His kinsmen honor in him the man who has raised the standing of their group, for as kinsmen they are, and remain in principle, his equals and thus rise with him. Compared with other
[585] festivals of the Makassarese, wedding feasts are the most valuable in view of the economic capacity of the group. More than any others, they are the gauge of social standing.

584 The choice of a marriage partner is an affair which cannot
557 be left to the young people themselves. It is a matter for the elders and, preferably, the prominent elders of the group of relatives. They look for what they consider the best solution; they weigh and balance the possibilities, and through their collaboration the marriages finally come about. In all this, a certain marriage policy is apparent.

557 In the marriage policy of the elders, two opposing
581 tendencies are to be found. On the one hand, there exists the striving for a closely cohesive related group whose members
612 marry each other as much as is possible. On the other hand, there is the striving to establish relations with members of other groups of relatives, preferably those who rank just a little higher. A successful policy is achieved by the person who is able to realize his aim in both directions and who, at the same time, /84/ is able to bring about harmony between the two. Those who constitute the average in the group of relatives as regards their social standing, soon satisfy themselves with the first-mentioned aim. The prominent members of the group tend, rather, to direct their interests outside their own group.

557 /84 cont./ The marriage policy of the elders is, therefore,
581 to be regarded as a part of their striving toward raising the
612 standing of the group. As an example we shall here give the policy conducted by the adat community head of Borongloë in bringing about the seven marriages of his children solemnized between 1938 and 1948. The marriage policy is never formulated in this form. Those who conduct it are not conscious of it. They merely do what seems best to them in given circumstances.

The adat community head himself was married to a daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community, situated outside the kingdom of Goa. His eldest son was the first to be married, to a girl from this group of relatives, a sixth-degree cousin. The already existing tie with his wife's kin group was thereby strengthened.

His second son was married to the daughter of a well-known tradesman, a hadji, from Macassar, a business contact and at the same time an old friend with whom he had made an agreement at an early age to have their children marry later. When this marriage appeared to be rather unsuccessful after a number of years, it was dissolved. A new marriage was subsequently contracted with the daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community. In this case a member of the Self-government of Goa gave his cooperation.

The third son, who was employed as a provincial official in Buginese country, married there after his own choice. Such an alternative will be described later.

The fourth, as a favor to his father, had been taken, as a young man into his house by a member of the Self-government of the kingdom of Goa, who had subsequently arranged a marriage with the daughter of one of his other favorites, a wealthy Buginese merchant. The father had, in effect, given this son to the member of the Goa Self-government. He had no further influence on the latter's choice of a marriage partner.

557 /84 cont./ The fifth child, a girl, married her eighth-
581 /85/ degree cousin, a grandson of the old Imam of Borongloë.
612 In so doing, the kin-group tie with the first religious official of the adat community was established on a firmer basis.

The members of the adat community head's widespread group of relatives reside in almost three kampong territories. The sixth child, again a son, married the daughter of the head of one of these kampongs. In this case the adat community head and the kampong head were first cousins.

Finally, the seventh child, a girl, married one of her sixth-degree cousins residing in one of these other kampongs.

584 On the basis of this example, a number of comments can be made.
612

1. The adat community head, the father, was in this case the central figure who brought about the various marriages of his children. But this is not necessarily always so. If one witnesses several weddings successively in various houses of the same kampong and in one and the same related group, one will be struck by the fact that in each case the same elders are instrumental in arranging all details of the ceremonies. The parent concerned is consulted, but the actual leadership is in the hands of others. The same seems to be the case, if one investigates who brought the marriage partners together. The matter, to be sure, is discussed with the children's own parents, but it is of such importance to the related group that it cannot simply be left to them. If they make suggestions, these are taken into account. If they come to talk, they are given advice. But if they do nothing, other prominent members of the group take the initiative.

584 2. Just as the marriage of the fourth son was organized,
565 regulated, and paid for by a member of the high nobility, the adat community head in his turn likewise brought about a large number of marriages of his subordinates in the course of the years, sometimes after they had made their preference apparent to him, sometimes on his own initiative (1).

554 /241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely de-
612 limited group and that the standing of relatives among each
684 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
689 found -- with one single exception: the karaëng and the
[562] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.

[95 cont.]

793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These orna-
[293 ments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of
778] the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was
[74] the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his property. [96] His power was extended more and more because he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was prob-
[636 ably the only native jurisdictional community on southern
634] Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people, however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their position from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornament-
[631] ships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.

565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes, the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature
641 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treatment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng, sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became. The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary and could be severed by either side.

[714] Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the
582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy
583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

121 /5 cont./ The head of the adat community of Borongloë,
[63] one of the approximately ten adat communities which formed the province of Goa, was to be my host. I was able to agree to the choice of this adat community of around 14, 000 individuals, since the location in relation to Macassar was favorable; since the head was an energetic young man who made a pleasant impression on /6/ me and who, moreover, knew Dutch, a circumstance which could only facilitate the first contact; and finally, since, as soon became apparent to me, in this region there were no special vexations or corruptions, which frequently create an atmosphere hindering an investigation.

123 The investigator who has found a place to live in the kampong can henceforth avoid the old "adat experts" with great ease. As elsewhere in Indonesia, they constitute a barrier between the investigator and the object of his investigation.

[115] My host was a figure full of vitality who could not possible sit at home for any length of time and who preferred to roam through his domain, talking everywhere, settling things, and
[62] drinking coffee. His roving nature had the advantage that I was introduced to many houses of all 14 kampongs of the adat community in the most pleasant way imaginable and thus received a rough general view of what went on. It had the disadvantage that there could be no question of regular daily conversations of any length concerning the facts observed by myself.

At his house I became acquainted with the manner in which this headman's kin group /familie/ treated its servants and other underlings, and I received a first insight into Makassarese kin group /familie/ and nuclear family /gezin/ relationships. Not till then did the important position that the group of relatives /ver wantengroep/ occupies in Makassarese life among those of higher as well as of low /social status/ become clear to me. Therefore, not until then was it possible to attempt a closer analysis and to look around for a group of relatives that could be considered for this purpose.

121 /6 cont./ My choice of a group in kampong Bontoramba (1)

[621] 1. One of the 14 kampongs that form the adat community of Borongloë.

was mainly determined by three factors. in the first place this group seemed to display a great amount of cohesion; it had already repeatedly become apparent to me that members of this group were married to each other. In the second place, the kampong head, a prominent man in this group, had seemed favorably disposed toward me on a number of occasions. Thirdly, one of my best informants was married to the daughter of that [115] head. And, finally, the kampong was located so that, compared with many of the others, it was within easy reach.

121 In writing up data it had become evident to me earlier that indefinite quantitative adjectives had to be called in repeatedly 125 to describe /7/ relationships without the picture of the related group becoming clear at the same time; the "many" unmarried women, the "few" divorces, the "regular" occurrence of marriages by flight, and the "frequent" marriages of members of the same generation, all these statements are, in the end, not very meaningful. A kampong survey in which attention was paid to all these points seemed to be the best method of obtaining a clearer insight into a great variety of relationships. The first survey took place as early as 1940. However, the material was lost. Not until 1948 did the opportunity present itself to repeat the survey. A kampong territory has fixed boundaries, and since neither the worship of ornaments, the grouping of statuses, nor, finally, kin relationship offered a foothold, I chose this territorial unit as the starting point for further research.

125 The registration took place from house to house and was carried out on the basis of the following questions: 1. the names of the inhabitants of the house; 2. their mutual kin relationship; 3. their place of birth; 4. their kin relationship to the head

125 /7 cont./ of the kampong. In case someone was not related to the Kapala or his wife, it was established whether he was related to a certain Mangenre, who, as soon became evident to me, occupied a central position in a group of relatives of around 100 Buginese. If this did not appear to be the case either, I looked for kinship connections with neighboring houses. In this way a first general view of the size of the groups of relatives in one kampong territory came into focus.

July 1, 1948 was chosen as the date for the survey.

125 In further analysis of the data it appeared that the mobility which had already been noted for the adat community head
166 and which actually was regarded as a troublesome quality by him personally was a trait occurring generally in Makassarese society. This mobility, however, was not reflected in the original figures. For this reason a second survey was carried out a year after the first one. At this time the names of the occupants of the houses were noted down again, and, in cases where there was a divergence from the compilation of the previous year, the reason that led to migration was ascertained and the place where the immigrant had come from and to which the emigrant had gone were noted down.

In so doing, I considered as immigrants those who entered the kampong, and as emigrants those who /8/ left it. Finally, those who changed houses within the kampong in the course of the year were registered as transmigrants.

121 The investigation of the related group thus led to a further investigation into a particular quality of the group: its mobility. This mobility ultimately led to an investigation into the migration of the Makassarese into Buginese country and on some aspects concerning the life of such colonists.

[36] Living Conditions

[62] Kampong Bontoramba is an hour from Macassar by bicycle across an asphalt motor road. A stay in the kampong therefore
123 can neither be compared with one on a remote island nor with

621 /15 cont./ Kampong Bontoramba has approximately
[161] 800 residents. There one finds one of the two public schools
[368] which the entire adat community of more than 14, 000 individuals boasts. Along the large road a bicycle repair shop has arisen, and there are more coffee warong /shops/ than in many other places. A large group of Buginese, attracted by a
166 great deal of fallow land and good transportation facilities, has built its houses there in the course of the last 20 years. The Makassarese who live there at present arrived no more than 60 years ago. Coming and going never takes place en masse in Makassarese country. In successive stages a pioneer receives more members of his kin group in his house; by successive stages other people move away.

[554 A certain period of settlement by a large group is /16/
565] noted mostly when a man of high nobility moves and many follow him. Formerly, in periods of insecurity for the individual, this was probably a more usual manner of migration, but today it no longer is. Thus, around 1900, a large number of kinsmen coming from kampong Pakatto, situated eight kilo-
[621] meters further up the road, settled in Bontoramba. As kinsmen /familiele den/ constituting a part of the same related group /ver wantengroep/ they organized themselves anew in Bontoramba and adjusted to the new circumstances, at the same time striving for the realization of the usual Makassarese ideals. To this end, they followed the old Makassarese adat.

The Bilateral Related Group

612 The Makassarese related group /ver wantengroep/ should
621 be described as a bilateral endogamous group of relatives (1)

1. Kin relationship is indicated by the term sibidja or sipamanakkang.

whose members worship their ancestors (pattautoaang) at the places and times designated, and at the same time as a group

→

612 /16 cont./ living together in the same territory (pa'rasangang),
621 whose members till the soil. Two pairs of opposing tendencies are observable here. In contrast to a striving toward endogamy, a much weaker striving to enter into marriage with non-kinsmen can be observed. In contrast to a striving to live together in the same territory, there exists an urge to disperse.

631 The Makassarese-Buginese section of the daërah /district/ of South Celebes is at present divided into provinces. Each /landsdrap/ consists of a number of territorial units, frequently called adat communities /adatgemeenschappen/. Each adat community in turn consists of a number of territorial units frequently called kampongs. The boundaries between provinces, between adat communities, and between kampongs are fixed on maps. This is a situation which anyone can immediately notice.

114 In addition it repeatedly appears in the literature that the writers are conscious of the fact that kin relationship
602 plays a very important role among the Makassarese. The foreigner observes that a Makassarese not only lives with kinsmen in one house, but also that he has kinsmen scattered throughout the country./17/ But no statements can be found in the literature with regard to the precise nature of kin relationship and its relation to the clearly discernible territorial division, and there exist only vague notions among foreigners who have become thoroughly acquainted with South Celebes, as well as among the Makassarese themselves.

124 Therefore, in carrying out this investigation, it was not possible to isolate a certain group of relatives as an object of observation; the boundary lines were always vague. The only form of grouping which was clearly outlined and which could therefore better serve as a starting point was the territorial one (1).

124 /17 cont./ who now wished to improve his position by being
612 regarded as a distant kinsman of the Kapala. It was the
daughter of the Kapala himself who made it clear to him that
[608] his opinion could not possibly be correct. /18/ Furthermore,
[609] the strangers; that is to say, the non-kinsmen married to a member of the Kapala group, whose children thus also belonged to this group, were likewise counted among the Kapala related group.

In the sole instance in which -- while the married couple
124 were not related to each other -- individual kinsmen of the
612 man, as well as of the woman (who belonged to the Kapala
592 group), lived in their house, the man's kinsmen were not included in the Kapala group; he himself was.

Aside from traceable relatives, a number of relatives by
124 marriage were therefore also counted among the related group.
612 The latter should accordingly be defined more accurately as a traditional bilateral endogamous group of relatives.

Among the Buginese, none of whom were related to the Kapala, a prominent man called Mangenre was used for the same purpose as the Kapala in the first group, so that with respect to the occupants of a number of houses, it can be said that they belong to Mangenre's group of relatives. With regard to the occupants of the remaining houses, the mutual kinship
[128] relationship, insofar as it existed, could then be easily established. For the sake of convenience, the first group will be called the Kapala group, the second the Mangenre group, and the last the Rest group.

The result of this investigation showed that of a total of 129
●621 houses, the Kapala group occupied 81, the Mangenre group 18, and that the Rest group lived in the remaining 30 houses.
[612] The latter's members belonged to 13 different groups of relatives. The members of one group of the Rest group lived distributed over nine houses; those a second group over five houses, and those of a third over three houses. In three cases persons related to each other occupied two houses, and in the

621 /18 cont./ remaining seven houses lived persons who, aside from their housemates, had no other kin in Bontoramba.

[602] All these people, however, from the members of the Kapala group to those of the occupants of the seven last-named houses, have kinsmen living outside Bontoramba -- sometimes also outside Borongloë, and sometimes even partly outside Goa. These outside kinsmen sometimes live in small groups of just a few houses, and sometimes in larger numbers. Summarizing the genealogical picture of the kampong territory 612 621 /19/ of Bontoramba, it is possible to state that 15 (1) larger

1. 1 group of 81 houses.
   1 group of 18 houses.
   1 group of 9 houses.
   1 group of 5 houses.
   1 group of 3 houses.
   3 groups of 2 houses.
   7 groups of 1 house. A total, therefore, of 15 different groups of relatives over a total of 129 houses. This count took place between June 25 and July 1, 1948.

and smaller segments of groups of relatives live together there. All individuals at the same time possess elsewhere, that is to say, outside of Bontoramba, one or more other, larger or smaller, segments of their groups of relatives. Furthermore, it appears that the Kapala group is strongly integrated, the Mangenre group weakly integrated, and that the Rest group cannot be called integrated at all.

This result displays a divergence from the definition of the related group given above in two respects. In the definition, as we have seen, the emphasis was placed upon the existence of a certain unity on the part of a genealogical group and its territory. First of all, one encounters several genealogical

612 19 cont. groups in one territory and, secondly, it appears
621 that a genealogical group lives scattered over several territories. Both deviations from the initially advanced principle demand closer elaboration.

166 In the first place, certain historical factors which contributed
178 to the development of this situation should be pointed out. These are increase in population, greater security since the
621 year 1905, and irrigation by which sawah cultivation became possible in districts hitherto unsuited for this, with the result that migration of small groups took place with much greater frequency than was previously necessary or possible. To an increasing degree, strangers requested permission to settle in a certain kampong territory (2).

> 2. Such, at least, is the official decree; in practice permission is not asked until the house has already been built and the sawah has already been broken.

621 In the second place, the difference in meaning of the term "kampong territory" at the present time and half a century ago should be pointed out. At that time the boundary of a territory coincided with the boundary of the power exercised by the related group residing in that region. The boundary changed in proportion to the power exercised by this group segment. This applied in the first place to /20/ the boundaries of the present-day kampongs. It also applied to a lesser degree to the boundaries of the present-day adat communities and provinces. After the arrival of the Dutch East Indies Government
621 in the region of the principalities in 1905, maps were made
648 in the course of the first few decades, and the boundaries
631 were indicated on them. The situation at that time was essentially fixed. Within the established boundaries, displacements of power subsequently took place. Territorial and power boundaries, therefore, no longer coincided at that time.

612 /20 cont./ A kampong head was appointed to rule over a
621 kampong territory. This head thereby also obtained authority
622 over the members of other groups of relatives which gradually
631 came to live in that territory. Formerly, it is probably true to say, such a new group would have built up a small power center of its own there and would have displaced the existing one. Today such a group must actualize such a striving for power within fixed territorial administrative boundaries. This occurs frequently through a struggle for the headship of the region concerned, whether it is a kampong, an adat community, or a kingdom. The idea remained that a genealogical group should be in command of the territory inhabited by this group, and thus also of all those who lived in it. The striving for this can be observed repeatedly.

612 This striving is always directed primarily against the other
621 group living in the territory which approaches the first-mentioned most closely in standing, in this case, therefore, the Mangenre group. But in view of the fact that this group is small and little integrated, the members of the Kapala group do not feel themselves threatened, and accordingly little is perceptible of their striving.

The same picture that was here given with regard to Bontoramba can also be observed in the majority of the other kampongs. A sample made in 1940 in kampong Pakatta indicated that there two groups of relatives of almost equal size resided in the kampong territory with a few separate households (a very small Rest group, therefore).

The only related group in the adat community which
[634] occupied an entire kampong territory practically by itself was that of the adat community head. Members of this group live distributed over two to three kampong territories. As the headman's group of relatives, however, they stand in contrast to all other Borongloë groups of relatives in the adat community
[567] territory. A few households of slaves (1) and a few separate

1. See below pp. 149 ff.

[567]
612 /20 cont./ households are the only non-kinsmen who live in
621 their kampong territory. /21/ In each case, therefore, one encounters two more or less strongly integrated groups of relatives per territory, with, in addition, a nonintegrated Rest group regarded as small and insignificant.

612 Furthermore, it appeared that members of one and the same related group lived scattered all over South Celebes. In this respect, too, there is therefore no question of unity between a related group and its territory. The reason for this is evident. For this it is first necessary to show how a related group should be conceived.

The territorial division taken as a starting point in the investigation described above has the advantage of making a sharp demarcation possible, namely a division between houses inside and outside the kampong border. The related group as a genealogical unit lacks these sharply defined boundaries. An individual frequently belongs to more than one group of relatives, and people who are closely related to each other, first cousins, for instance, thus often belong not only to a common kin group, but also to mutually distinct ones. This is a direct consequence of the fact that marriages are regularly contracted between people who are not of the same kin group.

582 A child resulting from such a marriage may contract an
611 endogamous marriage either in his father's group of relatives
612 or in that of his mother, because through his father he belongs to the latter's related group, and through his mother to hers. And where father and mother in their turn were born to a man and wife who were not related to each other, the same child can contract an endogamous marriage in any one of the four different groups of relatives of the four grandparents. After all, he belongs to four different groups of relatives.

612 It is clear that a division of the Makassarese into sharply distinguished groups of relatives is fully imaginary.. Each individual belongs to more than one group of relatives and would therefore also have to be apportioned to more than one such

476 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened
602 by this. A household that is apart from the others can request
476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency,
558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever
609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior.
592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower
361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 Differences are thus observable between a household which
612 lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in
621 the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of
592 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30
592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

166 /50 cont./ thirdly, colonizations. The latter refers to the movements of Makassarese to Buginese districts. /51/

162 1. The Relationship of Place of Residence to Place of Birth
●621 / Of the 803 residents of kampong Bontoramba on July 1, 1949,
166 207 were born outside the kampong. Almost 75 per cent of the total therefore lived in their native kampong (1).

1. Sorokin, in his work Social Mobility (pp. 381 ff.) compares the territorial circulation of individuals in societies of western Europe with that in India. His book was published in 1927, and his figures are a quarter of a century old. From these figures it appears that in West Europe of that time, specifically in France, 57.2 per cent of the rural population was born in the district where it resided at the moment of registration. For India, on the other hand, according to the census of 1901, this percentage was more than 90 per cent. Sorokin draws the conclusion, which moreover was established upon the basis of numerous other data, that western Europe displayed a much greater territorial mobility than India.

Of the 207, 119 were born outside Bontoramba but within the adat community of Borongloë; the rest, 88, or approximately

162 /51 cont./ 9 per cent of the total number of residents,
166 were born outside; 30 individuals (approximately 3.5 per
621 cent) were born outside Goa Province.

The percentage of those born in Bontoramba appears to
162 be greater in the Kapala group, the most settled one, than
166 in the other two groups, namely 82 per cent as against 54
612 per cent in the Mangenre and 52 per cent in the Rest group.
621 The following table makes these percentages clear.

	Total Number of Individuals	Born Outside Bontoramba	Born Outside Bontoramba but Within Borongloe	Born Outside Borongloe but Within Goa	Born Outside Goa
Kapala Group	536	81	51	28	2
Mangenre "	94	42	17	5	20
Rest "	173	84	51	25	8
Residents of Kampong Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949	803	207	119	58	30

/52/ The large number of people in the Mangenre group born outside Goa, namely 20 of the 42, is striking. In the Kapala and the Rest group these numbers are 2 and 8 respectively of the 51. An explanation for this is to be found
162 in the fact that their land of origin lies outside Goa; many
166 of them were born there. This trend continues longer than
612 one would expect because people prefer children to be born
621 in the house, or at least in the land, where the mother was
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/52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

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2. Migrations

It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

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I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949). Births and deaths were not registered because they were not relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81

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563 /59 cont./ Many young colonists return to the homeland
582 in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

In addition the small percentage of silariang marriages
563 is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible
583 to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find silariang so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of silariang marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on
342 lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong
563 residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the
184 Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the com-
186 mon language constitutes a unifying element for these
563 colonists.

● 621 The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
714 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the daerah.

778 /69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other
612 ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament.
634 For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community
[726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

634 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man
612 in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived
621 together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua.
When he became head in that year, the members of both
groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both
he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to
turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to
[361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where
the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest
of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was
somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration,
the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from
Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on
Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with
a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three
kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua,
as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen
from at least two of these groups.

571 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course
612 of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups
of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A
number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have
already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated
related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the
[278] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the
most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit
with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around
the adat community head. The tendency toward separation
is increased by the difficulty of communication across the
Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance
of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of
marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie
[764] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

793 /124 cont./ burial, and grave visits insofar as Moslem ritual must take place there.

602 793 The gurukampong therefore deals directly with the intimate kin-group life, and for that reason people prefer a kinsman to fulfill his function. A group of kinsmen living together in one kampong territory, in addition to the Kapala group, consequently has its own guru (1). In one kampong territory one finds,

> 1. In Bontoramba, the Mangenre group (18 houses) has its own guru. A number of other Buginese residing there are also helped by this man. The others, Makassarese, in cases when they require it, ask for help from the guru of the Kapala group.

therefore, in many cases one or even two gurus working for their own kin groups, in addition to the actual gurukampong. They try to enter into direct contact with the imam. This provides them with an independent position toward the guru of the Kapala group. Sometimes (as in Bontoramba) the kapala [622] permits this. The guru of the Kapala group must then content himself with that. But the kapala and his guru, as well as the imam, can oppose this attempt.

621 622 666 /125/ Where the Kapala group is not the only one in the kampong but by far and away the largest, a struggle can frequently be observed, even though it has not yet assumed any distinct form. Wherever two almost equally large groups live next to each other in a single territory, the struggle comes more clearly to the fore. An example of this is to be found at the election of a new kapala. Election takes place, according to the election regulation of 1927, by the majority of votes of the able-bodied men. The struggle is conducted, on the one hand, through attempts to attach the kampong residents who do not belong to either of the two competing groups of relatives to one's side; and, on the other hand, by strengthening the tie with the adat community head; or, if this is possible,

621 /125 cont./ by interesting a member of the high nobility in
622 the case. Their help is of importance because (although this
66L is not based upon the election regulation) sometimes they de-
clare the ballot invalid, or else report afterward that only a
test ballot had been held, in case the result did not agree with
their wishes (1).

[648]

1. The 1927 regulation of the election of headmen is therefore not applied as was intended by the European administration which introduced it. Majority of votes is, according to Makassarese feelings, not sufficient in itself to capture the kapalaship. To this end, the consent of their own head is also required. This regulation, therefore, does not preclude arbitrary actions on the part of the higher people, but it does limit them.

622 The kapala can strengthen his position by establishing
662 a link with other kapala. The proved means of doing this is
634 to contract a marriage. But this action would immediately result in a power formation within the adat community, which the adat community head does not like to see. To an even greater degree this is the case if a kapala were to seek contact with a neighboring adat community head. Such an act would suggest a certain enmity toward the kapala's own /adat community/ head, for it is an immediate threat of defection from
177 his own head to the neighboring head. Insofar as is known,
634 the latter situation rarely occurred, because after 1905 these
648 defections were no longer left to the free interplay of

Malays AN5
Makassar OG6
Javanese OE5
Tenggerese OE8
Mentawi OD9

OB1 Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Batak OD5
Gorontolo OG4
Moluccas OH1
New Guinea OJ1

I Br 342 621 162 [66 cont.] average a man, woman, and two children, thus 600 persons, all belonging to one family [familie] (1). Not only among the

1. Bijdragen T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Indië, 4th series, 5th part, p. 305. Perelaer, Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks, p. 128.

MO NG MI G Bt 342 621 591 Dajak, but also among the other uncivilized tribes one finds a number of family units living together in one great house, for example, among the Batak, the Alfoer of north Celebes (2), in

2. Riedel, Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, pp. 486 and 493.

T J MK I 342 621 174 591 the Moluccas, among the Papuans, and even among the so much more highly developed Malays on central Sumatra (3). One can

3. Verkerk Pistorius, op. cit., p. 40.

state that this way of living was formerly common. Among some peoples this situation has already given way to another in which each dwelling is the residence of only one family unit and consequently the houses are smaller, as among the Javanese, Makassarese, Buginess, and others. On Java, too, however, a number of family units undoubtedly lived together in a single dwelling. As evidence for this, the living together custom is still found among the pagans of the Tengger Mountains.

Bt T Mt MI Br I 342 As we have noted, the houses are very large. Two types can be distinguished: in the first place, the houses that are built lengthways; and, secondly, those that have been built sideways. Generally, however, they have the first form and are very long, but comparatively narrow. Among the Dajak, they may be 250 ells long, but only 20 to 30 ells wide. Boyle saw a house that was 1,000 feet (380 ells) long. This is also found

Now regarding the kampong itself: the name of the kampong is Bukaka and it is located in the wanua Tanette Riattang, which is under the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang. The Sulewatang Tanette Riattang lives in Watampone. He is different from the Aru Tanette Riattang, who has no wanua, but who is one of the central seven princes. The head of the kampong has the title Mado Bukaka. He is a fine fellow and seems like a better character than most of the bangsawan. His father and his father's father and so on back have headed the kampong for countless generations. He is not a noble, says the Sulewatang. The Sulewatang also says that his ramp is not "genuine". Council is held in neither kampong nor wanua. If there are legal proceedings in the kampong the Kepala kampong may call in a notable or two to help. If there is a legal case in the wanua, the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang will call in maybe three or four (never all) kepala kampongs to help. If there is really a big legal case, it goes to the Hadat Tinggi in Watampone. There are fifteen kepala kampongs in the wanua. In most of the kampongs there are several smaller kampongs (two, three, or more), somewhat like hamlets. The Sulewatang used the term lingkongan [circle]. 361 622 632 623 632 692 621 632

The next day we got down to the work involving a rough map and a ground plan. The kampong abuts on Watampone, indeed it is actually a continuation of it. Thus one side of the market street is Watampone and the other is the kampong. There are several stores on the kampong side. I asked if the Chinese there would say that they were living in the kampong. The answer was no, but that they would say they lived in Watampone. Thus it is a kind of false border. Also, the big, beautiful, new mosque of Watampone is within the kampong borders. But the kampong is evidently not too important and Watampone is in the same wanua, that is, in wanua Tanette Riattang. The kampong itself is the western-most of the kampongs in this wanua, and the western border goes along with the eastern border of wanua Palaka (kampong Tjabalu). On the north is wanua Awampone (kampong Tjelapa). On the east is another kampong, Ta, of wanua Tanette Riattang. And, of course, Watampone is to the south. As one enters the kampong of Bukaka coming from the main center of Watampone, one goes along the main street for four kilometers from south to north, from the Watampone border to Tjelapa. On entering Bukaka one sees the great mosque and the large house of an Arab, both structures being white and blue, an ironic combination. It is a great misfortune that Mohammedanism got in here. From the main road (the Kepala kampong's house is not far from the Watampone border) to 126 621 632 101 131 102

621 the border of wanua Palaka, kampong Tjabalu on the west,
632 it is four kilometers also. This western part is thus a
101 square. On the east side of the road, along the Watampone
131 border, it is only six hundred meters along the street to
102 the Ta border. But then the east border sweeps eastward in a long curve so that on the northern side along the border of Tjelapa, the northern border runs two kilometers from the main road. (See rough map, page 46, field notes)[P.266 here]

871 There are two schools in Bukaka, one a religious school
435 and the other a village school. They are near the Watampone
556 border on the main road, or just off it. There are also ten private Koran schools. There are about six hundred hadjis here. I met one, a smug young man. And I teased him about being one of the few rich men in town, but he said that it was perhaps, if the family resources were pooled, six thousand guilders. He remarked that ten thousand guilders was really a great fortune here. Incidentally, the Sulewatang said that the high figures given for the old days were somewhat off. Prices were overvalued.

131 In the wanua, running eastward to the sea from Bukaka, are
361 the kampongs Penyula and Ta side by side; then Paopao, Tibodjong (very small) and Tamaüsing, side by side; then Toro, Tjelu, Lapobatua, Biru, and Palingorung, all side by side (the latter two jut out to the south); then Badjoë and Maloi, side by side (the former on the sea, the latter juts out to the south); and finally, along the curve of the sea, Rompe. I forgot to say that these really do not jut out, as Watampone is also part of the wanua and it is to the south of Bukaka, Ta, Tamaüsing. Thus the appearance seems to be roughly that
621 of a triangle. Aside from Watampone, each of the fifteen kampongs has a kepala kampong. And within each of the kampongs there are varying numbers of hamlets. Thus Bukaka has three, Penyula has one, Ta three, Paopao two, Tibodjong one, Tamaüsing one, Lapobatua one. I could not get any information on the other kampongs, but will find out later. The biggest kampongs, in order, are: Tjelu, Bukaka, Badjoë. Others are small. Bukaka is the oldest.

368 The big misigit [mesjid, mosque] is used by Bukaka, Ta, and Watampone. Other kampongs having misigit are: Penyula, Badjoë, Paopao, Lapobatua, and Palingorung, thus there are six in all.

632 In Bone, Andi says, there are twenty-one wanua. Seven
565 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, however, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

000 Mission, Timor. He said that the Catholics have a great organization, and that they do not force Christianity. They do not try to change the habits and clothing of the people. They tell the natives to do as they wish, and change as they please. But the Protestants force changes in clothing, tell them that they are damned if they do not change, etc. On Flores, west of Endeh, the Jesuits have worked far up into the mountains. They had a printing press in Endeh. They also have model farms, including a dairy. They train and educate the young, for example, they have trained the best agricultural man in Timor. He is a native priest who was sent to Wageningen, and then on his return was put into the governmental service. He pays rich returns because he is in the intimate councils of the government and knows all about the radjas, etc. Thus, by clever work, the Catholics have gained much control. Timor is not so good, as it is more influenced by the Protestants. This, of course, is the opinion of van der Wetering (whose views I do not always trust, but he may have something here). He said the system of the Jesuits is that when they start a mission they get money for five years. After that it must be self-supporting. And according to him it usually is.

565 Balombaru: Classes existed (exist?) within the slave
567 group too, and it is not the usual hereditary as against new slave idea, but rather that a slave of a noble feels superior to a slave of a commoner, and all grades in between. Thus, as I suppose is the case with servants in England, if you are a maid of a duchess you feel superior to the maid of a baroness. Thus the class idea ramifies, and pangkat is the essence of the whole social functioning.

175 Balombaru: September 3, 1949. Fourth day: First I went
743 to the leprosarium to give my books to the nurse. She told me about some awful Javan atrocities after the Japanese defeat in Surabaja. They even shot into the hospital from trees. The idea seemed to her to be to kill all white people.
181 She [i.e., the head nurse at the Balombaru leper asylum--
621 Analyst] said that the natives have no initiative, though there is more evidence of some form of initiative here than in Java.
743 She divided the colony into three kampongs. Each with an elected kepala kampong. They come to her only if they cannot settle cases.

M 565 Then there are four classes known together as merdeka, that is freemen.

7. tjera - anam
8. tjera - tudju
9. now no more
10. also now no more

M [567] Then from eleven on there are many kinds of slaves known as ata or hamba. And, slaves might have slaves! Thus there is rank even among the slaves.

M 565 554 The terms of address are: for radja, petah; and this term is used down to the fourth class of nobles, that of the tjera-tiga. For the fifth class, that is tjera-ampat, the term daeng is used and for the sixth class of nobles, that of the tjera-lima, the term pua. However, he said there was much variation, and that petah is used even among commoners. He said that the situation is even worse in the Makassarese area, where daeng, he said, means nothing any more as many people without particular rank in the noble classes use it. In the kampong there are three subdivisions known as kampong ketjil: Bukaka, Tolangi, and Walena. There are four assistants known as seriang: three in Bukaka and one in Walena. There are five representatives known as wakil. They are like police.

M 621 624 625

C 631 I asked about the whole structure of the East Indonesian government and his uncertain statements went something like this: First is the negara [state, i.e., of East Indonesia]. The president is Sukawati, the premier, Anak Agung. There is then the Senate.

C [635] Second, there is the Daerah Sulawesi Selatan [District of South Celebes], at the head of which is the Ketua hadat tinggi (Arumpone). Then comes the Hadat tinggi comprised of fifteen radjas. From these a working committee of five members is formed. And finally there is the Dewan Sulawesi Selatan [South Celebes Council] consisting of four representatives from Bone.

C [634] Then there is the landschap [province], which makes the third division. The organization is as above and the Aru Pitu, the seven princes, are like a cabinet. They do not have a parliament yet but they have had elections and will soon sit. This body is called the Dewan Pertimbangan, consisting of twenty-one representatives.

The fourth cut is that of the wanua, with the thirty-one kepala wanua.

Finally, as the fifth division we have the kampong, headed by the kepala kampong and the assistant or seriang.

The new radja, chosen from [a certain] family, is selected

797 for himself. Could this be a case of railroading? My
831 guess is that this kind of behavior would not be noticed if he were not a Christian leader. I must ask Rahim.
162 [for author's comments on these census figures see
621 p. 198, category 116--Analyst]
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STATISTICS FOR BUKAKA

A. Bukaka, a Buginese Kampong Adjoining Watampone

Total population	1960
Total households	270
Per household	7.26
Males	959
Females	1001
Sex ratio	96.0
Total children	1089 (male 548, female 541)
Minor children	792 (male 408, female 384)
Ratio of children to adult	1.25
Minor children to adult	0.68
Children per household	4.02
Minor children per household	3.34

B. Class of Household Heads

To Detjeng (lower nobles)	46
To Samar (commoners) (included are 14 entered as "unknown," but Andi says they are very probably all commoners)	194
Slave	1
Chinese	10
Arab	14
Javanese	5
Total	270

162 C. Polygyny of Household Heads
565

Number of wives	Class	Trade
3 (2)	1 Arab	1 merchant
	1 noble	1 tailor
2 (8)	2 noble	2 smith
	2 Arab	1 merchant
	4 commoner	1 trader
		1 goldsmith
		1 chauffeur
		1 government employee (messenger)
		1 toothmaker
Totals 10	10	10

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia
Ambon OH4
Bali OF7
Makassar OG6

Am 621 613

except for the surviving nuclear families, or lineages, which maintain possession of groves of trees. These have in some instances been converted into arbitrarily formed land-owning units by reason of European or "negory" authority.

MK 621 778

9. *The gaukang.*—In South Celebes there is an interesting institution known as the "gaukang" (also as kalompoan and arajang). This is the representation and symbolization of the vital spirit or soul of a regional community in a particular object of supernatural qualities.[22] The original fetish could be a stone, a gnarled branch, a flag, lance, plow or some other object. Later on, other elaborate accessories were sometimes added to the original one, and in some instances these secondary fetishes became substituted in the place of the original.

In breaking off from a parent, new communities became independent in their own right, even though they had no fetishes of their own. They did, however, remain second-rate in general status. Even in the Mandar states, where patrilineal sub-clans are described as being groups of importance, the communities are territorial, as elsewhere. The governor is the guardian of the fetish. There is great variety in the names and functions of the assistants and sub-chiefs. Originally each fetishistic community had its own council (hadat), and although war and the principalities, alliances and Dutch administration have had a great deal of influence on South Celebes social organization, underneath it all the regional community is the cell and primal form of social structure.

Bl 621 602

10. *The Balinese desa.*—The "desa," as the villages of Bali are called, is a community based purely on geographical contiguity. It is true that a kinship relation does bind the little-known religious societies of Bali together, but the members of these cults are scattered throughout a number of villages, and their function is limited to the joint worship of a deified progenitor and the maintenance of a temple for him. The reckonig of the relationship is patrilineal, except for some "old style" desa.[23]

Bl 621 794

The "desa" is a community which depends in the first place upon a common duty and will to keep the village grounds clean for the gods, and to carry on the sacrifices and other religious ceremonies called for by custom. There is considerable variation between the

[22] [The Dutch call this social complex "het ornamentschap." This would have to be translated "ornamentship." In English, a more effective equivalent would be "community fetishism."]

[23] [The distinction between "old" and "new" style desa is described by van Vollenhoven, *Adatrecht*, vol. I, pp. 464ff.]

612 /20 cont./ A kampong head was appointed to rule over a
621 kampong territory. This head thereby also obtained authority
● 622 over the members of other groups of relatives which gradually
631 came to live in that territory. Formerly, it is probably true to say, such a new group would have built up a small power center of its own there and would have displaced the existing one. Today such a group must actualize such a striving for power within fixed territorial administrative boundaries. This occurs frequently through a struggle for the headship of the region concerned, whether it is a kampong, an adat community, or a kingdom. The idea remained that a genealogical group should be in command of the territory inhabited by this group, and thus also of all those who lived in it. The striving for this can be observed repeatedly.

612 This striving is always directed primarily against the other
621 group living in the territory which approaches the first-mentioned most closely in standing, in this case, therefore, the Mangenre group. But in view of the fact that this group is small and little integrated, the members of the Kapala group do not feel themselves threatened, and accordingly little is perceptible of their striving.

The same picture that was here given with regard to Bontoramba can also be observed in the majority of the other kampongs. A sample made in 1940 in kampong Pakatta indicated that there two groups of relatives of almost equal size resided in the kampong territory with a few separate households (a very small Rest group, therefore).

The only related group in the adat community which
[634] occupied an entire kampong territory practically by itself was that of the adat community head. Members of this group live distributed over two to three kampong territories. As the headman's group of relatives, however, they stand in contrast to all other Borongloë groups of relatives in the adat community
[567] territory. A few households of slaves (1) and a few separate

1. See below pp. 149 ff.

423 /43 cont./ noteworthy that of these 20 landowners, 12 lived in
471 kampong Romangpolong situated very close to Bontoramba, where the Kapala of Bontoramba has a large number of kinsmen.

The following figures indicate how the sawah land is
471 distributed over the various houses.

556 The inhabitants of 25 out of the total of 133 houses own
612 more than 1 hectare of sawah land. Twenty-one of these are houses belonging to the Kapala group, and 4 belong to the Rest. The inhabitants of 8 of these 25 houses own more than 2 hectares, and of these, 7 belong to the Kapala group, 1 to the Rest. Only one man has more than 3 hectares; in fact, he owns 7.5 hectares of sawah land. He owes this to his own abilities.

The relationship of individuals to their land, as is apparent from these figures, may therefore be stated quite simply. The administrative kampong boundaries (2) do not appear to be

[622]

2. The kapala collects the taxes on all land located in his kampong territory. He takes care that all men who live there and are able to perform work carry out their services. He reports offences committed in his district, etc.

relevant to the location of land which belongs to kampong residents. Landownership is not restricted by kampong territory.

311 The distance from the living quarters to the fields is,
423 generally speaking, small. The land of the majority of people is located in their own kampong and in one of the kampongs adjoining it. Those who owned land in Tjambaja also had land in Bontoramba itself. This shows that people do not purchase or work /44/ land at a greater distance away until they already own some in their immediate vicinity. The exchange of land
437 between people having land in each other's kampong of residence,
425 with the intention that both will have a piece of land close by, instead of one far removed from their house, occurs regularly.

794 /68/ Those who worship the ornament together form
796 the "worship community." The ornament of Borongloë is
602 worshipped in the first place by the head of the adat community and his relatives. Sometimes relatives living outside the adat community also take part in it. In the second place, followers and slaves of the head and his relatives also take part in the ritual. In the third place, there are the other subjects living in the adat community territory, and in the fourth place, there are those who live outside Borongloë who are not related to the head but who wish to participate for other reasons.

In practice the first two categories, quantitatively speaking, always form the largest contingent at the festivals. The third category at the same time should be the most numerous, but here one is satisfied with representation. The kampong [622] head represents his kampong. Hence, all kampong heads are present at all important Borongloë festivals. Occasionally they may send a statement that they were prevented from attending or else an observer.

The ornament of Goa is worshipped in an analogous manner first of all by the kinsmen of the Prince, regardless of whether they live in Goa or not; secondly, by the followers and slaves of the Prince and of his kinsmen; thirdly, by all (other) subjects of the Prince residing within Goa. This group is referred to when it is said that "the entire people of Goa" [634] was present at a festival that was regarded as concerning the whole of Goa. At such festivals, the heads of the adat communities attend to represent their regions. Finally, the ornament is worshipped on such occasions by those who, although not related to the Prince and living outside Goa, nevertheless wish to take part in the festival.

[554] The size of the worship group is therefore larger in a stronger group of relatives. The ornaments of the most powerful provinces, such as Bone, Luwu, and Goa, are worshipped all over South Celebes.

565 /90 cont./ of his subjects approaching too closely his and
583 that of his kinsmen. The differences must continue to exist.
602 Everyone is convinced of this.

A number of observations can be made in relation to these
654 data.

583 1. It appears that in stating the reasons why /91/ a certain sunrang is paid at a certain wedding, the primary consideration concerns the woman. "The sunrang of the woman may never go down," it is often said. This means that the sunrang of a girl may never be lower than that which was paid for her mother. At the wedding of a woman to a lower man -- the exceptional case will be discussed below -- the latter always pays the sunrang of the woman. In addition, he makes a large number of other extra payments. In the case of the marriage of a man to a lower woman, the man's party likewise frequently pays the sunrang that is customary in the woman's group. Sometimes, however, the man wants it to be apparent that he is very favorably inclined towards his in-laws, and then he pays the sunrang customary in his own group, but this is a favor on his part. In the ordinary case, that is to say, at a wedding between two people who are regarded as equals in standing, the woman is, as it were, the gauge of value of her group. Her sunrang must not go down because her standing, which finds its most important expression in the sunrang, must not go down thereby, since this would lower, in turn the standing of her group of relatives.

554 2. Being a follower (1) appears to be a reason for raising
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602
583

1. See pp. 133 ff.

the sunrang above the level of the group to which this follower belongs, another example showing that being a follower raises a person's standing.

554 3. The office of kampong head appears to be a reason
583 for receiving a higher sunrang for one's sister and daughter.
[622]

571 /106 cont./ and subsequently had continued to live there
591 even after the reconciliation. Furthermore, there lived in Bontoramba a young woman, an orphan who had gotten into difficulties with her parents, who lived elsewhere, and so she had been taken into the house of one of the prominent /107/ kampong residents. In the third place, a Javanese, an ex-colonist, should be mentioned here. He had come to live in the house of one of the Mangenre group to work for this person (1). Similar cases are known to occur in each kampong.

[125]

1. The two last-named individuals were registered as kinsmen of the master of the house in the census.

571 Nowadays a kampong head frequently has someone in
622 his house who carries letters for him and performs extra
202 errands. This function is created by the need for a confidential
602 messenger (2). Frequently the head will take a young kinsman

2. In Borongloë the suro (literally, "messenger") has come to have the job of attending to community labor /gemeentediensten/ -- until shortly before the war, corvée /herendiensten/. He does not run errands. This development, however, varies greatly from one locality to another.

for this purpose.

571 In principle, kinsmen are equals, and therefore there
602 can never be any question of a relationship of followers between

662 /123 cont./ he can better serve goals for himself, his kin
557 group, and possibly for his country, by not keeping to a cer-
571 tain agreement, he withdraws. One cannot count upon loyalty between equals with respect to the agreements made among them. Loyalty unto death is to be found only between high and low (1).

> 1. Here, too, there are limits. Personal loyalty of a lower toward a higher person is held in esteem. But loyalty on the part of a related group of lower people toward a higher /group/ lasts as long as the former know themselves to be dependent upon the latter, and so long as they do not have a more powerful higher /group/ to which they can turn for help and protection.

Now, if we look a little more closely at a number of opposition phenomena on various levels, it appears that a general direction can be pointed out in spite of confusing differences.

622 The kapalakampong strives to keep his kapalaship for
554 himself and his kinsmen, for the person who has authority over a non-kinsman is higher than that non-kinsman.
602 Furthermore, his kinsmen, at least those within his kampong territory, share in the higher standing which he possesses in this way. With respect to the members of his own group of relatives and with respect to that of other groups residing in his territory, the position of the kapala is different. In his own group he belongs to the prominent men. In that capacity

554 /123 cont./ he hears everything that goes on. In his turn he
602 derives from his kapalaship the standing necessary to exert
622 influence within his group.

With the members of the other groups, his influence in
622 many cases extends only so far as is necessary to carry out the
[602] tasks enjoined on him by officials of the Inland Administration via the Self-government and adat community heads. This, therefore, frequently concerns administrative matters, but in view of the fact that administration and the exercise of actual power are not separated here, his influence is very great. For the residents of the kampong territory, the kapala is the man to whom they must pay their taxes. He is the one who regulates community labor, with whom the request for the clearing of a new plot of land must be registered in the first instance, from whom an aspirant kampong /124/ resident must request permission to settle, to whom guests staying overnight must be reported, and so on.

He must be known therefore in all such daily matters. He is the link between the residents of his kampong and the adat community head. Accordingly, it is important for all kampong residents to be on friendly terms with him. His influence soon ceases with non-kinsmen. He does not enter into affairs which are important to them as kinsmen. If he makes an attempt to extend his influence further, opposition arises. The opposition between the various group of relatives in one and the same kampong territory finds expression, among other things, in the exercise of the function of gurukampong.

793 The gurukampong is the lowest religious official in the hierarchy in which the kali stands at the top for the entire realm and in which the imam is subordinated to the kali for affairs inside the adat community. In his turn, the gurukampong is again subordinated to the imam for matters concerning the residents of his kampong. His task is to make the imam acquainted with births and deaths, marriages, and cases of people who want to get a divorce. He lends a hand at a birth,

793 /124 cont./ burial, and grave visits insofar as Moslem ritual must take place there.

602 793 The gurukampong therefore deals directly with the intimate kin-group life, and for that reason people prefer a kinsman to fulfill his function. A group of kinsmen living together in one kampong territory, in addition to the Kapala group, consequently has its own guru (1). In one kampong territory one finds,

> 1. In Bontoramba, the Mangenre group (18 houses) has its own guru. A number of other Buginese residing there are also helped by this man. The others, Makassarese, in cases when they require it, ask for help from the guru of the Kapala group.

therefore, in many cases one or even two gurus working for their own kin groups, in addition to the actual gurukampong. They try to enter into direct contact with the imam. This provides them with an independent position toward the guru of the Kapala group. Sometimes (as in Bontoramba) the kapala permits this. The guru of the Kapala group must then content himself with that. But the kapala and his guru, as well as the imam, can oppose this attempt. [622]

621 622 666 /125/ Where the Kapala group is not the only one in the kampong but by far and away the largest, a struggle can frequently be observed, even though it has not yet assumed any distinct form. Wherever two almost equally large groups live next to each other in a single territory, the struggle comes more clearly to the fore. An example of this is to be found at the election of a new kapala. Election takes place, according to the election regulation of 1927, by the majority of votes of the able-bodied men. The struggle is conducted, on the one hand, through attempts to attach the kampong residents who do not belong to either of the two competing groups of relatives to one's side, and, on the other hand, by strengthening the tie with the adat community head; or, if this is possible,

621 /125 cont./ by interesting a member of the high nobility in
622 the case. Their help is of importance because (although this
66 is not based upon the election regulation) sometimes they de-
clare the ballot invalid, or else report afterward that only a
test ballot had been held, in case the result did not agree with
their wishes (1).

[648]

1. The 1927 regulation of the election of headmen is therefore not applied as was intended by the European administration which introduced it. Majority of votes is, according to Makassarese feelings, not sufficient in itself to capture the kapalaship. To this end, the consent of their own head is also required. This regulation, therefore, does not preclude arbitrary actions on the part of the higher people, but it does limit them.

622 The kapala can strengthen his position by establishing
662 a link with other kapala. The proved means of doing this is
634 to contract a marriage. But this action would immediately
result in a power formation within the adat community, which
the adat community head does not like to see. To an even
greater degree this is the case if a kapala were to seek contact
with a neighboring adat community head. Such an act would
suggest a certain enmity toward the kapala's own /adat com-
munity/ head, for it is an immediate threat of defection from
177 his own head to the neighboring head. Insofar as is known,
634 the latter situation rarely occurred, because after 1905 these
648 defections were no longer left to the free interplay of

177 /125 cont./ Makassarese forces, but had to be approved by
634 the officials of the Inland Administration. This administration
648 in practice only rarely permitted boundary alterations. It preferred to hold fast to the boundaries fixed in the years after 1905.

●622 The kapala can also seek to establish contact with the kin
662 group of the /126/ adat community head. A marriage between members of the two groups of relatives seems to be possible (1).

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1. In this connection one can remark that it is always a man from the adat community head's group who marries a girl of the kapala group. Some difference in standing is always considered to exist between adat community head and kampong head, and therefore between their groups of relatives. Through the marriage, the implication is avoided that a man is marrying a woman from a group of relatives with higher standing than his own. A cousin (samposikali) of the adat community head was thus joined in marriage with a daughter of the kapala of Bontoramba.

622 In the succession to the kapalaship, a clear preference for the son, at least for a close

622 /126 cont./ kinsman of the previous kapala, is demonstrable. In 7 of the 14 kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë, the kapala changed between 1939 and 1949. Three of these were succeeded by a son, one by a son-in-law, one by a younger cousin, and two by someone from another group of relatives. In the first of these cases, the old kapala was a Sajid /Sayid?/, a stranger who was forced to leave the kampong and the adat community because of woman trouble. In the last case, the new kapala was a distant kinsman of the adat community head. This man had sailed across many seas as a KPM sailor. He possessed a quiet influence over people and was elected without much opposition.

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622 It seems, therefore, that the kapala and the prominent
602 members of his group of relatives strive to maintain themselves
662 in their own kampong territory, to strengthen their own position if possible, and to raise their own standing outside the region by establishing ties with equal or slightly higher groups.

634 The adat community head conducts a policy which inside
602 his region is, in the first place, directed at making his own
662 group of relatives into as strong a unit as possible, and, in the second place, to strengthen as much as possible his influence in the kampong where he has no kinsmen living. The latter is done by establishing a marriage tie, or by trying to have a

177 554 576 /133 cont./ Even modern Makassarese find these forms of conduct stiff. They make fun of them but are incapable of changing them, and rather than be impolite they leave the table hungry.

177 554 576 437 A public auction in the Makassarese environment is merely a caricature of what the Western jurists who initiated it had in mind. If a higher person bids, lower person does not dare to outbid him. Accordingly, he asks a man of higher status, an equal of the first bidder, who is favorably inclined toward him, to make a bid for him.

177 554 576 622 437 The head of the community concerned does not like to participate in the bidding personally. He runs the chance of being unexpectedly outbid by an ignorant stranger in Makassarese country. This signifies a challenge to him, and he must continue to bid much more than the object is worth to him in order not to suffer a defeat in the eyes of his subjects. And if the competitive bidding is done by a Dutch lady, as might occur in a small administrative settlement, then he is left merely with a laugh about such a "challenge."

177 554 576 626 A soccer game is based upon the equality of the players. But if a karaëng takes part in the game, there can no longer be any question of equality /134/ (1). When the karaëng

1. The fact that, according to a newspaper report from the Netherlands, Prince Bernhard had gained third prize in a steeplechase was regarded as a gross discourtesy on the part of the two winners.

shouted "Run out" (bakkai) to his goalkeeper, the forward of the opposing team who was running toward him interpreted this as a command directed at him; he stopped, and the

588 /231 cont./ Rappung shook hands with those present (a'djama taëng) in the order of rank and status, first the Imam [554 576] who urged him to go to his wife, who remained seated motionless. He just touched her hand. He then went to the two witnesses, first the oldest, then the Imam's younger brother, and finally to his two kinsmen who had come along.

The Imam opened the round copper box (kampu) in which the sunrang was contained. In it were: two kalomping (betel leaves folded in a special way), two pieces of areca nut, a few grains of rice, and 4.25 guldens. Of this, 0.25 gulden was designated for the Kali of Goa, and 0.25 gulden for each of the witnesses. The rest was for the Imam. And finally there was a small lump of earth symbolizing the sawah transferred as sunrang. The money was taken out of the box and distributed. Thereupon, the couple left, and with them their companions.

[493] Two three-wheeled bicycles with baskets (tallu roda) stood in readiness. Rappung and his wife sat down on the one in front. "They find it pleasant to sit close together" (nangai siampika), those on the second tallu roda shouted, but Djawi turned her back to him /232/ and by this demonstrative aversion showed that she knew how a just-married woman should behave.

Reconciliation

602 627 The reconciliation can be defined as the solemn arrival of the two tumannjala together with the man's kinsmen and acquaintances at the house of the father or one of the brothers of the wife. There many of her kinsmen are gathered for the occasion. Wife and husband ask for forgiveness from all those present and offer the sunrang, the fine, and cookies.

622 627 The kampong head, or a higher functionary, is always present on such an occasion. He is the one under whose authority the reconciliation comes about. In his presence the

622 /232 cont./ siri' feelings must be repressed. It is also always
627 a superior who makes the first attempts at creating a reconciliation. The tumasiri' cannot oppose his clearly expressed wishes, unless they have special reasons for doing so. However,
[577] the tumasiri' can only be expected to begin by fighting against a reconciliation, because this is masculine, and it is therefore appreciated if one adopts an unconciliatory attitude and pretends that this siri' can only be reconciled by death.

But there are limits to the pressure which a superior can exercise in such an instance. If the pressure is too strong, his wish is not accepted by a number of tumasiri'. At most, the one who during preparatory conversations had personal contact with the superior feels obligated toward the superior. Opposition grows between the tumasiri', and through "incorrect understanding" the reconciliation ceremony ends in failure. In that case the tumasiri'-tumannjala relation continues to exist. This was the case when the brother of a woman who had fled yielded to the pressure of the gurukampong to agree to the reconciliation. At the hour that had been fixed, none of the other kinsmen was present in the house to which the tumannjala were supposed to come. Previously the rumor had circulated that difficulties were to be expected. For that reason the adat community head had sent a representative. Since the personal authority of the gurukampong was insufficient, someone higher than he had to be present in order to prevent bloodshed.

The two tumannjala were received by the representative of the /233/ head, the gurukampong (the mediator), and the wife's brother. The situation was extremely difficult for the
[626] brother . He was present in order not to be impolite toward the gurukampong, but among his kinsmen he was regarded as the one who had shown insufficient awareness of the disgrace that had been inflicted upon them. He was spared being asked for forgiveness by the couple and having his hand grasped by

622 /233 cont./ them, because then the tumasiri'-tumannjala
627 relation would have been removed for him while it would continue with respect to his other kinsmen. The upshot now was that after a short meeting the couple returned home with the man's kinsmen who had come along, taking with them the sunrang, fine, and cookies. The general opinion was that the fault lay with the gurukampong who had exerted too much pressure.

627 Arguments that are adduced to sway the wife's kin group to agree to a reconciliation state that the woman longs so much for her mother, that people who are related to each other belong together, and that the man's mistake is a small one. In the event that the woman takes refuge with a man, and, to an even greater degree, if she marries an outsider in a pregnant state, the reconciliation can usually take place very soon, that is to say, within a few months.

On the other hand, the tumasiri' frequently have reasons of their own to refuse a reconciliation, reasons which the superior on his part also understands and accepts. When a man had been stabbed to death during his flight and the woman shortly thereafter married an outsider, an attempt at reconciliation failed because it was argued that it was necessary to wait until her brother had returned from jail where he was now held for manslaughter through her fault.

For a man who fled with the niece (kamanakang) of his wife
[674 who had lived in his house as a young girl, no reconciliation
835] could be brought about. The fact that he had fled with a housemate was reason for the kinsmen to feel especially siri'. His crime in this case was considered very great.

After the flight of a man with his wife's sister, where the wife should have first received the talak because, according to Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at once, reconciliation was refused since the first wife was still "unhappy." /234/ Not until she was remarried, so it was believed, would the reconciliation be possible.

The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that Andi could also work for me. Thus it goes. The Kepala kampong is a fat fellow with a yellow turban. He is called "Mado" which is the Buginese term for kepala kampong, or rather, Mado Bukaka. His house is not bad, with a ramp on the side structure, but stairs going up into the main part of it. He is no noble, nor are there any bangsawan [titled nobles] in the village. When Sulewatang Udjung ordered, he called together the kali,guru [teachers], and notables (the Sulewatang later told me that family heads are also important). They are a motley crew. They came in and sat around on chairs. The Sulewatang, Andi, the magistrates, and I sat around a table. Coffee and cookies were served. They all listened well and the guru, a good looking young man, seemed especially intelligent. The Sulewatang gave an opening address and I joined in with more and more comments regarding the United States and the need for knowledge of South Celebes. They were quite silent, but one or two nodded and smiled continuously. I got the idea that they will do what they are told. They too were fascinated by my camera. Also, as usual, they plaintively asked (as asked by the Sulewatang) why things are so expensive and hard to get in Celebes, when there is obviously so much of everything in the United States. They are greatly interested in this matter. I tried to explain the fact that the dollar is high and the rupiah low, and also about the foreign exchange currency control. They got the main point. We then went over my notes (I had gone over the Friedericy notes with the Sulewatang the night before). They got the idea and it seems that they want to appear as both modern and as good Mohammedans, as they always shied away at questions regarding such things as spirit belief, old type feasts, and offerings. This was especially true of the Sulewatang, who always said that formerly such and such a practice may have been observed here and perhaps at present is still observed in the mountains, but in this place and at the present time it does not exist. I was told that such practices were mere legends now, but they admitted that in most cases the people still knew about them.

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The next day I talked with the controleur. He showed me the perkara [legal case] records of the office here. In Wadjo, Bone and Soppeng combined there are over one thousand legal cases per year. Many of these pertain to horse and cattle stealing, which is an old custom here. I saw one decision: six months in jail.

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Now regarding the kampong itself: the name of the kampong is Bukaka and it is located in the wanua Tanette Riattang, which is under the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang. The Sulewatang Tanette Riattang lives in Watampone. He is different from the Aru Tanette Riattang, who has no wanua, but who is one of the central seven princes. The head of the kampong has the title Mado Bukaka. He is a fine fellow and seems like a better character than most of the bangsawan. His father and his father's father and so on back have headed the kampong for countless generations. He is not a noble, says the Sulewatang. The Sulewatang also says that his ramp is not "genuine". Council is held in neither kampong nor wanua. If there are legal proceedings in the kampong the Kepala kampong may call in a notable or two to help. If there is a legal case in the wanua, the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang will call in maybe three or four (never all) Kepala kampongs to help. If there is really a big legal case, it goes to the Hadat Tinggi in Watampone. There are fifteen Kepala kampongs in the wanua. In most of the kampongs there are several smaller kampongs (two, three, or more), somewhat like hamlets. The Sulewatang used the term lingkongan [circle]. 361 622 632 623 632 692 621 632

The next day we got down to the work involving a rough map and a ground plan. The kampong abuts on Watampone, indeed it is actually a continuation of it. Thus one side of the market street is Watampone and the other is the kampong. There are several stores on the kampong side. I asked if the Chinese there would say that they were living in the kampong. The answer was no, but that they would say they lived in Watampone. Thus it is a kind of false border. Also, the big, beautiful, new mosque of Watampone is within the kampong borders. But the kampong is evidently not too important and Watampone is in the same wanua, that is, in wanua Tanette Riattang. The kampong itself is the western-most of the kampongs in this wanua, and the western border goes along with the eastern border of wanua Palaka (kampong Tjabalu). On the north is wanua Awampone (kampong Tjelapa). On the east is another kampong, Ta, of wanua Tanette Riattang. And, of course, Watampone is to the south. As one enters the kampong of Bukaka coming from the main center of Watampone, one goes along the main street for four kilometers from south to north, from the Watampone border to Tjelapa. On entering Bukaka one sees the great mosque and the large house of an Arab, both structures being white and blue, an ironic combination. It is a great misfortune that Mohammedanism got in here. From the main road (the Kepala kampong's house is not far from the Watampone border) to 126 621 632 101 131 102

Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imam of the latter is the father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone. 368 [623]

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in legal cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he couldn't the case went to the karaëng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of an election when a great drum is beaten. 622 692 623 203

In addition to mosques, there are many surau, that is prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaëng is not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaëng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank. [346] 565 368

We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [running east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the territory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangan. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallarang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e.,literally, electoral college--Analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaëng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan. 632 565 114

Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. (See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the 175 565

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy
having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the
gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of
boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only
to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood
clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circum-
cision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with
a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but
but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the out- 567
side they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 535
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are
none in this kamporg. They come in troops of ten including
two leaders. They cost about f. 50. Slaves cannot afford to
have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the
line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have
the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble
The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere
chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-
way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles
and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ěppa, lima, ěneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

C 563 Buludua which is on the side road from the main Watumpone-Makassarese highway. Later I talked with Thierens, and was astonished to have at last found the Toala. There is in the western part of Bone, on the border of Parepare and Barru, a wanua called Telu Limpoe, which is Sarasin's name for the three tribes of the Toala. They are under the Sulewatang of Telu Limpoe, a young and able lad. I must go by the poor road westward from the Watumpone-Sindjai highway, and then walk a distance. Remarkable, by checking Denzo's To Patuntung area with Thieren's Telu Limpoe area I find that they are just about the same. This is a puzzle. Are they Toala, or were they To Patuntung? If so, why no temples and stones and pinati and K. Lowe? My guess is that there are To Patuntung and To Patuntung. Those like the Toala were so remote and primitive that they lack even the Hinduist influence of the real To Patuntung. But one thing is clear. In the mountains here there must be any number of small groups of people like this. Exploration would find them and I could do it if I had the time. Now I begin to see why the Toala matter may well be just the lowest point on the scale of the non-Mohammedan remote peoples in the mountains of South Celebes.

M 793 692 622 In regard to the judicial system of Bone, Thierens explained a number of items. For questions of a religious nature, the first one to whom the people in the kampong go is the religious teacher, the guru. If nothing can be decided, the case goes to the imam of the wanua. If it is still no go, it goes to the Sjarat of Bone, on which are the various kali. If the case is still undecided, it goes to the Hadat Besar, a supreme court which handles both religious and other cases. As for civil and criminal cases, they start with the kepala kampong. If more than f.100 is involved, or the case cannot be decided (i.e., one of the parties is not satisfied), it then goes to the Hadat Ketjil, the court of the wanua, which has the kepala wanua and two of the kepala kampongs on it. If this is still ineffective, it goes to the Hadat Besar in Watumpone. And still further one can appeal to the resident of Celebes, or, and some do, to Batavia. The tradition is that any man can appeal cases. And in this one matter they are open and brave (berani). They will appeal. In fact, Thierens said that his office dealing with civil and criminal matters is deluged with letters and every one must be answered. Also he added that when he is in the office in Makassar he gets letters too, as a man with an appeal will send copies of a letter to the local office, the state

695 661 668 212

/121 cont./

173 These foreigners became related by marriage to the people of
[622] Wotoe, and they called into being the rulers of the miniature
states which made up the realm of Loewoe', the most important
[166] of whom are the Chiefs of Wotoe and Waiboenta. From
Lampenai the people moved to Bibilassa, not far from the
present-day Wotoe, to which they finally went because the
water at Bibilassa was brackish.

173 One group of the immigrants, which had dominance over
643 the others, kept going west until they settled at Malangke. The
[167] chiefs of this group are reported to be descended directly from
Sawerigading. They became Datoe of Loewoe'. The first Datoe
is said to have been Sawerigading; after him his son La Galigo,
and after him his son La Mapanganro. These three Datoes are
said to have returned to the sky at the end of their lives. This
is said to have happened in the following way, according to our
above-mentioned informant: when these datoes felt that they
had reached the end of their life, their corpses were exposed
to the wind outside the ridge of their palace, and then they
disappeared. The bodies of those who were Datoe of Loewoe'
after La Mapanganro were cremated at Malangke. Ashes and
bones were buried in an earthen pot in the ground (L. van
Vuuren, "Lijkverbranding op Celebes /Cremation on Celebes/,"
[174] Not. Bat. Gen., 51, 1913). This is clear proof that these im-
[177] migrants, among whom were the Datoes, were under Hindu in-
fluence. They are still known in Loewoe' by a name which is
derived from the kind of wood upon which their bodies were
cremated. Thus people speak of Datoe maningo ri badjo, "Datoe
who sleeps on badjo wood"; Maningo ri djampoee, "he who
sleeps on djamboe wood (Psidium guajava)," etc.

The last Datoe who lived at Malangke and who is known by
the name of Petta (poewang) Malangke, "master of Malangke,"
was married in Wotoe. He was the last Heathen among the Datoes.
According to our informant /122/ this ruler is reported to have

T /122 cont./
648 century the Chief of Djaladja gained great influence at the court
631 of Palopo, because he sent the Datoe large gifts in buffaloes and
M rice. Thus it happened that the Datoe instructed the Chief of
648 Djaladja (his name was Ambe Ma'a) to accompany his envoy,
643 bypassing Wotoe. This caused bad blood at Wotoe. The
Toradja, however, never repudiated the Matoa (Matjoa), the
Chief of Wotoe, in favor of Ambe Ma'a.

T At indefinite times, sometimes with an interval of a year,
M usually longer, a message came from Palopo or from Wotoe that
648 it was time to collect the tribute for the Datoe. This was called
T mepoee, "to recognize the lord (poee)." As far as the lowland
631 was concerned, this was carried out by the village chief of
Tamoengkoe (Pebato), who for this purpose had been installed
by Loewoe' as tongko. This tribute consisted of beeswax, foeja
/beaten tree bark/, /123/ goat's hair to decorate lances, rice,
white chickens, and palm wine. All of this was brought by
Tamoengkoe to the Chief of Towale, and the latter delivered all
this, augmented with the homage from his own area, to the
Chief of Lamoesa. The latter was the general representative of
T the Datoe. Lamoesa lies in the plain of the Kodina, on the right
[103] bank of this river. Here, at a spot which bears the name of
Landea-ndopo, "where the waves rise upon the land," the envoys
from Palopo and Wotoe arrived. The Karadja of Lamoesa had to
provide the lodging and maintenance for these people as long as
T they stayed at the Lake. In this he was aided by the surrounding
[671] tribes. The adat prescribed that the envoys should not go farther
toward the north. When they finally left to return to their coun-
try, the Karadja sent along people who brought the tribute for
M the Datoe to Wotoe.

• 622 Wotoe at that time had various Chiefs. The Mandjara held
631 the highest rank. He was (and still is) installed by the Datoe,
648 but his authority limited him to the inhabitants of the little
T realm of Wotoe. As their lord in Wotoe the Toradja recognized
648 the Matoa- (Boeg. /Buginese/ Matjoa) bawa-lipoe, "he who

M
622 /123 cont./
631 carries the villages," answers for them. Before the tribute
648 came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe, it was first brought to a chief
T who bore the title of Ampoe lemba, literally "tribal chief,"
648 the equivalent of mayor of Wotoe. From him the people went to the Paramata, after that to the Matoa-bintoe'a, and then they came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe. To the question which we posed repeatedly, whether the tribute that was left with the Matoa-bawa-lipoe actually reached the Datoe at Palopo, the answer was always: "We do not know that" (3).

3. There were also other Chiefs at Wotoe, whose function has not been clearly described. Thus there was the Topalatoea, a worthy of whom nothing was known but that he would have to die when a daughter was born to him. Another respected man was Palemba-ragi, a high chief of the Toradja tribes, recognized by Loewoe'.

M
648 Exceptions to the above rule were the tribes of the To Lage
631 and To Onda'e, who had to bring a slave to Loewoe' every nine
T years. The To Lage brought the slave to Lamoesa, whereupon
648 Lamoesa accompanied the Lage envoys to Wotoe, where they
567 paid their respects to the Chiefs named. The To Onda'e, however, needed no intermediary, but brought their slave directly to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe at Wotoe and from there to Palopo. This manner of bringing tribute (mepoee) is called monangoe boeadja, "to swim like a crocodile (straight to the goal)."

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173 The following tradition is connected with the mepoee of the
648 To Onda'e. The To Onda'e had risen up against the Datoe. The
728 war that resulted from this threatened to end with the downfall
T of the To Onda'e. Then an old man stood up and addressed the
173 assembled Chiefs as follows: "Brothers, the only way by which
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Now regarding the kampong itself: the name of the kampong is Bukaka and it is located in the wanua Tanette Riattang, which is under the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang. The Sulewatang Tanette Riattang lives in Watampone. He is different from the Aru Tanette Riattang, who has no wanua, but who is one of the central seven princes. The head of the kampong has the title Mado Bukaka. He is a fine fellow and seems like a better character than most of the bangsawan. His father and his father's father and so on back have headed the kampong for countless generations. He is not a noble, says the Sulewatang. The Sulewatang also says that his ramp is not "genuine". Council is held in neither kampong nor wanua. If there are legal proceedings in the kampong the Kepala kampong may call in a notable or two to help. If there is a legal case in the wanua, the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang will call in maybe three or four (never all) Kepala kampongs to help. If there is really a big legal case, it goes to the Hadat Tinggi in Watampone. There are fifteen Kepala kampongs in the wanua. In most of the kampongs there are several smaller kampongs (two, three, or more), somewhat like hamlets. The Sulewatang used the term lingkongan [circle]. 361 622 632 623 632 692 621 632

The next day we got down to the work involving a rough map and a ground plan. The kampong abuts on Watampone, indeed it is actually a continuation of it. Thus one side of the market street is Watampone and the other is the kampong. There are several stores on the kampong side. I asked if the Chinese there would say that they were living in the kampong. The answer was no, but that they would say they lived in Watampone. Thus it is a kind of false border. Also, the big, beautiful, new mosque of Watampone is within the kampong borders. But the kampong is evidently not too important and Watampone is in the same wanua, that is, in wanua Tanette Riattang. The kampong itself is the western-most of the kampongs in this wanua, and the western border goes along with the eastern border of wanua Palaka (kampong Tjabalu). On the north is wanua Awampone (kampong Tjelapa). On the east is another kampong, Ta, of wanua Tanette Riattang. And, of course, Watampone is to the south. As one enters the kampong of Bukaka coming from the main center of Watampone, one goes along the main street for four kilometers from south to north, from the Watampone border to Tjelapa. On entering Bukaka one sees the great mosque and the large house of an Arab, both structures being white and blue, an ironic combination. It is a great misfortune that Mohammedanism got in here. From the main road (the Kepala kampong's house is not far from the Watampone border) to 126 621 632 101 131 102

Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imam of the latter is the father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone. 368 [623]

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in [illegible]al cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he couldn't the case went to the karaëng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of an election when a great drum is beaten. 622 692 623 203

In addition to mosques, there are many suzau, that is prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaëng is not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaëng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank. [346] 565 368

We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [running east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the territory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangan. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallarang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e.,literally, electoral college--Analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaëng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan. 632 565 114

Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. (See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the 175 565

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 562
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197] words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaëng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaëng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaëng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favorably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when [114] in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaëng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
576 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
593 an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).

123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is
177 evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaëng stands there but says nothing. Beside

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, 203
and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting 666
on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems 624
that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the 596
head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs. Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc splits.

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van 778
Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, 565
kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave. As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next 574
door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-Heekeren.

The store has a brick underwall, and a house above. It appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always accepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked between ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United 872
States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim 346
said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in 494
a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen 198
the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it appeared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual 435
style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling, but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong, [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa, and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later. That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I 212
asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general. He added that there was a press in Makassar.

The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that Andi could also work for me. Thus it goes. The Kepala kampong is a fat fellow with a yellow turban. He is called "Mado" which is the Buginese term for kepala kampong, or rather, Mado Bukaka. His house is not bad, with a ramp on the side structure, but stairs going up into the main part of it. He is no noble, nor are there any bangsawan [titled nobles] in the village. When Sulewatang Udjung ordered, he called together the kali guru [teachers], and notables (the Sulewatang later told me that family heads are also important). They are a motley crew. They came in and sat around on chairs. The Sulewatang, Andi, the magistrates, and I sat around a table. Coffee and cookies were served. They all listened well and the guru, a good looking young man, seemed especially intelligent. The Sulewatang gave an opening address and I joined in with more and more comments regarding the United States and the need for knowledge of South Celebes. They were quite silent, but one or two nodded and smiled continuously. I got the idea that they will do what they are told. They too were fascinated by my camera. Also, as usual, they plaintively asked (as asked by the Sulewatang) why things are so expensive and hard to get in Celebes, when there is obviously so much of everything in the United States. They are greatly interested in this matter. I tried to explain the fact that the dollar is high and the rupiah low, and also about the foreign exchange currency control. They got the main point. We then went over my notes (I had gone over the Friedericy notes with the Sulewatang the night before). They got the idea and it seems that they want to appear as both modern and as good Mohammedans, as they always shied away at questions regarding such things as spirit belief, old type feasts, and offerings. This was especially true of the Sulewatang, who always said that formerly such and such a practice may have been observed here and perhaps at present is still observed in the mountains, but in this place and at the present time it does not exist. I was told that such practices were mere legends now, but they admitted that in most cases the people still knew about them.

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The next day I talked with the controleur. He showed me the perkara [legal case] records of the office here. In Wadjo, Bone and Soppeng combined there are over one thousand legal cases per year. Many of these pertain to horse and cattle stealing, which is an old custom here. I saw one decision: six months in jail.

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342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not
764 pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
513 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always removed. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate.
625 The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well
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M [567] Then from eleven on there are many kinds of slaves known as ata or hamba. And, slaves might have slaves! Thus there is rank even among the slaves.

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C 631 I asked about the whole structure of the East Indonesian government and his uncertain statements went something like this: First is the negara [state, i.e., of East Indonesia]. The president is Sukawati, the premier, Anak Agung. There is then the Senate.

C [635] Second, there is the Daerah Sulawesi Selatan [District of South Celebes], at the head of which is the Ketua hadat tinggi (Arumpone). Then comes the Hadat tinggi comprised of fifteen radjas. From these a working committee of five members is formed. And finally there is the Dewan Sulawesi Selatan [South Celebes Council] consisting of four representatives from Bone.

C [634] Then there is the landschap [province], which makes the third division. The organization is as above and the Aru Pitu, the seven princes, are like a cabinet. They do not have a parliament yet but they have had elections and will soon sit. This body is called the Dewan Pertimbangan, consisting of twenty-one representatives.

The fourth cut is that of the wanua, with the thirty-one kepala wanua.

Finally, as the fifth division we have the kampong, headed by the kepala kampong and the assistant or seriang.

The new radja, chosen from [a certain] family, is selected

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not
764 pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always re-
513 moved. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate.
● 625 The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well
102 things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaëng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]
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471 /46 cont./ had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his participation in the life of the kampong at this communal festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
[626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated, this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
773 "Lord of the Land," the following story was told. /47/

1. Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga," niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land," called Besenga.
2. Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

158 /56 cont./ According to reports, adults are also subject
626 to such attacks, however, I never witnessed this. To be sure, an adult sometimes uses it as a threat, for instance, when he (she) has set his (her) mind on something that seems unattainable. A woman from Macassar who had caused a drum (ganrang) to be played at a festival of her kin group in Goa was questioned about this by the kapalakampong /kampong
[533 head/ concerned, since playing the ganrang is a prerogative
565] of the nobility in Goa. She threatened with adjallo' if the use of the drum should be forbidden her, and finally a decision was made that the drum could be played because she did not live in Goa and at home in Macassar she was allowed to play the ganrang.

In Macassar a girl who was sixteen years old and still at school threatened adjallo' because she wanted to continue attending school in spite of obvious disapproval on the part of her mother and aunts. A man arranged his second marriage behind the back of his first wife because, as he said, he was afraid that she would adjallo' and in so doing might well prevent his second marriage if she heard about it beforehand.

The reaction of others to such fits of temper was one of aversion. People turned away; no one made an attempt to help, nor did anyone appear angry. It was believed that nothing could be done about it.

158 Both phenomena, mobility and adjallo', in my opinion
578 should be regarded as expressions of a conflict for which the individual sees no other solution, a conflict which is based on personality structure. It was impossible for me to do any further investigation along these lines. The fact that both sexes participate in mobility to the same extent might suggest the /57/ necessity for an analysis of the "basic personality structure" /cited in English/ (1) of the Makassarese.

1. For this term see A. Kardiner, most recently in The Psychological Frontiers of Society, New York, 1945.

554 /95 cont. / resident would have no chance of contracting.
581 In one of the fights that arose in Goa in 1946, a man saved a
582 number of his wife's kinsmen by his courageous behavior.
His wife should not have been allowed to marry him, because
[626] she was higher than he, and for that reason her kin group had
declared her dead (2). As a result of his bravery, the wife's

2. See Chapter III, third part.

kin group was persuaded /96/ to agree to a reconciliation. In cases where the differences in social level are small, there may be hesitation as to whether the man and woman should marry. If both parties are agreed, and the marriage is brought about, it is not possible for an outsider to disapprove. It is believed that the reasons leading to the marriage could not be evaluated (1).

1. A discussion of the cases in which there is a difference of opinion, will be found in Chapter III, third part.

554 Children from such a marriage, even where the difference
565 in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded
562 officially as equals in their mother's group of relatives,
582 because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not
fall /in social standing/. Daughters marry by preference in their mother's group; with respect to the sons there is some hesitancy. Factual data are lacking. I was unable to discover any terms used to designate these children (analagous to ana' tjera').

In cases of marriages between a man and a lower woman, only those where the difference in level is great deserve mention, for marriages in which the man is a little higher than his wife are normal marriages. They should not be distinguished

554 /98 cont./ As regards these ana' tjera', it is immediately
562 apparent that the interests of sons and daughters are distinct.
565 The former are dependent for marriage upon their mother's
582 group, the latter upon their father's group.

Vertical Mobility of Cultural Elements

565 Sorokin has pointed to the fact that not only individuals
626 or groups, but even cultural elements may rise or go down (1).

1. P. Sorokin, Social Mobility, New York and London, 1927, p. 133.

Each stat[illegible] /group/ has its own external characteristics by whi[illegible]bers are differentiated from the others. Forms of [illegible] intercourse and clothing, mode of eating and celebrating festivals are the most spectacular of these. The higher groups constantly strive to preserve their own forms for their members. Lower groups constantly strive to take over elements belonging to the members of the higher status, since by this alone their standing rises.

Attempts to adopt their ways is opposed by the higher groups. On the one hand, their adoption is regarded as ridiculous, on the other, it arouses the anger of those higher; sometimes punishment is meted out. Adoption of elements from the highest status is not carried out directly by the lowest of the people, but takes place gradually. First those just below the highest adopt their forms, and so on down. It appears that not only the higher, but sometimes even those lower resist adoption of their forms by another socially lower, that is to say, they fight against a rise in social standing by a competitor.

565 /99 cont./ of Borongloë in 1939 and 1947 respectively.
634 There the ritual was performed on them, and they received
643 the vows of faithfulness from prominent kinsmen and kapala-kampong. But while the princes of Goa have stood upon their rock for hundreds of years for their inauguration, this was not the case in Borongloë.

The inauguration of the father of the present-day head, which took place in 1916, /100/ was performed with ritual (adinging dinging) at the "Flat Rock," but he did not insist upon it, and vows of faithfulness were not made. However, when this head abdicated in 1938, he himself arranged the inaugural festival for his son, and on this occasion standing on the rock was presented as old adat. It is characteristic that
565 this adoption of a ritual element belonging to the karaëng
● 626 group was not repudiated by members of this group, but by a
634 few members of one of the other prominent groups of relatives of Borongloë. As an old man said: "You, Gallarrang (1),

1. Title of the adat community head of Borongloë.

did not stand on it (the stone), and now you let your son stand on it."

This way of striving to rise was therefore criticized by a member of one of the adat community's kin groups foremost in opposition. The person against whom the remark was directed, the old adat community head, later reported that shortly thereafter the old man had fallen sick and since then had never really recovered again. In his opinion this signified that what he had done was correct and that the criticism had been unjust. He believed that the ancestors would have turned against him, had they considered the ritual performed by him to be incorrect. This indicates that a prominent
[177] figure may interfere consciously in ritual matters and bring about changes.

554 /101 cont./ thought of as ridiculous by the related group.
565 They would see in it merely an affected way of distinguishing
[576] himself from those around him.

The wearing of certain ornaments by a bride, and of a kris or a headdress (sigara') of a certain color by the bride-
[585 groom, is frequently a sign of friendliness on the part of a
572] higher person. He may, as a favor, permit a lower person to adorn himself on certain occasions with things which belong to the higher group. This raises the standing of the lower person.

A woman who caused her deceased mother to be treated as though she were a relative of the Prince was regarded as arrogant. "She is daring," was the reaction of those around
[626] her. It means that what she does is dangerous, because in so doing she enters the state of "bassung"; that is to say, she can be punished for this deed with a swollen belly. Nobody, however, expresses his disapproval openly, since, after all, it is quite possible that what she does is exactly the right thing, and in that case the one who made the remarks would be punished, as happened in the case of standing on the investiture rock.

If a person conducts himself as a higher person, and if he does so with great self-assurance and with success, then these modes of conduct help to determine his social standing.

The System of Followers

571 The system of followers is one of the most obvious aspects of the tendency toward vertical mobility. It may be described as the /102/ totality of relationships between a higher person (karaëng, lord) and those lower, whom he calls ana' ana'na (1) or taunna (his people). The basis of this system is the

571 /108 cont./ prefer to carry messages or summon people;
634 others are especially charged with the care of horse and gig (bendi). As good followers, however, they are at the same time the cars and eyes of their master. They report to him everything that happens in the kampongs so that he remains
571 fully informed. They may, in certain cases, proceed harshly
634 if someone commits a discourtesy against the head, for it is
626 also their task to punish a breach of authority in a manner clear to everyone. Each attempt to undermine authority must be suppressed. Not to react to it is regarded as a sign of weakness. In these times of fixed boundaries this is not so serious, but in the period before 1905, there immediately existed the threat of a defection with all its consequences.

571 The followers of the adat community head of Borongloë
634 numbered seven in July, 1948. They included, first, one of
[602] his cousins (samposikali); second, a Javanese who had remained in South Celebes as ex-romusha (1), had learned the

1. A Japanese word which acquired the meaning of "forced laborer."

language, and had come to feel at home in Borongloë; and third, five sons and sons-in-law of followers of his father when he had been head.

/109/ Another adat community head had the same number of followers, but among them were three contemporaries linked to him through personal ties that dated from previous periods of his life, among others his school period. These ties now constituted the basis of their follower relationship.

The difference between these two adat community heads is clear. In the latter case we are dealing with a head who, for the maintenance of his power, relied, at least in part, on the ties personally created by him. In the first case, the head,

622 /126 cont./ kinsman of the previous kapala, is demonstrable. In 7 of the 14 kampongs of the adat community of Borongloe, the kapala changed between 1939 and 1949. Three of these were succeeded by a son, one by a son-in-law, one by a younger cousin, and two by someone from another group of relatives. In the first of these cases, the old kapala was a Sajid /Sayid?/, a stranger who was forced to leave the kampong and the adat community because of woman trouble. In the last case, the new kapala was a distant kinsman of the adat community head. This man had sailed across many seas as a KPM sailor. He possessed a quiet influence over people and was elected without much opposition.

[626]

622 It seems, therefore, that the kapala and the prominent
602 members of his group of relatives strive to maintain themselves
662 in their own kampong territory, to strengthen their own position if possible, and to raise their own standing outside the region by establishing ties with equal or slightly higher groups.

634 The adat community head conducts a policy which inside
602 his region is, in the first place, directed at making his own
662 group of relatives into as strong a unit as possible, and, in the second place, to strengthen as much as possible his influence in the kampong where he has no kinsmen living. The latter is done by establishing a marriage tie, or by trying to have a

858 /142 cont./ first menstruation, the girls are "caged"
867 (nikappara'); the separation from the other sex is thereby completed. From now on she is also subject to the many restrictions in social relations which obtain between men and women in general and between unmarried men and women in particular. "She is already staying at home" (ammantammi ri balla') is an indication of the age of a girl when she is around ten years old. At this time she enters the group of women, where she belongs to the young girls [291] (tau lolo), who are also called "the red jackets" (badju' edja), after the conspicuous red jacket of slightly transparent material which they wear.

867 She learns that she must withdraw at the arrival of male visitors, that she may not be conspicuous, and that she must lower her voice. The girl who enters the front room (kale balla') even though there are guests is told off with a disapproving "she dares." A girl who talked loudly was angrily asked: "Who do you want to hear your voice?" If [864] a girl shows her desire for a man by being conspicuous and by talking loudly, she is considered late (man-crazy), one of the most undesirable qualities in a girl.

857 A young girl only leaves the house in the company
867 of older women. Little excursions are holidays for her. She dresses carefully for these occasions; she makes herself up, blackens her eyebrows and the hairline on her forehead,
855 /143/ and powders her face. The older women guard and protect her. In their presence a young girl is safe. If she is alone at home or in the yard and a man enters the yard accidentally, a dangerous situation is created because this encounter, regardless of the intention of both parties, is [626] considered a breach of established forms of social intercourse. If a neighbor woman were to see and talk about it, so that the girl's brother hears of it, the latter would feel siri' and act accordingly.

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

Young women and men often evade each other
571 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
626 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
834 of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
177 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
834 new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

177 /147 cont./ store, the Arab and Chinese storekeepers in
834 Macassar know that they cannot turn directly to the young girls to recommend their wares but that, for this purpose, they have to address the escorting man or older woman, while the younger ones talk among each other and thus make their wishes known. One who does not take these feelings into account runs the risk of being passed over at a subsequent visit to the store.

571 The separate domains of the sexes in the house and the
834 division of labor contribute to the fact that the prohibition against contact is carried out to a great extent in daily life. The strict sanction imposed on their violation lends a forced
[626] character to the relations between young men and girls. Contact may only take place in complete secrecy or, by way of exception, if it is expressly or silently permitted. In that case it is still tied to special regulations. There is never any uninhibited association. Some of these occasions will be described here.

527 After harvest, so-called pounding festivals (1) are
571

1. Called Adengka ase lolo, "the pounding of the young paddy."

[374] regularly held. These take place during the evening in the yard before the house by the /148/ glimmer of an oil lamp, preferably when there is a bright moon shining. For this, the pounding block is hung up in rattan strings, and while
[533 the girls pound, two or three of their closest male relatives
534] beat with sticks against the transverse axle of the block in a rapid and powerful rhythm. This sound is audible at great distances; the purpose is to attract young people from far and near to come and look. What they see is four girls

583 /150 cont./ "Please find what is good for me." And by
584 "good" (badjika) is meant a normal marriage; "bad" (kodia) means marriage by flight. The older woman thereupon tries out the mother. Whether this couple will subsequently marry or not then further depends upon whether or not an agreement concerning marriage has been made with respect to one of the two.

584 When a marriage which she herself has desired comes
834 about, the girl shows aversion to the man, as is expected of her. Externally, nothing distinguishes this marriage from one that has been contracted against her wishes.

583 When older people act against the wishes of the younger,
584 and the young man urges a flight, the girl can consent to
558 this. But if she refuses, he can get his way simply by
626 making her siri'. In most cases the threat of siri' alone seems sufficient.

584 One who is unable to use an older woman as intermediary must find another way of establishing the desired contact with a girl. He may, for instance, seek out the company of her brother. He plays raga with him and goes with him to the movies (this example is derived from one of the kampongs
[574] surrounding Macassar). In return /151/ his friend may ask him to stay and eat or sleep. If he keeps this up long enough, he may get an opportunity to attract the girl's attention, that is to say, to perform a service for the mother or run an errand for her, even though this reaches him through a third person.

His intentions do not remain entirely concealed. If her mother likes him, if no arrangements have been made regarding this daughter, and if the information gained concerning his kin group is not unfavorable, she may very briefly let her daughter be alone with him unnoticed. But she remains watchful. "Don't make me siri'," she says to her daughter.
584 When they are alone together, there is no immediate con-
834 versation, even less is there an immediate physical contact.

158 /166 cont./ should like to mention the vertical tendency
181 which demands of the Makassarese a constant striving to surpass other men and to be a great conqueror of women. The anxiety about losing the ability for this, or else of falling short in this aspiration, could very well form the basis for the koro phenomenon.

Prostitution

548 Prostitutes are unknown in Makassarese kampongs. There are no women under thirty-five to forty years of age who live
626 alone without kinsmen, and if a woman lives with others in
558 a house, it is impossible for her, for reasons discussed at length above, to receive men more or less regularly, or to have contact with them outside the house. So long as she lives in a house with others, even a single contact situation would cause the young male house mates or neighbors to become siri'. The older women who do not wish to risk any difficulties on behalf of this stranger in such a case will try to send her away in time -- for instance, to a head who lets her marry -- before a brawl could come about through her /167/. Once she is out of the house, there is no reason for the young men who, after all, are not related to her, to be siri' because of her behavior.

Her conduct impairs the social standing of her group, and for that reason she is unacceptable in the rural kampongs. There is little evidence of moral disapproval.

548 Prostitution is an urban phenomenon. Prostitutes live in
[369] Macassar as well as in the larger pasar places such as Parepare, Watampone, and others.

The pasar place of Bontomanai, the center of trade for Borongloë, did not seem large enough yet to accommodate permanent prostitution. It was said of one of the daughters of a prominent man in Borongloë, who had gone to live in Bontomanai with a distant relative, that she received men who

565 /173 cont./ standing. This is what underlies their thoughts
595 when members of the karaëng's kin group declare that lower people consider it an honor to give away their daughter in marriage to a nobleman.

A border line where people like to see their daughter or sister marry a superior who is already married, and where the superior is actually regarded as almost an equal and therefore the marriage is not desired cannot be exactly determined. The boundaries between the classes /standen, here statuses?/ are too vague for this.

554 Exceptional qualities are therefore demanded of a man who has two wives. Through the conclusion of a second
595 marriage he shows that he raises himself above his other relatives. This fact is not appreciated and is therefore counteracted unless he otherwise contributes particularly to
[626] the social standing of the group. If this should be the case, and and if he is able to show this through organizing a second marriage independently, then it is even accepted with a certain pride. There are always a number of men with less exceptional characteristics who wish to take a second wife. The silariang institution gives them the opportunity of doing so without their having to ask the help of their relatives. In these cases, however, his relatives accept this marriage with greater hesitation.

/173/ Second Part

Sexual Union in Marriage

582 In the first part of this chapter, the criteria of selection were pointed out which the older generation applies on the basis of younger people's personal qualities in the choice of

585 /196 cont./ ordinary life. In reality, however, they all
833 hope that bridegroom and bride will be "good" with each other as soon as possible, that is to say, that coitus will take place. The old women listen at the walls.

If the young man expressly refuses to enter and join his wife, the older people rest satisfied, at least for the time being.
[626] But they show their disapproval and renew, possibly even the following evening, their attempts to make him go in. The same situation obtains if the bride resists once the bridegroom has been led in to her. If she knocks violently on the door, she is let out.

585 The older people talk to the marriage partner who seems
833 to refuse sexual contact with the other. They point out that in
626 previous marriages young married couples again and again submitted to what is now demanded of him (her). The bride is told in such a case that all women have at one time undergone this experience, that her mother was also married in this way. The end of the conversation frequently consists of the questions so difficult for younger people to answer: "Surely you don't want to make your aunt (that is, the speaker) ashamed?" (namely, by sticking to the refusal /197/ and thus causing to fail the marriage that she is trying to bring about). To
[888 contradict an older and sometimes at the same time a higher
576] person is discourteous. The individual who does not wish to capitulate in such a situation can do nothing but remain silent.

Because of the strictly maintained separation of the sexes,
834 young unmarried men and women live in separate worlds.
585 When they are brought together, it is to be expected that it
521 will be difficult for them to talk to each other. Whatever they have learned and applied up to that point is no longer of any use. The prepared questions and answers thus serve, one could say, to facilitate the very first contact. Formally, they are an element of the ritual to bring man and wife together and to get them used to the fact that now other forms of social intercourse obtain between them than before. In

585 /202 cont./ thought to be acquainted
833 with the formulas that are correct in the Moslem view. It is possible that this is a local development. Elsewhere in South Celebes I did not hear of such marrying again.

able to record three cases of this. All three took place from one to three years after the first wedding ceremony; and in all of them the couple shortly thereafter was "good" together.

833 It is believed that the individual himself is not responsible for his unwillingness. Therefore, nobody is angry at him.

[602] If the young man is unwilling, his wife's kinsmen are not angry at him. They receive him in a friendly manner when he comes to visit at their house. His wife remains shy and [593] withdrawn toward him, just as every young woman is toward her husband. She is not angry either, nor does she feel insulted by his refusal.

593 The man, too, is not angry. He sometimes brings some-
●626 thing for his wife which she can use in the household, as is
833 customary between man and wife and as he would do if they were "good" together. Frequently, he spends the night at a married brother's or sister's house, by preference not in that of his parents, because the latter very clearly show him that he should not sleep in their house but with his wife. A certain amount of pressure is therefore exerted upon him. "People who act like that have a short life," it is said.

In case the wife refuses, there is a similar situation./203/. She is similarly told that women in such circumstances do not live long. "If a woman continues to refuse her husband, her [761] bier will creak" (1). Her husband is not angry at her, nor

593 /203 cont./ 1. That is to say, then
626 she will soon die. For
833 when a corpse is placed
[761] upon the bier made of
bamboo, the bier creaks.

does he feel shame because she refuses him. Her kinsmen feel a little embarassed (siri' siri') because they brought about the marriage and therefore also bear responsibility for her refusal, so they are extremely friendly toward the young man.

586 The belief that the performance of ritual can cause a
[833] man or wife to give up his (her) refusal to have sexual intercourse entails that one waits for a long time before officially dissolving the contracted marriage. This is usually done with the mutual consent of the older people. Only when the latter have given up hope, after at least a year has elapsed, that the marriage could still become "good," is one of the two spouses permitted to marry someone else. Only then is the divorce of the first marriage registered.

In the case of couples who have been living separately for a long period of time, people often do not exactly know whether the Moslem marriage dissolution has already taken place. Little interest is shown in this.

The unwillingness of a young man is thus accepted, even though people are not simply satisfied with this right away. But one does not accept his giving the talak /formal repudiation. -- Ed./. A case of a young man disposing of his wife against the wishes of his older kinsmen was unknown in Borongloë. Informants believed that he would disgrace his kin group by doing so.

593 Even though a couple is "good" together after the wedding
833 festivities are over, this relationship may not be lasting in a number of cases. After a shorter or longer period of time, no more sexual relations take place in such a case. This

627 671 682 684 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation. Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she

[626]

1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often remarried very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lale).

588 A man and a woman who flee together generally get married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet "a socially recognized union between members of the opposite sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question. The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter, and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from her parents (1).

[428]

588 /217 cont./ 1. The suggestion I made in 1938 to the effect that a deeper knowledge of the Makassarese marriage arrangement would clarify the reasons that lead to a silariang marriage has therefore proved incorrect. See /Ibid./ Vol. 149, p. 334.

684

[114]

Silariang is inevitably preceded by a violation of rules concerning social intercourse between the sexes, regardless of whether this was intentional or not. Only when one continues to search for the reasons leading to the transgression of these social rules, does one find the desire on the part of the individuals whose marriage is prevented by social or economic factors and who therefore resort to silariang.

521 Even if nobody else knows of this transgression but the
684 man and the woman, the latter can still not be sure that he will not boast of it in order to appear as a "ladies' man" among his companions. Boasting of success with women is typical of young men (tau rungka). They like to suggest extensive successes, even though actually little more has happened than that a number of significant glances were exchanged, and a few remarks of a general nature but, in his opinion, cleverly stated were made in her presence. At the same time, a young man has a valid reason for remaining vague when he makes such boasts, for if he were to be too explicit, so that another could understand to whom he is referring, his bragging immediately imperils the girl. Then
[626] her brother might hear of it. The fact that people "talk about her" is one of the worst things that can happen to a young woman. In that case she must certainly flee because
[558] her brother or cousin can do nothing but stab unless he wants

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

When she is being discussed, one of the older women,
[571] sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say,
[602] they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
C84 a trace do they return home one after the other.

The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to
[562] see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
[626 without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the
558] younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

684/221 cont. / affair is herewith ended and that neither man
695 nor woman may be subjected to any more difficulties. In practice, however, the man, at least initially, does not show his face in a kampong where many of the woman's kinsmen reside. For safety's sake he does not do so until, for instance, she is married to another man, and feelings with regard to him have quieted down somewhat.

626 The feelings with respect to the woman who has been
684 taken back home by her own kin group have not yet completely calmed down either. She has committed a mistake which lies more in the area of the salimara' than that of silariang. She is familiar with the danger connected with it and therefore takes care to conduct herself as inconspicuously as possible, so that her male kinsmen will be reminded as little as possible of her existence. In the few cases that such a separation took place, the woman was practically always married off shortly thereafter. In a single case where this did not happen, she
[588] fled three years later with another man likewise lower. This time the wali nonetheless had to give his consent for the marriage under pressure from the imam, who pointed out that he had taken poor care of this woman's siri' by not finding a man for her.

684 As a reason for having fled with a man, a girl sometimes states that he forced her to do so and that he threatened to
834 kill her if she did not go with him. The jurist who /222/ would accept "forcible abduction," in all such cases would make a mistake. It could not be expected of a girl to confess, even as a sworn witness before the judge, that she went with her "abductor" of her own volition. This would be a sign that she desired him, and this cannot be expected from any woman who is brought up in the idea that the display of this desire (lale) is greatly reprehensible (1).

1. In such a case one might consider not swearing in the abducted woman, of whom it

684 /222 cont./ cannot be expected that
834 she would speak the truth
on this point.

Nor does a man need to use force if he wants to coerce a woman to flee with him. By making her siri', he leaves her no choice. It would then be too dangerous for her to remain at home. Her brother would be able to do little else than stab her. Occasionally a man may purposely make a woman siri' and thereby force her to flee with him because he wants to marry her while she does not desire him for a husband. But [626] more frequently the reason is that his kinsmen desired this union, and their request for it was turned down. For the young man, a remark such as: "Why are we refused?" is then tantamount to a command to respond to the insult of such a refusal. And he can do this in no better way than by forcing a flight.

177 Under modern circumstances in Macassar, conditions are
834 frequently somewhat different. If girls continue to attend school after they have become marriageable, their contact with young men is quite different from those under the conditions previously described. In such a situation her fear of contact with a young man is less, because now there are subjects about which she can talk to him without danger. At the same time the attitude of the young men changes. They no longer regard themselves as siri' if their sister talks to one of their school friends.

177 It is possible that the number of silariang marriages in this
588 younger generation is larger than in the country because, on the one hand, the opportunity for the young people to carry out their own choice against that of their parents is much greater, and, on the other hand, the danger of being stabbed in these circles is decreasing rather /223/ than increasing. Figures are not available. At the same time there are arguments which explain why the number is not much larger

177 /223 cont./ already. This is connected with the fact that
588 silariang is regarded as bad (kodi) and a festive wedding as good (badji'). A young man who likes a girl may ask her whether she wants to flee, but he will immediately accept her refusal when she says that she does not want to make her mother unhappy, or that she does not want to do "the bad," that is to say, silariang.

177 A modern young woman who associated very freely with
588 young men -- she went alone to run errands in the toko /stores/
684 and conversed with her male colleagues in the normal school when she met them on the street -- met with considerable
[626] criticism from her aunts and older sisters. They called her a street broom and assured her repeatedly that she would come to an evil end. She received many requests to flee, and most of these were made not so much through a lust for adventure, but rather as a consequence of the fact that many young Makassarese men from a good house find it pleasant to marry a modern young woman who can get along in company. Silariang was therefore a means for them to carry out their wishes against those of their parents. But this young woman steadfastly refused; "I want to show that I can be modern in a good way" (eroki kupappatjinikang kamoderengangku), she would say, and the young men would be content with that. She indicated that prohibited contact in and by itself did not need to have bad consequences in the form of a marriage by flight.

Erangkale

588 One speaks of "silariang" when a man and woman flee
684 together, and of "erangkale" (literally, "to bring one's self") when the woman runs away from home alone to the man who has made her siri'. Reasons for these two forms of silariang are not different either in principle or in consequences. Frequently, it depends upon an accident whether a woman

588 /223 cont./ leaves alone or with the man. I call it an
684 accident, for instance, whether she succeeds in arranging a rendezvous for the flight through an intermediary. The fear that upon (unintentional) forbidden contact, the reaction will be a /224/ stab with the knife is always one of the motives for her flight.

588 When a woman flees to a man, the latter can do nothing
626 but go with her. He would be no "man," not even in the
558 opinion of his own kin group, if he did not do so. Rather than letting it be said of him that he "flees from a woman," he goes with her to the village or religious functionary, marries, and in so doing invites all the difficulties which a silariang marriage brings with it. Then he behaves as beseems a man.

588 It is assumed as a matter of course that a woman who
626 takes refuge with a man has reason for this. The man who
684 refuses marriage in such a case can be sure that he will no longer be an acceptable guest to many people. It is regarded as very reprehensible to make a girl siri' and then not to marry her. I was able to record only two instances of this.

684 When a girl of approximately thirteen years of age had taken refuge with a man of about twenty-six, the latter denied that he had given cause for this. He had known her a long time, so he said, and his feelings toward her had
[626] merely been those of a brother. He lamented what she had done because now they were both siri' in his opinion, she, because she fled, and he because many would be unwilling to accept his refusal and would therefore be loath to receive him in their houses. It is noteworthy about this statement that this man placed the siri' feeling of the woman beside his own. Thus, he ascribes to her siri' feelings which normally only men are supposed to possess, feelings which arise when an attempt, made in public, to attain something fails.

In the other example, the man admitted that he did have some fun with the woman who fled to him (bandjulu',

684 /224 cont./ here used in the sense of "make little verbal jokes"), but he refused to go with her. At the request of her father she was then returned to her kin group by authority of the judge. "We have enough kinsmen who can marry her," was the explanation for this request, and so it happened. In these two instances, the determined attitude of the man was accepted, while at the same time he was not regarded as tumannjala. The explanation for this may be the character /225/ of the girl, who in both cases was known not to possess the modesty and timidity which girls really should have.

588 626 684 A number of times a woman fled to a stranger in the belief that he made her siri', while in his own mind he had done something quite ordinary. Thus, a Christian Sangirese who was appointed as foreman over a number of Makassarese turned in public to the sister of one of them to ask where her brother was. A few days later she fled to him. After having been instructed by friends, he reacted according to Makassarese expectations. He paid the sunrang and the fine and behaved as beseems a good tumannjala until the reconciliation had taken place according to Makassarese custom. Only the Moslem marriage ceremony did not take place.

689 609 When an Indochinese in such a situation refused to marry, the imam took the girl back to her kin group. The latter regarded neither him nor her as tumannjala. "He does not know our adat," they said, and that was a sufficient explanation for them.

834 684 There are countless reasons which make a woman siri' and lead her to take refuge with a certain man. In each case forbidden contact with this man can be demonstrated. Frequently this contact is accidental. The girl who was addressed by the Sangirese just mentioned was at that moment engaged in drawing water. She did not answer, which was perfectly natural from the Makassarese point of view, but her father had observed the situation and said: "I sent you to the well to

622 /232 cont./ siri' feelings must be repressed. It is also always
627 a superior who makes the first attempts at creating a reconciliation. The tumasiri' cannot oppose his clearly expressed wishes, unless they have special reasons for doing so. However, [577] the tumasiri' can only be expected to begin by fighting against a reconciliation, because this is masculine, and it is therefore appreciated if one adopts an unconciliatory attitude and pretends that this siri' can only be reconciled by death.

But there are limits to the pressure which a superior can exercise in such an instance. If the pressure is too strong, his wish is not accepted by a number of tumasiri'. At most, the one who during preparatory conversations had personal contact with the superior feels obligated toward the superior. Opposition grows between the tumasiri', and through "incorrect understanding" the reconciliation ceremony ends in failure. In that case the tumasiri'-tumannjala relation continues to exist. This was the case when the brother of a woman who had fled yielded to the pressure of the gurukampong to agree to the reconciliation. At the hour that had been fixed, none of the other kinsmen was present in the house to which the tumannjala were supposed to come. Previously the rumor had circulated that difficulties were to be expected. For that reason the adat community head had sent a representative. Since the personal authority of the gurukampong was insufficient, someone higher than he had to be present in order to prevent bloodshed.

The two tumannjala were received by the representative of the /233/ head, the gurukampong (the mediator), and the wife's brother. The situation was extremely difficult for the [626] brother . He was present in order not to be impolite toward the gurukampong, but among his kinsmen he was regarded as the one who had shown insufficient awareness of the disgrace that had been inflicted upon them. He was spared being asked for forgiveness by the couple and having his hand grasped by

and where they have come from. For example, they tell 565
people that they were nobles where they came from. Here 567
is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power 178
of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there 696
were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. 681
If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They 567
became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they
have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is 626
a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember
it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any
event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would [684]
be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or [588]
a woman who married or had something to do with a man of
lower status.

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social 557
sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale 565
by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. 556
The social classes are set.

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it 554
would be better to say that there is some. There are many 531
cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able
to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they
may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which
were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more
wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is
practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all
the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman
and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are
numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes,
terms of address, and manners.

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable 178
flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for 554
an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted 342
only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and 565
nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly 531
use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present.
As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the
"real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide
and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one
except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved
wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used
illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so
used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in
house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was
once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

554 /212 cont./ The idea that the person whose social
571 standing is attacked must react, because whoever does not
177 react is low in standing, has led at present to the relative popularity of various modern sports. The English idea in sports that one should be a "good loser" in everything is foreign to the Makassarese. To lose demands a reaction. One does not like to take part in a sport where everyone can directly see by the outcome who has won. In soccer matches standing is already harmed by the first opposing goal. The desire to score with a countering point thereby becomes so excessively great that both individual achievements as well as team play suffer from it. A trailing score is therefore difficult to equalize. Soccer circles in Macassar use this fact to point out that Makassarese have poor morale in competitive situations.

554 In the previous chapter we explained that a woman
558 may not lose any standing. Her position is a fixed point for
689 the men who are constantly outdoing each other. An impair-
●627 ment of her standing immediately calls for the most violent reaction, namely, the death of the challenger. Whoever does not react is "matesiri'," that is to say, "socially dead." This is expressed by saying that such a person is no longer "of use," or that he is generally despised. Killing is used because what has happened is felt to be so bad that no other reaction is considered possible.

However, there are many reasons why a man in such a case prefers not to kill. Fear of the long prison sentence that awaits him or personal feelings of sympathy for the person who committed the transgression are among them. The tendencies to kill and not to kill are both present. And now their relationship is so much off balance that a man is not expected to go and find the person who made him siri' /213/ with the purpose of killing him, but to make a clearly observable attempt to do so in case of an encounter.

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an
558 attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number
689 of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise, in social standing is touched at the core through impairment of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

558 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women, and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the silariang complex. A number of its aspects will now be discussed.

684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings about siri', is always held against both man and woman. Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger. For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house, and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which
[583] therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated in the literature by "siliariang" marriage.

684 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for
● 627 contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only
588 be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who caused siri' in this way must be killed, because only in this way can the challenge be answered and the siri' feeling of the challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

554 /213 cont./ On this occasion there is always a superior,
588 functionary or someone of higher blood present, because only
627 then does an inferior control his siri' /214/ feelings. It would
684 be a great discourtesy to act according to one's own opinions against the wishes of a superior and on top of that in the superior's presence. In a conflict of impulses to kill or not to kill, the presence of the superior makes not killing acceptable.

A superior, however, cannot without further ado impose his will upon inferiors. More clearly than elsewhere there appear here the limits of power that a superior has over an inferior. Coercion on the part of the superior to bring about a reconciliation has as a consequence not only the fact that no reconciliation is brought about, but it even intensifies existing difficulties. Below, we shall see examples of this.

588 After reconciliation there is no more question of siri';
607 relationships are again normal. But during the entire period,
684 from the moment of the flight to the reconciliation, the relationships between the fleers, tumannjala ("people who have made a mistake"), and the wife's male kinsmen, the tumasiri' ("people who are siri'"), is bound to various rules. In practice there are many generally accepted ways of meeting the difficulties that have arisen through these siri' feelings, which will be described below. One repeatedly comes upon situations, or hears opinions defended by those involved, which are comprehensible only on the basis of ideas concerning challenging and killing. This does not mean that each silariang marriage is intended in the first place as a challenge, but it is regarded as such. Subsequent conduct is in accordance with it.

627 A man who has been made siri' by a violation of sexual
684 prohibitions is therefore expected to kill the one who has transgressed. But it is not a matter of indifference how this killing takes place. By preference, it must be done in a manner worthy of a man, that is to say, by a stab with a knife (badi') in the open.

627 /214 cont./ One who acts in this manner does not do so
684 in blind rage. He knows exactly whom he wants to stab. In such a case one speaks of adjallo' (1). A man whose sister

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1. See above, p. 74. It is completely incorrect to speak in such a case of "amuck"; this term covers an entirely different psychic state. Compare Professor van Wulfften Palthe, "De psychologie van de amok /The Psychology of the Amok/," Fakkel, 1941.

fled years ago and who stabbed her to death at an accidental encounter showed no remorse for his deed, but nonetheless was saddened about her death. He lamented the fact that he /215/ had encountered her. Given this encounter, however, he had been unable, as he saw it, to act in any other way unless he wanted to be regarded as a man without honor. Thus he was in a situation in which he saw no other way out than to kill.

Led before the judge, a defendant in a similar case
627 generally confesses without hesitation. In answer to the
671 question how he came to do the deed, he reports that the
682 victim -- in the most fortunate case the maltreated person --
684 made him siri', and he regards this as sufficient motivation because every Makassarese immediately understands this involves his female relatives, and, on the basis of that, sympathizes with his deed.

Once they are sentenced by the judge, the defendants
[695] rarely appeal. They accept the decision without further ado. They regard their deed as an honorable male act and not as a misdeed. Toward the judge who must sentence them they want to confess nobly, and they do not want reduced

627 671 682 684 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation. Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she [626]

1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often remarried very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lale).

588 A man and a woman who flee together generally get married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet "a socially recognized union between members of the opposite sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question. The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter, [428] and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from her parents (1).

428 588 /216 cont./

1. The religious judge (sjarat) acknowledges the share of the inheritance which is due her, but in the case of an "ordinary" division, that is to say, a division which takes place without the religious judge, her existence is officially ignored. At the most this relationship is used as a pretext, without being expressly stated as such, to leave the estate entirely or partially undivided.

593 684 627 [539]

The first person eligible to act when a woman has taken part in a contact situation is her brother. A little poem illustrates this:

Sari'battangadji todjeng,	Only the brother is the true,
iadji kalli' madjarre';	he alone is the strong fence,
pindu' tjikali	where cousins
naempoi ranggasela.	of the sixth and fourth degree waver.

There is no mention here of the girl's father. He is the one who must give the official consent to the marriage and later to the reconciliation, but if his son does not agree, he [602] gets into difficulties. Officially, all male kinsmen of the woman are siri' when she has fled, but those who take an active part in such a case are, in the first place, her brother and sometimes also a cousin of the fourth degree, or a follower (2) of her father. The boundaries cannot be sharply

2. "His siri' is that of his master," it is said.

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602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
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3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/," Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri'. /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
114 great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status, nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

When she is being discussed, one of the older women,
[571] sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
●627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say,
[602] they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to
[562] see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
[626 558] without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

588 /220/ In the case of a silariang marriage, the man must
684 pay a fine (kasalaang). The person performing the marriage ceremony records this payment in the marriage register. The money is kept and offered to the wife's father during the reconciliation. The latter does not want to accept the fine directly during the performance of the marriage because in so doing he would again recognize a tie with his daughter that he does not want. He therefore often asks the imam, the man who has performed the wedding ceremony, to accept this money as a "good gift" (sidakka'). That is the practice in Borongloë. Elsewhere, the marriage official hands this fine over to the wife's father directly after the marriage has been performed.

177 A few observations can be made concerning the origin
●627 of this local difference. This fine formerly used to be called,
684 "cutting off what is pointed," or "making blunt what is sharp"; this meant that after the receipt of the fine no reason for stabbing was thought to exist any more (1). The fine was

1. Cf. C. T. Bertling, "Huwelijk en huwelijksrecht in Zuid-Celebes /Marriage and Marriage Law in South Celebes/," /Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 147, p. 203. /Batavia, 1938./

regarded as an element of the reconciliation, and for that reason was not paid until that occasion. Makassarese feelings linked the receipt of the fine to the end of the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship.

177 Shortly after the South Celebes expedition of 1905, the
627 number of stabbings based upon a silariang affair seems to
648 have been very large. At that time the administration looked
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177 /220 cont./ for means to limit this number. In 1906,
● 627 Governor Kroese issued a circular letter in which he made the
648 suggestion designed to cause the fine to be paid directly at
684 the nikka' and to be accepted by the wife's wali, in cases of silariang marriage. He hoped that the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship would be directly removed in this way.

However carefully the suggestion may have been handled, the pressure that was exerted was nonetheless too strong. Since that date the fine has in fact been paid at the nikka' in a great many districts, but the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship nonetheless has remained in existence. Only when we keep in mind these historical facts can we understand why, in a certain region where the wife's father accepts the fine at the nikka' but the sunrang not until the reconciliation, 'making blunt what is sharp' now indicates this sunrang.

684 /221/ According to Moslem law, the wife's wali may
582 refuse his consent to a marriage on the basis of the fact that the woman is of a higher status than the man. In an ordinary case such a difference is reason for refusing a marriage request, even if a different reason is given: "It is not seeming that they should marry" (taena nasiratang), is the usual
[588] expression. If the wali in a case of silariang refuses to give his consent on these grounds, the imam separates them, unless the couple desires to carry through the marriage. In that case the affair goes before the judge. If the decision states that the woman is higher than the man, they are separated. Rather than seeing her married to a man of lower blood, the kinsmen will take her back again though she made them siri'.

684 After such a separation by authority of the imam or judge,
695 there no longer exists any tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship. The functionary concerned reports to the tumasiri' that the

/226 cont./
Extramarital Pregnancy

848 Pregnancy is naturally a reason for flight for an unmarried woman. For the first few months the male relatives need not notice anything so she can safely remain at home. Her mother or sister is sometimes taken into her confidence, but both will always deny this. If, under these circumstances, a woman does not suceed in persuading the father of her child to flee and marry her, she finally flees by herself and names [588] him to the religious official concerned. Summoned by the imam, the majority of men confess. Thereupon the marriage is carried out, and the couple is henceforth simply regarded and treated as tumannjala.

A man who continues to deny being the father of the child is taken to the Kali of Goa. If he maintains his denial [695] there, he receives the opportunity to swear solemnly in the great mosque of Goa that he did not make this woman pregnant. Once he has performed this oath, he is free. In reality, however, he is still in danger. He will do well not to enter the kampong where the woman used to live. The general opinion is that a woman does not lie under such circumstances. A man who denies being the father of her child, even though he has fortified his denial by an oath, must always take care [627] that one of her /227/ kinsmen will not try to kill him all the same. Only when she has subsequently married another man is he safe.

584 After the man has made his oath, the woman remains in the imam's house until someone comes who wants to marry 588 her. This usually happens after a few days. First an emissary 848 from this man has a talk with the imam, who then conveys the marriage request to the woman. If she is not yet acquainted with her marriage partner-to-be, she is given an opportunity to see him, and she can then decide for herself. If she remains seated silently with bowed head, this is tantamount to her consent. But her expression "tea'" (I don't want to) is accepted. A woman who refuses several candidates one after another will at most be told that she is making

588 /231 cont./ Rappung shook hands with those present (a'djama taëng) in the order of rank and status, first the Imam [554 who urged him to go to his wife, who remained seated motion- 576] less. He just touched her hand. He then went to the two witnesses, first the oldest, then the Imam's younger brother, and finally to his two kinsmen who had come along.

The Imam opened the round copper box (kampu) in which the sunrang was contained. In it were: two kalomping (betel leaves folded in a special way), two pieces of areca nut, a few grains of rice, and 4.25 guldens. Of this, 0.25 gulden was designated for the Kali of Goa, and 0.25 gulden for each of the witnesses. The rest was for the Imam. And finally there was a small lump of earth symbolizing the sawah transferred as sunrang. The money was taken out of the box and distributed. Thereupon, the couple left, and with them their companions.

[493] Two three-wheeled bicycles with baskets (tallu roda) stood in readiness. Rappung and his wife sat down on the one in front. "They find it pleasant to sit close together" (nangai siampika), those on the second tallu roda shouted, but Djawi turned her back to him /232/ and by this demonstrative aversion showed that she knew how a just-married woman should behave.

Reconciliation

602 The reconciliation can be defined as the solemn arrival 627 of the two tumannjala together with the man's kinsmen and acquaintances at the house of the father or one of the brothers of the wife. There many of her kinsmen are gathered for the occasion. Wife and husband ask for forgiveness from all those present and offer the sunrang, the fine, and cookies.

622 The kampong head, or a higher functionary, is always 627 present on such an occasion. He is the one under whose authority the reconciliation comes about. In his presence the

622 /232 cont./ siri' feelings must be repressed. It is also always
● 627 a superior who makes the first attempts at creating a reconciliation. The tumasiri' cannot oppose his clearly expressed wishes, unless they have special reasons for doing so. However,
[577] the tumasiri' can only be expected to begin by fighting against a reconciliation, because this is masculine, and it is therefore appreciated if one adopts an unconciliatory attitude and pretends that this siri' can only be reconciled by death.

But there are limits to the pressure which a superior can exercise in such an instance. If the pressure is too strong, his wish is not accepted by a number of tumasiri'. At most, the one who during preparatory conversations had personal contact with the superior feels obligated toward the superior. Opposition grows between the tumasiri', and through "incorrect understanding" the reconciliation ceremony ends in failure. In that case the tumasiri'-tumannjala relation continues to exist. This was the case when the brother of a woman who had fled yielded to the pressure of the gurukampong to agree to the reconciliation. At the hour that had been fixed, none of the other kinsmen was present in the house to which the tumannjala were supposed to come. Previously the rumor had circulated that difficulties were to be expected. For that reason the adat community head had sent a representative. Since the personal authority of the gurukampong was insufficient, someone higher than he had to be present in order to prevent bloodshed.

The two tumannjala were received by the representative of the /233/ head, the gurukampong (the mediator), and the wife's brother. The situation was extremely difficult for the
[626] brother . He was present in order not to be impolite toward the gurukampong, but among his kinsmen he was regarded as the one who had shown insufficient awareness of the disgrace that had been inflicted upon them. He was spared being asked for forgiveness by the couple and having his hand grasped by

622 /233 cont./ them, because then the tumasiri'-tumannjala
627 relation would have been removed for him while it would continue with respect to his other kinsmen. The upshot now was that after a short meeting the couple returned home with the man's kinsmen who had come along, taking with them the sunrang, fine, and cookies. The general opinion was that the fault lay with the gurukampong who had exerted too much pressure.

627 Arguments that are adduced to sway the wife's kin group to agree to a reconciliation state that the woman longs so much for her mother, that people who are related to each other belong together, and that the man's mistake is a small one. In the event that the woman takes refuge with a man, and, to an even greater degree, if she marries an outsider in a pregnant state, the reconciliation can usually take place very soon, that is to say, within a few months.

On the other hand, the tumasiri' frequently have reasons of their own to refuse a reconciliation, reasons which the superior on his part also understands and accepts. When a man had been stabbed to death during his flight and the woman shortly thereafter married an outsider, an attempt at reconciliation failed because it was argued that it was necessary to wait until her brother had returned from jail where he was now held for manslaughter through her fault.

For a man who fled with the niece (kamanakang) of his wife
[694 who had lived in his house as a young girl, no reconciliation
835] could be brought about. The fact that he had fled with a housemate was reason for the kinsmen to feel especially siri'. His crime in this case was considered very great.

After the flight of a man with his wife's sister, where the wife should have first received the talak because, according to Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at once, reconciliation was refused since the first wife was still "unhappy." /234/ Not until she was remarried, so it was believed, would the reconciliation be possible.

627 /234 cont./. After the flight of a man with a higher woman, it is practically impossible to bring about a reconciliation (1). In all these cases it was therefore believed that

1. An exceptional case was reported on page 125.

there was a reason for the wife's kin group to feel more than usually siri', and as a consequence reconciliation also took longer than usual.

The tumasiri' who make the decision in these reconciliation matters that is followed by all kinsmen are the closest male kinsmen, more specifically the father and the (oldest) brother of the woman. In case of a conflict between the two, the father declared in a certain case that he was leaving the matter to his son to regulate. In so doing, he externally maintained his position as leader in the family whom the sons must obey, but in reality it was his son who carried through his wishes. The influence of the woman's mother and sisters is small in these siri' matters. They are expected not to concern themselves with these things. Siri' matters touch upon life and death; they are men's problems. An older woman may at some point confidentially make the observation to one of the older men that by now surely enough time has passed since the flight, but there is no reason to assume that any notice is taken of such a remark. In these matters women merely furnish their cooperation in subordinate matters such as the filling of the kampu, the baking of the cookies, and the preparation of the feast.

593 627 562 593 627

It is said that after the reconciliation great care is taken that all the wife's kinsmen, thus all the tumasiri', receive a number of the cookies brought by the couple. For whoever has eaten of these cookies can never say later on that he was not in agreement with the reconciliation, and this implies that he will not make an attempt at stabbing during a later encounter

627 602

602 /234 cont./ with the tumannjala. The acceptance of the
627 cookies is therefore the overt sign that one is in accord with the reconciliation.

The limits of the kin group -- in the first chapter it was described in detail -- are vague. It is therefore impossible to include all those who must receive cookies /235/. At best, therefore, one sees to it that these cookies are offered to the houses of the prominent kinsmen and especially to those of leading men. But the individual who is not content with the reconciliation can easily avoid the cookies. The distribution of the cookies is an outward form which has little significance for the actual relationship. Nor does it seem that it had more significance formerly and that we are therefore dealing here with a so-called "outworn adat."

The same applies to the statement that a tamannjala being pursued is safe from a stab by the tumasiri' pursuing him, if he throws his cap inside the fence of the yard belonging to a kampong head or other functionary. People like to tell of this custom and add that this was formerly the case and that it should really be this way. Recent instances are unknown, however. It always remains a moot question whether, and if so to what extent, the pursuer adhered to this custom even in former times.

Cap and cookies adats are instances of forms which arise where strong feelings demand formalization. For the actual course of events they are of little importance.

684 It is impossible for a woman who has fled and has been
593 left alone, for instance because her husband has died, to
588 bring about a reconciliation with her kinsmen. One other means is nonetheless available to her. She can surrender herself to the mercies of her kin group. Thus a crying woman unexpectedly entered the house of her parents from which she had fled about six years earlier. "Kill me if you wish, here I am," were her words. She gave as the reason for her return the fact that she longed desperately for her mother. Her

684 /235 cont./ arrival aroused a great commotion, but the
593 situation that had thus arisen was accepted, and she was
588 henceforth not regarded as tumannjala. However, such cases remain a rarity.

Even married women resort to this method, though very rarely, if a reconciliation in the customary manner seems impossible. This was done by a woman, for instance, whose husband had taken a second wife and who was now receiving insufficient means of support from him. The same was also done by a childless woman. The action is regarded as a deed
[627] of desperation. In performing it the woman runs the risk of being killed, for in so doing she delivers herself to her brothers who would stab her to death, or at least /236/ would have to make an attempt at doing so in case of an accidental meeting in public. However, her act of desperation has as a consequence that the latter no longer feel the urge to stab. She who originally made them siri' now shows herself lesser than they.

Declaration of Death

There is also a way for the tumasiri' to escape the need to behave as tumasiri'. This is the "declaration of death." "I no longer have a child, neither in this world nor in the hereafter" (1), are the customary words. It is also said that

1. Tenamo anakku rilino nariahereka.

the child is "declared dead" (2) by the one who has spoken

2. Nimateangi.

these words, that he has cast it out (3), that it is no longer

3. Natallaki ana'na.

684 /236 cont./ recognized by him as his child (4). This
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588

4. Nisassali rimanggena.

declaration sometimes takes place in the mosque in the presence of the imam and other prominent men of the adat community. This simply adds more force to the words. The declaration can also be made at home without any intentional witnesses.

The utterance of the words may, in the first instance, be coupled with some ritual in the form of offering psang. On that occasion the religious official recites the initial words of the Koran. It is said that thereby the Prophet is regarded as another witness to the utterance of the declaration (5).

5. Nipappisa'biangi rina'bia.

Modern Islamites repudiate this ritual. They speak contemptuously of "the pisang reading" (amattja unti).

The consequence of this declaration of death, which is closer to the Islamic than the ancestral world, is not that a child is thereby regarded as disinherited. The religious judge (sjarat) took no account of it in regulating the personal estate of a man who had declared his daughter dead.

In practice it seems to be principally the father of the
593 fled woman who at present makes use of such a declaration.
588 Her brothers do not do so; they do not regard themselves bound
684 by their father's declaration. They consider themselves free,
627 both in their attempts to kill her, as well as in giving their assent to the reconciliation. /237/ Repeatedly, a tacit recall takes place as the father later also gives his consent to the reconciliation. But it also has happened that a reconciliation came about with all the tumasiri' except the woman's parents.

593 /237 cont./ In yet another case the brothers and cousins of
588 the woman tacitly agreed with the declaration uttered by
684 their father. In this case she had fled to a lower man, and
627 therefore the tumasiri', as they asserted, could not act as is otherwise customary after silariang.

Frequently, a special reason can be given for the deposition of such a declaration of death. The fact that a man regularly walked past the house of his wife's father in an insolent manner before the reconciliation, when he should have kept himself outside the view of his tumasiri' as much as possible was a reason for the latter to feel extra siri'. Another man whose daughter had gone to live with a distant
593 kinsman at the pasar of Borongloë and who was there receiving
684 various men saw in this a reason to repudiate her.

The declaration of death seems to be a new institution.
684 It relieves the tumasiri' of their duty to stab. On the other
627 hand, it makes a reconciliation difficult. The fact that
[177] existing ties are considered to be completely broken diminishes both the chance of stabbing as well as of reconciliation.

If siri' feelings, which in affairs concerning women can only be reconciled by death, could in future increasingly be satisfied by a declaration of death, we would have here an opportunity of solving the conflict in a manner less harmful to the many men who at present now realize that the honor of their related group is too dearly paid for by a jail sentence of an average of eight years. /238/

SUMMARY

105 In Makassarese culture four different forms of grouping can be distinguished, each with its own function.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau ODID Toradja OB11
Bali OF7 Makassar OB6
Borneo OC1

215 I 423 829 627 577 I MM MK Br 578 231 627 689

the individual body, health and the rules of magic in life, the possession of goods, the relationship to offspring and to married couples, belong practically everywhere to the life-circle of persons, which is protected against encroachment.

B. INDONESIAN TERMINOLOGIES

The various injuries have their own names—sometimes original names, in the case of a closely related group of actions, such as all sorts of theft, although the native names for delicts are very elastic in their meanings, such as "dago dagi" (Minangkabau), meaning disobedience toward those in adat authority, and "kagau gau" (Buginese), meaning to do something bad.

The fines for delicts are established in a specific relation to the offense, which cannot be further explained; for example, three plates for an ordinary insult, three plates and a pig for a serious insult, ten plates for insulting a chief (among the Lawangan Dyaks). This is one sample of the relation between the delict and fine taken at random from thousands of others, all as inexplicable as this.

I [789] T Br Bl I 578 231 627 689

The fines for delicts frequently show their magic character in their insistence in naming the goods which are owed by the delinquent (so many buffaloes, so many slaves, for instance) and then, without objection, allowing these goods actually to be replaced by objects of small monetary value or by a sum of money.

The fines for delicts have their specific designation in various law-areas, for example: "bosi sebelas kepala tajau" (West Borneo), a pot of the value of ten heads (kepala—head, in Malay) and twelve detached heads, which is the fine not for one sort of delict but for a group of various delicts (probably equal in degree). The Toraja distinguish between offenses committed with the mouth, for which the fine is based on payment in chickens; offenses committed with the hand, for which the fine is based on the value of goats; offenses committed with the whole body, where the fine is based on payment of buffaloes. According to the seriousness of the offense, the actual fine for delict consists, for instance, of a chicken with three things in addition, or of a buffalo with five things added to it, etc. In the Balinese desa, many offenses are punished by a money fine. Thus each law-area has its specific delict and reaction pattern. It seems to be a general characteristic that in cases of theft (and other offenses against property) the fine consists of a payment of twice or several times the value of the stolen property.

121 /4 cont./topic. The kinship terminology served as a starting point for this purpose.

/5/ Choice of Working Area

123 The stranger who intends to carry out an "adat investigation"
631 in South Celebes -- and all ethnological investigations, those
565 concerned with adat law as well as sociological and similar investigations, are so termed by the Makassarese and the Buginese themselves -- first comes in contact with the prince of the province /Landschap/ or with the head of the adat community where he wishes to work. One may not bypass the prince and his kin group /familie/, the nobility, at least not without incurring great difficulties later on. For the consequence of failing to obtain his consent to work in a certain kampong in his domain is that one loses the much needed good will of a large part of his subjects who might otherwise become good informants. Ignoring him is more than just discourtesy; it is an action which, from the point of view of the prince, expresses hostility. A highly placed stranger -- and that, after all, includes every investigator -- is a potential center of power to whom those who might be less favorably inclined toward the prince might be drawn and thereby constitutes a danger for the latter.

123 Adat investigation among ordinary kampong people is further
565 suspect because, according to the prince and his kinsmen, the
671 little man has no adat, just as, according to the Dutch bourgeoisie of half a century ago, the people had no manners. For a man of the nobility, adat is just that which distinguishes him from the people; his adat is the real one.

123 Here at the same time the danger that threatens one who would begin an investigation with the nobility becomes apparent. He loses the opportunity to obtain an insight into the relationship between high and low, as seen from the standpoint of the latter. Only after I had expressly declared that it was precisely
[121] the adat of the common people that I wished to study, because Mr. Friedericy had already described that of the prince, was it agreed that I should live elsewhere.

121 /5 cont./ The head of the adat community of Borongloë,
[631] one of the approximately ten adat communities which formed the province of Goa, was to be my host. I was able to agree to the choice of this adat community of around 14, 000 individuals, since the location in relation to Macassar was favorable; since the head was an energetic young man who made a pleasant impression on /6/ me and who, moreover, knew Dutch, a circumstance which could only facilitate the first contact; and finally, since, as soon became apparent to me, in this region there were no special vexations or corruptions, which frequently create an atmosphere hindering an investigation.

123 The investigator who has found a place to live in the kampong can henceforth avoid the old "adat experts" with great ease. As elsewhere in Indonesia, they constitute a barrier between the investigator and the object of his investigation.

[115] My host was a figure full of vitality who could not possible sit at home for any length of time and who preferred to roam through his domain, talking everywhere, settling things, and
[621] drinking coffee. His roving nature had the advantage that I was introduced to many houses of all 14 kampongs of the adat community in the most pleasant way imaginable and thus received a rough general view of what went on. It had the disadvantage that there could be no question of regular daily conversations of any length concerning the facts observed by myself.

At his house I became acquainted with the manner in which this headman's kin group /familie/ treated its servants and other underlings, and I received a first insight into Makassarese kin group /familie/ and nuclear family /gezin/ relationships. Not till then did the important position that the group of relatives /ver wantengroep/ occupies in Makassarese life among those of higher as well as of low /social status/ become clear to me. Therefore, not until then was it possible to attempt a closer analysis and to look around for a group of relatives that could be considered for this purpose.

000 /14 cont./2. E. E. Evans-Pritchard,
The Nuer, Oxford, 1940, p. 261.

/15/ Chapter I

Kinship

131 Goa Province extends from the ocean to the mountains.
133 The Djene'berang River, originating on the almost 3,000 meters high Bawakaraëng and emerging into the sea just to the south of Macassar, flows entirely through Goa's regions.
491 The large motor highway which connects Macassar with
361 Malino, situated 70 kilometers away in the mountain, runs practically parallel with the river. Approximately 10 kilometers outside Macassar lies the little town of Sungguminasa, still entirely in the plain, the residence of the Prince of Goa. Only 30 kilometers further on the road begins to climb
[133] steeply. The 30 kilometers to Sungguminasa lead through an undulating plain where woods and sawahs alternate. Groups of houses lie scattered through the country. At kilometer post 15, just past Sungguminasa, lies Kampong Bontoramba.
369 Elegant automobiles belonging to the residents of the large city roar through it, but this has little influence on village life and everyday thought. Some of the old people have never seen Macassar. For the majority a visit to the large city is a significant event, but more because of the many curiosities to be seen and experienced there than because of the changes to be introduced into one's own life after returning home.

● 631 Bontoramba is one of the 14 kampongs which form the adat community of Borongloë, and at present Borongloë, together with 10 other adat communities, forms the federative unit which for hundreds of years has been known as Goa Kingdom.

612 /16 cont./ living together in the same territory (pa'rasangang),
621 whose members till the soil. Two pairs of opposing tendencies are observable here. In contrast to a striving toward endogamy, a much weaker striving to enter into marriage with non-kinsmen can be observed. In contrast to a striving to live together in the same territory, there exists an urge to disperse.

631 The Makassarese-Buginese section of the daërah /district/ of South Celebes is at present divided into provinces. Each /landsdrap/ consists of a number of territorial units, frequently called adat communities /adatgemeenschappen/. Each adat community in turn consists of a number of territorial units frequently called kampongs. The boundaries between provinces, between adat communities, and between kampongs are fixed on maps. This is a situation which anyone can immediately notice.

114 In addition it repeatedly appears in the literature that the writers are conscious of the fact that kin relationship
602 plays a very important role among the Makassarese. The foreigner observes that a Makassarese not only lives with kinsmen in one house, but also that he has kinsmen scattered throughout the country./17/ But no statements can be found in the literature with regard to the precise nature of kin relationship and its relation to the clearly discernible territorial division, and there exist only vague notions among foreigners who have become thoroughly acquainted with South Celebes, as well as among the Makassarese themselves.

124 Therefore, in carrying out this investigation, it was not possible to isolate a certain group of relatives as an object of observation; the boundary lines were always vague. The only form of grouping which was clearly outlined and which could therefore better serve as a starting point was the territorial one (1).

612 /19 cont./ groups in one territory, and, secondly, it appears
621 that a genealogical group lives scattered over several territories. Both deviations from the initially advanced principle demand closer elaboration.

66 In the first place, certain historical factors which contributed
178 to the development of this situation should be pointed out.
621 These are increase in population, greater security since the year 1905, and irrigation by which sawah cultivation became possible in districts hitherto unsuited for this, with the result that migration of small groups took place with much greater frequency than was previously necessary or possible. To an increasing degree, strangers requested permission to settle in a certain kampong territory (2).

2. Such, at least, is the official decree; in practice permission is not asked until the house has already been built and the sawah has already been broken.

621 In the second place, the difference in meaning of the term "kampong territory" at the present time and half a century ago should be pointed out. At that time the boundary of a territory coincided with the boundary of the power exercised by the related group residing in that region. The boundary changed in proportion to the power exercised by this group segment. This applied in the first place to /20/ the boundaries of the present-day kampongs. It also applied to a lesser degree to the boundaries of the present-day adat communities and provinces. After the arrival of the Dutch East Indies Government
621 in the region of the principalities in 1905, maps were made
648 in the course of the first few decades, and the boundaries
● 631 were indicated on them. The situation at that time was essentially fixed. Within the established boundaries, displacements of power subsequently took place. Territorial and power boundaries, therefore, no longer coincided at that time.

612 /20 cont. / A kampong head was appointed to rule over a
621 kampong territory. This head thereby also obtained authority
622 over the members of other groups of relatives which gradually
●631 came to live in that territory. Formerly, it is probably true to say, such a new group would have built up a small power center of its own there and would have displaced the existing one. Today such a group must actualize such a striving for power within fixed territorial administrative boundaries. This occurs frequently through a struggle for the headship of the region concerned, whether it is a kampong, an adat community, or a kingdom. The idea remained that a genealogical group should be in command of the territory inhabited by this group, and thus also of all those who lived in it. The striving for this can be observed repeatedly.

612 This striving is always directed primarily against the other-
621 group living in the territory which approaches the first-mentioned most closely in standing, in this case, therefore, the Mangenre group. But in view of the fact that this group is small and little integrated, the members of the Kapala group do not feel themselves threatened, and accordingly little is perceptible of their striving.

The same picture that was here given with regard to Bontoramba can also be observed in the majority of the other kampongs. A sample made in 1940 in kampong Pakatta indicated that there two groups of relatives of almost equal size resided in the kampong territory with a few separate households (a very small Rest group, therefore).

The only related group in the adat community which
[634] occupied an entire kampong territory practically by itself was that of the adat community head. Members of this group live distributed over two to three kampong territories. As the headman's group of relatives, however, they stand in contrast to all other Borongloë groups of relatives in the adat community
[567] territory. A few households of slaves (1) and a few separate

1. See below pp. 149 ff.

554 /91 cont./ The same can be said of the imam's office. The
583 Imam of Borongloë, who furnished information concerning the amount of the sunrang, explained several times that in a certain case a higher sunrang had been paid than was prescribed because the woman in question was related to him. This illustrates the
[602] advantage of kinship, for the woman was honored by the Imam with a higher sunrang than would otherwise have been possible. He would not have been able to refuse the request to record a higher sunrang without being accused of snobbery, for this would have shown that he no longer wanted to recognize his kinsmen as equals and thus no longer as kinsmen. /92/

4. The sunrang appears to be locally bound. Buginese
563 who have a regulation in their own country by which a much
583 higher sunrang is paid have to submit to the local regulations.
631 It is a public secret that actually they frequently pay their own sunrang of 44 reals but that in the registers an amount of 24 (22 or 20) reals is recorded. The marriage official knows about this and silently acquiesces. Officially there is no violation of the principle that the head of a certain territory is entitled to the highest sunrang.

5. It is necessary to be acquainted with the period when
554 the regulation was issued (1940) in order to understand how it
583 is possible that in spite of the existing regulation a higher
659 sunrang was paid for a sister of the adat community head than by the head himself. For the sister, who married in 1939 (before the new regulation came out), a sunrang of 28 reals was received, but when this head himself married fully a year later (after the new regulation), he was not allowed to pay more than 26 reals. There was no getting around the recent prescription issued by the Prince. Considering this situation, the somewhat annoyed remark of this head that in future he would take good care that no one received more than 26 reals was quite understandable.

554 6. The sunrang is not always equal even for people who
583 are kinsmen. A little leeway is possible, and it is just this
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571 [607] /104 cont./ had voluntarily become followers. They lived not only in the vicinity of their master; some resided even outside the Glarangship or regency, and only came if they were called or required protection.

571 631 "If a follower found himself in a dispute, if he had committed a misdemeanor which might put him in difficulties, or else if he had been harmed or insulted, he would not turn to his head, his Glarang, or to the regent, but rather to his master, his Karaeng, who acted as his protector, safeguarded his rights, and always tried to help him out of difficulties. It is obvious that the more prominent, the more influential the person who concerns himself with the interests of his follower, the easier it was to obtain justice, the more chance there was to be judged in the right even if one were wrong. Conversely, it was all the easier to go unpunished if one had committed an offense.

"This system of followers underwent such an expansion that not only Anakaraeng, but all nobles, and even well-to-do natives had followers. Consequently, in addition to the division of the /105/ land area into Glarangships and Kalompowan kampongs, there existed a division of residents into nobles, each with his followers, so that everyone of them constituted a power in the regency."

571 648 The quotation was long but valuable. Kooreman further points out that the function of the European administration is actually that of a super-karaeng, able to provide effective protection for all who ask for it, without any obligations being attached to this. In his opinion, this had as a consequence that in the course of decades the appeal for protection to the anakaraeng decreased, so that their power disappeared at the same time. As a result, little states within the state -- in the sense of a nobleman forming with his followers a unit within the realm -- no longer occurred.

178 571 From the data available at present, it appears that in the course of the last 75 years the forms in which the system of

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Before the commencement of the Dikir on the occasion of the Maulud festival in Laikang. Dikir is men's work; a girl is jokingly chased away. Page 193.

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General view of the Maulud festival in Laikang. The scaffolds are sent in by kampongs. In their size and construction the competitive spirit between kampongs finds expression.

[end plate 4]

[94 cont.]

A 583 marriage, the obligation was exclusively on the man to support his wife, and thus his influence might become too dominant. Another explanation might be that the so-called bride price served to identify ancestry not only in the male line but also in the female. That the bride price was ever regarded by the Atjehnese as a purchase price for the woman is difficult to assume when one considers the dominant matriarchal elements in

A 562 connection with marriage.

In harmony with the marriage and kinship rules, the position of women in Atjeh is fairly high. This can be inferred

A [586] from the fact, among others, that the ta' lik (1), a general

1. See Chap. 5, "Islam."

custom on Java, which strengthens the position of the woman

A 428 in the case of divorce, is not necessary in Atjeh. The laws of inheritance are, in general, based on Mohammedan law, but there are some deviations based on the adat.

A 421 422 In Atjehnese marriage, goods are not held in common; the man and wife keep the possessions they brought into the marriage strictly separated. Those possessions that are earned by their common efforts during the course of the marriage (for instance, work in the fields) are, however, regarded as common property in the lowlands. In the highlands, everything amassed during the marriage, whether through the efforts of both or of only one of them, is considered common property.

A 586 In the case of divorce the common property is divided in two; that brought into the marriage goes back to where it came from, but in some cases even what has been earned by the man alone is regarded as common property.

M 101 174 c. Buginese and Makassarese (South Celebes). These two peoples, in many respects similar to each other and differing primarily only in language, long ago reached a stage of political development where clan division has no influence. Their

M 631 society is based completely on territorial units, but the origin

[94 cont.]
631 of these territorial institutions is quite different from that of those found in other parts of the archipelago. From olden times on southern Celebes there has been [95] a kind of
643 feudal nobility, the Karaëng among the Makassarese and the Aroeng of the Buginese, with the members of their families, the Anakaraëng (Makassarese) and the Anakaroeng (Buginese). The criterion by which a Karaëng or an Aroeng is recognized as chief or ruler by the population is the possession of the so-called
[293 778] "regalia," which in southern Celebes are called ornaments (in Buginese, aradjang; in Makassarese, kalompowang). [Illustration appears here.] Among these objects there are a few of value, but also a number that are quite worthless, little bones, little pieces of wood, small stones, etc., and an article that is considered the most important, the gaoekang. It is a stone or a little stick that was found by the original owner, long, long ago in a particular
[142 291]

Buginese from Southern Celebes
Photo. Kol. Instituut Amsterdam. Coll. Veen.

[293 778] concealed place, or which he received under mysterious conditions. The worship of these regalia has something of the nature
793 of fetishism; among the prominent Karaëng there are even

[95 cont.]

793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These orna-
[293 ments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of
778] the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was
[714 the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his property. [96] His power was extended more and more because he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was prob-
[636 ably the only native jurisdictional community on southern
634] Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people, however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their position from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornament-
[631] ships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.

565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes, the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature
644 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treatment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng, sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became. The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary and could be severed by either side.

[614] Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the
582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy
583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

As for changes in political organization in the area during the last fifty years, there has evidently not been very much in the kampong or in the wanua, although perhaps the Dutch made the kampongs larger by combining several under one kepala kampong. The number of wanua evidently did not change. The old organization of Bone was as follows. At the bottom below the earth line were the people at large, the rakyat together with their kepala kampong, who, however, might be a noble too. Above the earth line in the heaven realm (so considered) were first of all the thirty-one kepala wanua, and then above them were the seven princes and above them the two tomakaka, one the tomakaka lolo and one the tomakaka tua together with the makadangetawa who was concerned mainly with foreign affairs. Finally at the top was the [radja] with his right hand man, the punggawa, as head of the army. Orders from the radja to the people went via the tomakaka tua to the seven princes, then to the kepala wanua concerned, and thence to the kepala kampong and thus to the people. Requests from the latter to the kepala kampong then went up to the kepala wanua concerned and thence to the seven princes and then to the tomokaka lolo and finally to the radja. However if a person were a noble he might take his requests directly to the radja and the latter in return might give more direct orders. As in Goa, nobles formerly scorned a lowly job. But at the wanua level they must always be nobles. There is some change noticeable today in that they have only one tomarilalang. It runs something like this today: at the top is still the radja together with the makadangetawa who is now concerned only with internal affairs and below the radja is this one tomarilalang and then come the seven princes or the Aru Pitu each representing a department of the government (but at present one office, that of Aru Udjung [probably the last (in rank?) of seven aru--Analyst] is vacant), then come the thirty-one kepala wanua as before and below the earth line the rakyat also unchanged. 631 178 565

Formerly (now too?), when a noble made a request to the radja, he first made his request to the tomarilalang and together they made the request to the radja.

As for the names of the classes arranged in descending order they are as follows: first the six noble classes known collectively as bangsawan or ana ma'padjung. 565

1. patola
2. tjera - tjitjing
3. tjera - dua
4. tjera - tiga
5. tjera - ampat
6. tjera - lima

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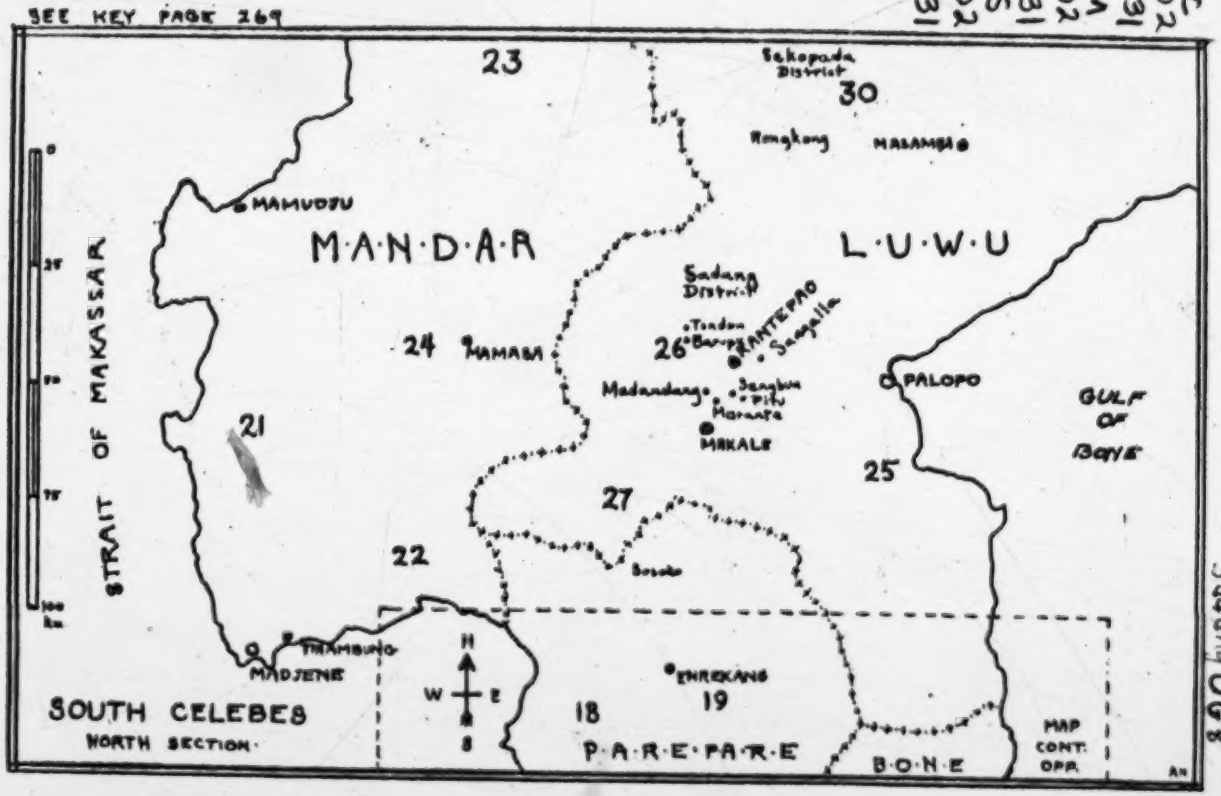
Celebes OG1 Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8



3: Kennedy E-5 (1949-50) 1953 OB1 Indonesia
Celebes OG1 Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

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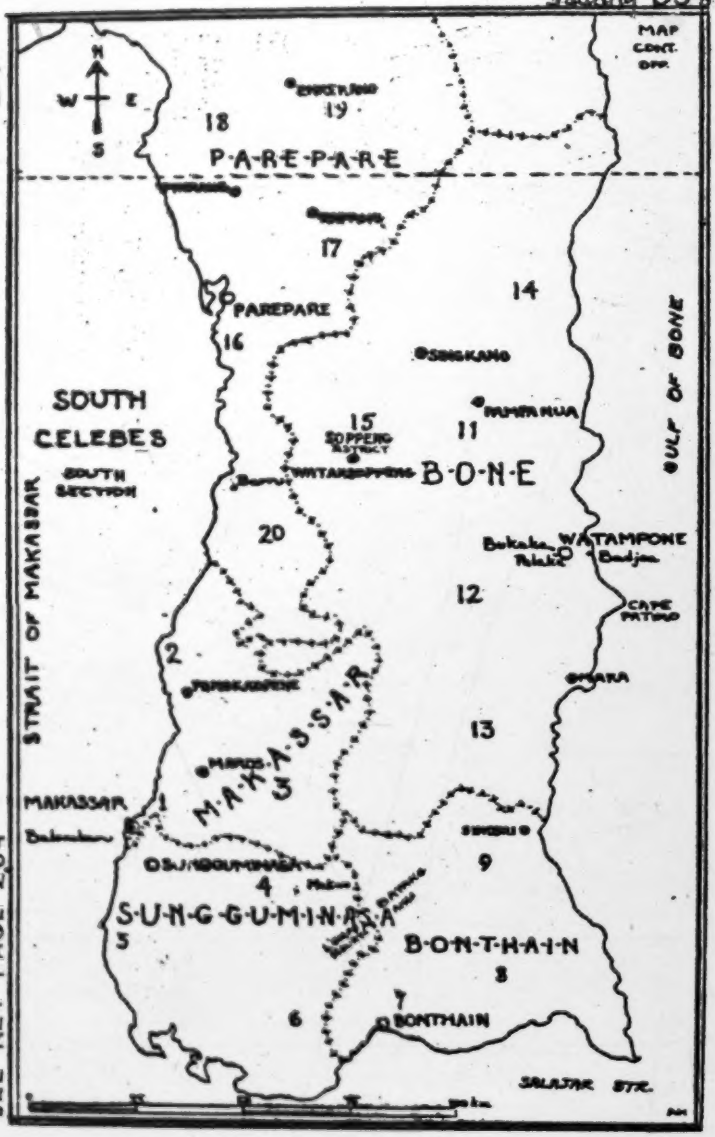

T /122 cont./
648 century the Chief of Djaladja gained great influence at the court
631 of Palopo, because he sent the Datoe large gifts in buffaloes and
M rice. Thus it happened that the Datoe instructed the Chief of
648 Djaladja (his name was Ambe Ma'a) to accompany his envoy,
643 bypassing Wotoe. This caused bad blood at Wotoe. The Toradja, however, never repudiated the Matoa (Matjoa), the Chief of Wotoe, in favor of Ambe Ma'a.

T At indefinite times, sometimes with an interval of a year,
M usually longer, a message came from Palopo or from Wotoe that
648 it was time to collect the tribute for the Datoe. This was called
T mepoee, "to recognize the lord (poee)." As far as the lowland
631 was concerned, this was carried out by the village chief of Tamoengkoe (Pebato), who for this purpose had been installed by Loewoe' as tongko. This tribute consisted of beeswax, foeja /beaten tree bark/, /123/ goat's hair to decorate lances, rice, white chickens, and palm wine. All of this was brought by Tamoengkoe to the Chief of Towale, and the latter delivered all this, augmented with the homage from his own area, to the Chief of Lamoesa. The latter was the general representative of
T the Datoe. Lamoesa lies in the plain of the Kodina, on the right
[103] bank of this river. Here, at a spot which bears the name of Landea-ndopo, "where the waves rise upon the land," the envoys from Palopo and Wotoe arrived. The Karadja of Lamoesa had to provide the lodging and maintenance for these people as long as
T they stayed at the Lake. In this he was aided by the surrounding
[671] tribes. The adat prescribed that the envoys should not go farther toward the north. When they finally left to return to their country, the Karadja sent along people who brought the tribute for
M the Datoe to Wotoe.

622 Wotoe at that time had various Chiefs. The Mandjara held
• 631 the highest rank. He was (and still is) installed by the Datoe,
648 but his authority limited him to the inhabitants of the little
T realm of Wotoe. As their lord in Wotoe the Toradja recognized
648 the Matoa- (Boeg. /Buginese/ Matjoa) bawa-lipoe, "he who

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622 /123 cont./
631 carries the villages," answers for them. Before the tribute
648 came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe, it was first brought to a chief
T who bore the title of Ampoe lemba, literally "tribal chief,"
648 the equivalent of mayor of Wotoe. From him the people went to the Paramata, after that to the Matoa-bintoe'a, and then they came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe. To the question which we posed repeatedly, whether the tribute that was left with the Matoa-bawa-lipoe actually reached the Datoe at Palopo, the answer was always: "We do not know that" (3).

3. There were also other Chiefs at Wotoe, whose function has not been clearly described. Thus there was the Topalatoea, a worthy of whom nothing was known but that he would have to die when a daughter was born to him. Another respected man was Palemba-ragi, a high chief of the Toradja tribes, recognized by Loewoe'.

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648 Exceptions to the above rule were the tribes of the To Lage
631 and To Onda'e, who had to bring a slave to Loewoe' every nine
T years. The To Lage brought the slave to Lamoesa, whereupon
648 Lamoesa accompanied the Lage envoys to Wotoe, where they
567 paid their respects to the Chiefs named. The To Onda'e, however, needed no intermediary, but brought their slave directly to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe at Wotoe and from there to Palopo. This manner of bringing tribute (mepoee) is called monangoe boeadja, "to swim like a crocodile (straight to the goal)."

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173 The following tradition is connected with the mepoee of the
648 To Onda'e. The To Onda'e had risen up against the Datoe. The
728 war that resulted from this threatened to end with the downfall
T of the To Onda'e. Then an old man stood up and addressed the
173 assembled Chiefs as follows: "Brothers, the only way by which
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we can escape destruction is that some of us go directly to the Datoe without stopping anywhere, just as a crocodile swims straight to his goal /124/ (monangoe boeadja). They must offer a slave to the Datoe and surrender themselves to him for life or death." This advice was followed. The Chiefs Tamoina, Jamoenta, and Roemampoe set out; the slave Moloeëdi was taken along as a gift. From Boeraoe on, Ambe Kando accompanied them to Palopo. The Datoe of Palopo received the envoys favorably on condition that the To Onda'e should provide a slave as tribute every nine years (4).

4. According to another version, Roemampoe took with him: a chicken, a basket (kapipi) of rice, a packet of pinang nuts, a packet of sirih fruits, a bamboo container of palm wine, and a piece of beaten tree bark. Having arrived at Palopo, he offered all this to the Datoe and surrendered himself for his mercy or displeasure. Mercy was granted to the To Onda'e under the above-named condition. Roemampoe took along from Palopo: a bata manoeroe, "the flag descended from the sky," which the ruler of Loewoe' planted near a village that he wished to punish with sickness; a taripa djandji, a mango tree which appears only in stories; and two types of yellow bamboo.

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11. The sphere of influence of Waiboenta.

It was the Toradja tribes that lived in the so-called Poso depression (the basin of the Poso) who recognized the Datoe of Loewoe' as lord and used the Chief of Wotoe as intermediary. In this latter respect two small tribes were an exception, the To Bantjea and the To Palande, the first on the west shore of the

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/124 cont./

Lake, the second on the east shore. These two tribes rendered honor to the Datoe of Palopo through the ruler, Makole, of Waiboenta. People were not able to explain to us the reason for this: it had always been thus. The traditions, however, point to circumstances that are connected with the departure of the ruler of Pamona to Waiboenta (I, 18, 27).

The story goes that the Toradja ruler and his entourage, after their departure from Pamona, stayed for some time in Bantjea, and that, when they moved on, a member of the kin group (an aunt?) of the ruler stayed in Bantjea with her party. Thus the tribe of the To Bantjea did not yet exist when Wotoe already ruled over the Toradja. Palande must have been populated from Bantjea: To Bantjea must in any case have mixed with the To Palande. This circumstance would then explain satisfactorily why these two small tribes brought their homage to the Datoe by way of Waiboenta. That this always annoyed Wotoe appears from the fact that the Wotoeërs, whenever they stayed at the Lake, were always eager to mulct and oppress (motengkoe batoe) the people of Bantjea.

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In a war that Waiboenta fought with Bada', in which it was completely beaten by these mountain Toradja (see West-toradjas, I, p. 308), Waiboenta offered its subjects in Bantjea, Palande, and Rato as war tribute to Bada'. After this time the To Bada' came to Lake Poso continually and exacted tribute from the small tribes named and oppressed them in all sorts of ways; they treated them completely as their slaves. /125/ The Lake dwellers now decided to buy themselves free of their new masters. The To Bantjea and To Palande gave nine slaves, and inhabitants of Rato and sago-washing basket (jâksi) with locally forged chopping knives. A man of Bantjea, named Lae-bagi or Ngkai-djanggo, who had married in Bada', led the negotiations on this occasion. This must have taken place in the first quarter of the last century.

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/127 cont./

Because of this superstitious fear, it did not even occur to the people to oppose the wishes or the commands of the Datoe. It was told that whenever the Datoe came to punish rebellious tribes, his army was preceded by swarms of wasps which put the rebels out of action before there was an encounter. The Datoe had power over the success or failure of the harvest. Whenever people opposed him, the rice in the cooking pots would change to worms. This /128/ power over the crops that was ascribed to him was the reason that many Toradja continued to deliver their tribute to the Datoe after the Government had already prohibited this, because they thought that through their show of respect their fields would prosper. 'Whenever now and then there was resistance to Loewoe', this was not aimed at the Datoe, but at the Chief of one of the little realms that made up Loewoe'. There was ascribed to the Datoe another feared weapon with which he held his subjects in check. Namely, he could bring a contagious sickness over the land; he had nine of these sicknesses at his disposal. The Datoe was said to have inherited this power from one of his ancestors called La Dondorio. The tradition connected with this is too remarkable for it not to be reported.

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M 539 778 643

14. The story of La Dondorio and the To Ngojoe.

La Dondorio went to seek supernatural power (mempepali asi-asi) on the other side of the ocean. At sea he met someone in a proa, who said to him: "La Dondorio, do not go to the inhabitants of yonder island; only women are there; if a man comes to them, they go at him in order to unite with him; they tear him from one another's arms so that he dies. They are the To Ngojoe, who are called this because they have the wind for a husband. When the wind sweeps over their dwelling place, they all go to sit with their faces in the direction from which the wind comes. If a man comes to them, then they cover (naowoeti) him, and the one with whom he mates becomes pregnant; but if the child is a boy, they sit upon him so that he dies. Therefore there are no men on the island."

Now regarding the kampong itself: the name of the kampong is Bukaka and it is located in the wanua Tanette Riattang, which is under the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang. The Sulewatang Tanette Riattang lives in Watampone. He is different from the Aru Tanette Riattang, who has no wanua, but who is one of the central seven princes. The head of the kampong has the title Mado Bukaka. He is a fine fellow and seems like a better character than most of the bangsawan. His father and his father's father and so on back have headed the kampong for countless generations. He is not a noble, says the Sulewatang. The Sulewatang also says that his ramp is not "genuine". Council is held in neither kampong nor wanua. If there are legal proceedings in the kampong the Kepala kampong may call in a notable or two to help. If there is a legal case in the wanua, the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang will call in maybe three or four (never all) Kepala kampongs to help. If there is really a big legal case, it goes to the Hadat Tinggi in Watampone. There are fifteen Kepala kampongs in the wanua. In most of the kampongs there are several smaller kampongs (two, three, or more), somewhat like hamlets. The Sulewatang used the term lingkongan [circle]. 361 622 632 623 632 692 621 632

The next day we got down to the work involving a rough map and a ground plan. The kampong abuts on Watampone, indeed it is actually a continuation of it. Thus one side of the market street is Watampone and the other is the kampong. There are several stores on the kampong side. I asked if the Chinese there would say that they were living in the kampong. The answer was no, but that they would say they lived in Watampone. Thus it is a kind of false border. Also, the big, beautiful, new mosque of Watampone is within the kampong borders. But the kampong is evidently not too important and Watampone is in the same wanua, that is, in wanua Tanette Riattang. The kampong itself is the western-most of the kampongs in this wanua, and the western border goes along with the eastern border of wanua Palaka (kampong Tjabalu). On the north is wanua Awampone (kampong Tjelapa). On the east is another kampong, Ta, of wanua Tanette Riattang. And, of course, Watampone is to the south. As one enters the kampong of Bukaka coming from the main center of Watampone, one goes along the main street for four kilometers from south to north, from the Watampone border to Tjelapa. On entering Bukaka one sees the great mosque and the large house of an Arab, both structures being white and blue, an ironic combination. It is a great misfortune that Mohammedanism got in here. From the main road (the Kepala kampong's house is not far from the Watampone border) to 126 621 632 101 131 102

621 the border of wanua Palaka, kampong Tjabalu on the west,
it is four kilometers also. This western part is thus a
●632 square. On the east side of the road, along the Watampone
101 border, it is only six hundred meters along the street to
131 the Ta border. But then the east border sweeps eastward in
102 a long curve so that on the northern side along the border of
Tjelapa, the northern border runs two kilometers from the
main road. (See rough map, page 46, field notes)[P.266 here]

871 There are two schools in Bukaka, one a religious school
435 and the other a village school. They are near the Watampone
556 border on the main road, or just off it. There are also ten
private Koran schools. There are about six hundred hadjis
here. I met one, a smug young man. And I teased him about
being one of the few rich men in town, but he said that it was
perhaps, if the family resources were pooled, six thousand
guilders. He remarked that ten thousand guilders was really
a great fortune here. Incidentally, the Sulewatang said that
the high figures given for the old days were somewhat off.
Prices were overvalued.

131 In the wanua, running eastward to the sea from Bukaka, are
361 the kampongs Penyula and Ta side by side; then Paopao,
Tibodjong (very small) and Tamaüsing, side by side; then
Toro, Tjelu, Lapobatua, Biru, and Palingorung, all side by
side (the latter two jut out to the south); then Badjoë and Maloi,
side by side (the former on the sea, the latter juts out to the
south); and finally, along the curve of the sea, Rompe. I for-
got to say that these really do not jut out, as Watampone is
also part of the wanua and it is to the south of Bukaka, Ta,
Tamaüsing. Thus the appearance seems to be roughly that
621 of a triangle. Aside from Watampone, each of the fifteen
kampongs has a kepala kampong. And within each of the kam-
pongs there are varying numbers of hamlets. Thus Bukaka
has three, Penyula has one, Ta three, Paopao two, Tibodjong
one, Tamaüsing one, Lapobatua one. I could not get any
information on the other kampongs, but will find out later. The
biggest kampongs, in order, are: Tjelu, Bukaka, Badjoë.
Others are small. Bukaka is the oldest.

368 The big misigit [mesjid, mosque] is used by Bukaka, Ta,
and Watampone. Other kampongs having misigit are: Penyula,
Badjoë, Paopao, Lapobatua, and Palingorung, thus there are
six in all.

632 In Bone, Andi says, there are twenty-one wanua. Seven
565 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, how-
ever, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua
there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
764 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always re-
513 moved. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate.
625 The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well
102 things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaeng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]
368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imam of the latter is the father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone. 368 [623]

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in legal cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he couldn't the case went to the karaëng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of an election when a great drum is beaten. 622 692 623 203

In addition to mosques, there are many surau, that is prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaëng is not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaëng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank. [346] 565 368

We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [running east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the territory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangan. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallarang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e.,literally, electoral college--Analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaëng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan. 632 565 114

Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. (See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the 175 565

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times
they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thousands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ĕppa, lima, ĕneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

612 /20 cont./ A kampong head was appointed to rule over a
621 kampong territory. This head thereby also obtained authority
622 over the members of other groups of relatives which gradually
631 came to live in that territory. Formerly, it is probably true to say, such a new group would have built up a small power center of its own there and would have displaced the existing one. Today such a group must actualize such a striving for power within fixed territorial administrative boundaries. This occurs frequently through a struggle for the headship of the region concerned, whether it is a kampong, an adat community, or a kingdom. The idea remained that a genealogical group should be in command of the territory inhabited by this group, and thus also of all those who lived in it. The striving for this can be observed repeatedly.

612 This striving is always directed primarily against the other
621 group living in the territory which approaches the first-mentioned most closely in standing, in this case, therefore, the Mangenre group. But in view of the fact that this group is small and little integrated, the members of the Kapala group do not feel themselves threatened, and accordingly little is perceptible of their striving.

The same picture that was here given with regard to Bontoramba can also be observed in the majority of the other kampongs. A sample made in 1940 in kampong Pakatta indicated that there two groups of relatives of almost equal size resided in the kampong territory with a few separate households (a very small Rest group, therefore).

The only related group in the adat community which
[634] occupied an entire kampong territory practically by itself was that of the adat community head. Members of this group live distributed over two to three kampong territories. As the headman's group of relatives, however, they stand in contrast to all other Borongloë groups of relatives in the adat community
[567] territory. A few households of slaves (1) and a few separate

1. See below pp. 149 ff.

794 /68/ Those who worship the ornament together form
796 the "worship community." The ornament of Borongloë is
602 worshipped in the first place by the head of the adat community and his relatives. Sometimes relatives living outside the adat community also take part in it. In the second place, followers and slaves of the head and his relatives also take part in the ritual. In the third place, there are the other subjects living in the adat community territory, and in the fourth place, there are those who live outside Borongloë who are not related to the head but who wish to participate for other reasons.

In practice the first two categories, quantitatively speaking, always form the largest contingent at the festivals. The third category at the same time should be the most numerous,
[622] but here one is satisfied with representation. The kampong head represents his kampong. Hence, all kampong heads are present at all important Borongloë festivals. Occasionally they may send a statement that they were prevented from attending or else an observer.

The ornament of Goa is worshipped in an analogous manner first of all by the kinsmen of the Prince, regardless of whether they live in Goa or not; secondly, by the followers and slaves of the Prince and of his kinsmen; thirdly, by all (other) subjects of the Prince residing within Goa. This group is referred to when it is said that "the entire people of Goa"
[634] was present at a festival that was regarded as concerning the whole of Goa. At such festivals, the heads of the adat communities attend to represent their regions. Finally, the ornament is worshipped on such occasions by those who, although not related to the Prince and living outside Goa, nevertheless wish to take part in the festival.

[554] The size of the worship group is therefore larger in a stronger group of relatives. The ornaments of the most powerful provinces, such as Bone, Luwu, and Goa, are worshipped all over South Celebes.

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
794 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the daërah.

778 /69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other
612 ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament.
634 For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belong d to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community
[726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

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/69 cont./ subordination, the weapons of the men of Borongloë were ritually painted with blood near that ornament, in preparation for the battle.

The history of this related group and its ornament has not become clear (1).

538

1. Oral traditions are always fragmentary. Each group of relatives counts only a few men or women who know anything about the history of their kin group; Their knowledge is limited, however, to a few events, and these at the same time are only those which prove the greatness of the group. A regular narrative can never be obtained. Only in a concrete difficult situation does one of the most important members of the group tell how formerly in a similar situation the solution was found, and how, in his opinion, the conditions at present should be viewed and the difficulties solved. The narrator in so doing chooses his words so casually and easily that it is clear that he does not regard himself as tied to a certain text or even to details. On the contrary, one receives the impression

634 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man
612 in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived
621 together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua. When he became head in that year, the members of both groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to
[361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration, the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua, as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen from at least two of these groups.

571 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course
612 of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the
[278] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around the adat community head. The tendency toward separation is increased by the difficulty of communication across the Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie
[764] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

346 778 /75 cont./ In 1939, when I came to Borongloë for the first time, a dilapidated little hut had been built over this rock. Around the same time attention seems to have been drawn to this "rock worship" by the Muhammadijah Association. Shortly after this, people of Borongloë, under the leadership of the head of the adat community and the old Imam, constructed a new cottage.

The rock is flat on top. Viewed from above, the greatest length amounts to about 60 centimeters and the greatest width to about 40 centimeters. Everywhere it is from 2 to 3 centimeters above the ground. At the time of the reconstruction, a pointed rock was placed at opposite sides of the flat rock along the extension of the longitudinal axis, at a distance from each other of approximately 80 centimeters. Each of these two rocks jutted about 15 centimeters out of the ground. In combination with the rock, they make an impression of eroded mesas on the visitor. Questioned about this, the head stated that a grave existed here although he was unable to state with certainty whose grave it was.

[769 178] The purpose of placing the two rocks seems clear. Externally, the rock worship gave way to grave worship. The demands of modern times had therefore been met by doing as they did.

● 634 778 At the climax of their inauguration festival, the two last adat community heads of Borongloë stood on this rock. There they took the oaths of loyalty (aru) of a number of their kapala and followers.

346 778 Right by the rock a little house (saukang) has been built. It stands on posts. The floor forms a rectangle of 1.0 by 1.5 meters; the walls consist of transparent braided bamboo. A fifth post is stuck in the middle of the floor, going right through it and rising about 30 centimeters above the floor. This is called the lopped-off house post (benteng polong). Rock and saukang belong together. Whenever offerings are [782] made there, a parappo is placed /76/ both by the lopped-off house post as well as by the flat rock (1).

782 /76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 778 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The [241 746] annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place here.

Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably 241 of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere. 634 In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament 778 sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 A summary of the above yields the following result: 602 By worship community we understand a group of people 182 who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

565 /98 cont./ Several characteristics are linked to the
643 Prince's group of relatives, and as such becomes status characteristics.

/99/ The Prince speaks of his slaves (ata), but if the adat community head were to speak of his slaves in the company of a man of nobility, it would make him ridiculous. The Prince regards the use of a certain kind of spear (lallung) at the ornament ritual as prohibited to anyone except his own kin group. Difficulties have never arisen about this, for it appeared that this type of spear is frequently unknown among members of the lower groups of relatives. But difficulties did arise concerning the use of the festive drum (ganrang) which is likewise exclusively reserved for kinsmen of the Prince. It turned out that the ganrang was regularly played in secret by others, too. In many cases the Prince winked at this practice, but when, in 1941, he heard that in a certain kampong the drum had been played where, in his
[534] opinion, this should not have happened, he sent out the kapala concerned to investigate. No punishment followed the misdemeanor, and no prohibition for the future. The fact that the guest who had brought the drum with him came from outside Goa was accepted as an excuse, but only in order to prevent the further difficulties that would have resulted from an actual prohibition. Playing the ganrang is a privilege of the Prince of Goa; everyone, even the stranger, must comply with that. This fact corresponds to what was reported above about the amount of the sunrang for Buginese who in their own land have a much higher bride price (sompa) than the Prince of Goa, but who place themselves under his sunrang, at least formally, while they reside inside his kingdom.

565 At his inauguration the prince of Goa stands upon the
● 634 Goan investiture rock where the prescribed ritual is performed
643 on him. There he accepts the vows of faithfulness from the great of the realm and adat community heads. The last two adat community heads of Borongloe stood on the "Flat Rock"

565 /99 cont./ of Borongloë in 1939 and 1947 respectively.
●634 There the ritual was performed on them, and they received
643 the vows of faithfulness from prominent kinsmen and kapala-kampong. But while the princes of Goa have stood upon their rock for hundreds of years for their inauguration, this was not the case in Borongloë.

The inauguration of the father of the present-day head, which took place in 1916, /100/ was performed with ritual (adinging dinging) at the "Flat Rock," but he did not insist upon it, and vows of faithfulness were not made. However, when this head abdicated in 1938, he himself arranged the inaugural festival for his son, and on this occasion standing on the rock was presented as old adat. It is characteristic that
565 this adoption of a ritual element belonging to the karaëng
626 group was not repudiated by members of this group, but by a
634 few members of one of the other prominent groups of relatives of Borongloë. As an old man said: "You, Gallarrang (1),

1. Title of the adat community head of Borongloë.

did not stand on it (the stone), and now you let your son stand on it."

This way of striving to rise was therefore criticized by a member of one of the adat community's kin groups foremost in opposition. The person against whom the remark was directed, the old adat community head, later reported that shortly thereafter the old man had fallen sick and since then had never really recovered again. In his opinion this signified that what he had done was correct and that the criticism had been unjust. He believed that the ancestors would have turned against him, had they considered the ritual performed by him to be incorrect. This indicates that a prominent
[177] figure may interfere consciously in ritual matters and bring about changes.

571 /107 cont./ them. If, for instance, a young unmarried
602 man goes to work for a prominent uncle (3), this is always a

[554 466]

3. Here used in the sense of purina, thus someone belonging to a higher generation.

temporary arrangement. For a person who helps his uncle thereby increases the difference in standing existing between that uncle and his own family. Consequently, a young man will prefer, in the long run, to work for his parents, younger brothers, and unmarried sisters rather than to help his uncle gain more social standing.

People who work for a blood relative can be called
554 followers, but this occurs only if they /108/ serve as followers
571 of one head together with non-kinsmen. In that case they
602 occupy the highest position among them. Because of their less pronounced personal qualities they are bound to obey, that is, to follow their kinsman, but with respect to the other followers they are higher, and therefore the leaders, by reason of their descent.

The dwelling of the adat community head is the center
634 of Borongloë. The adat community office is, as it were, merely one of its extensions. Matters of taxation, transferences of land and cattle, quarrels which end in fights, elopements, marriages, foreigners, and all that concerns the ornament worship are handled by the head. In the case of some problems the persons involved were referred to the office and to office hours, but the head receives most of them at his home where their problem is discussed and settled right away, if possible.
571 An active head in this way attracts much information. A
634 number of followers will regularly be found around him.

These work for him in the sawahs and in the gardens, and in addition they run errands for him. Some of them

571 /108 cont./ prefer to carry messages or summon people;
634 others are especially charged with the care of horse and gig (bendi). As good followers, however, they are at the same time the cars and eyes of their master. They report to him everything that happens in the kampongs so that he remains
571 fully informed. They may, in certain cases, proceed harshly
634 if someone commits a discourtesy against the head, for it is
626 also their task to punish a breach of authority in a manner clear to everyone. Each attempt to undermine authority must be suppressed. Not to react to it is regarded as a sign of weakness. In these times of fixed boundaries this is not so serious, but in the period before 1905, there immediately existed the threat of a defection with all its consequences.

571 The followers of the adat community head of Borongloë
634 numbered seven in July, 1948. They included, first, one of
[602] his cousins (samposikali); second, a Javanese who had remained in South Celebes as ex-romusha (1), had learned the

1. A Japanese word which acquired the meaning of "forced laborer."

language, and had come to feel at home in Borongloë; and third, five sons and sons-in-law of followers of his father when he had been head.

/109/ Another adat community head had the same number of followers, but among them were three contemporaries linked to him through personal ties that dated from previous periods of his life, among others his school period. These ties now constituted the basis of their follower relationship.

The difference between these two adat community heads is clear. In the latter case we are dealing with a head who, for the maintenance of his power, relied, at least in part, on the ties personally created by him. In the first case, the head,

571 /109 cont./ whose personal qualities were of little account
634 among the Makassarese, relied almost entirely upon ties created by preceding generations. That he was able to maintain himself as head during these times is merely due to the support of his father, the former head, and to that of the Self-government of Goa.

The kinsmen of the adat community head live distributed
554 over three kampong territories. In his group of relatives it
571 is always pretended that the number of followers living with
602 and among the kinsmen in these kampongs is very large. This
634 is done to make the social standing of the group appear as great as possible. After all, the possession of many followers indicates that a group rises considerably above those around them. In effect, in the adat community head's group of relatives only eight houses with followers were found. The occupants in each case had a special tie with one of the head's kinsmen. They performed the customary tasks for the head and cooperated at the festivals of other members belonging to this group of relatives.

According to reports, the number of followers of the
554 karaëng group is very large, especially the number of those
565 whose previous generation also worked for this group of
571 relatives. The karaëng are each supposed to have had one or more followers who frequently lived in the neighborhood of the master (1). This conception of the situation corresponds

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1. It is related that here working the sawah is entirely in the hands of followers because people do not like to see a karaëng working in the sawah.

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the karaëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng.
[582] Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
156 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the
178 present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number
[648] of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to
571 himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
634 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to maintain himself in his function.

114 /116 cont./ society declares that the class of slaves is "really
567 secondary" and that it had "no appreciable task in the life of the society." Consequently, he eliminates slaves from his further discussion. From his data, however, it must be con-
565 cluded that slaves stood in a special relationship to the karaëng
567 and that in Goa they had no other ties among each other than the awareness that they all belonged to members of one and the same related group. The above-mentioned sunrang regulation in which the Prince establishes a special sunrang only for his
554 slaves favors this point. To mention another example in
567 support of this interpretation, the adat community head of
634 Borongloë does not speak to a karaëng about his ata, but about /117/ his people (taunna), because speaking of his ata would be an expression of haughtiness. In so doing he would place himself on a level with a karaëng and thereby make himself ridiculous. Toward his subjects he does speak of his ata, but even then he does so much less openly than the Prince (1).

[641]

1. In 1949 slaves in Borongloë had the active right to vote. In point of fact they participated in the election. Before the war I made no inquiries into this matter. On page 552 of his dissertation (1933), Friedericy reports that slaves were barred from the right to vote with respect to the heads placed over them. Here he is referring to the slaves belonging to the karaëng.

178 It seems that the possession of slaves is something that be-
565 longs to the karaëng group like a certain ritual or a certain
567 color, and that it is something which has been successively

621 /125 cont./ by interesting a member of the high nobility in
622 the case. Their help is of importance because (although this
66 is not based upon the election regulation) sometimes they de-
clare the ballot invalid, or else report afterward that only a
test ballot had been held, in case the result did not agree with
their wishes (1).

[648]

1. The 1927 regulation of the election of headmen is therefore not applied as was intended by the European administration which introduced it. Majority of votes is, according to Makassarese feelings, not sufficient in itself to capture the kapalaship. To this end, the consent of their own head is also required. This regulation, therefore, does not preclude arbitrary actions on the part of the higher people, but it does limit them.

622 The kapala can strengthen his position by establishing
662 a link with other kapala. The proved means of doing this is
634 to contract a marriage. But this action would immediately
result in a power formation within the adat community, which
the adat community head does not like to see. To an even
greater degree this is the case if a kapala were to seek contact
with a neighboring adat community head. Such an act would
suggest a certain enmity toward the kapala's own /adat com-
munity/ head, for it is an immediate threat of defection from
177 his own head to the neighboring head. Insofar as is known,
634 the latter situation rarely occurred, because after 1905 these
648 defections were no longer left to the free interplay of

177 /125 cont./ Makassarese forces, but had to be approved by
634 the officials of the Inland Administration. This administration
648 in practice only rarely permitted boundary alterations. It preferred to hold fast to the boundaries fixed in the years after 1905.

622 The kapala can also seek to establish contact with the kin
662 group of the /126/ adat community head. A marriage between members of the two groups of relatives seems to be possible (1).

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1. In this connection one can remark that it is always a man from the adat community head's group who marries a girl of the kapala group. Some difference in standing is always considered to exist between adat community head and kampong head, and therefore between their groups of relatives. Through the marriage, the implication is avoided that a man is marrying a woman from a group of relatives with higher standing than his own. A cousin (samposikali) of the adat community head was thus joined in marriage with a daughter of the kapala of Bontoramba.

622 In the succession to the kapalaship, a clear preference for the son, at least for a close

622 /126 cont./ kinsman of the previous kapala, is demonstrable. In 7 of the 14 kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë, the kapala changed between 1939 and 1949. Three of these were succeeded by a son, one by a son-in-law, one by a younger cousin, and two by someone from another group of relatives. In the first of these cases, the old kapala was a Sajid /Sayid?/, a stranger who was forced to leave the kampong and the adat community because of woman trouble. In the last case, the new kapala was a distant kinsman of the adat community head. This man had sailed across many seas as a KPM sailor. He possessed a quiet influence over people and was elected without much opposition.

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622 602 662 It seems, therefore, that the kapala and the prominent members of his group of relatives strive to maintain themselves in their own kampong territory, to strengthen their own position if possible, and to raise their own standing outside the region by establishing ties with equal or slightly higher groups.

634 602 662 The adat community head conducts a policy which inside his region is, in the first place, directed at making his own group of relatives into as strong a unit as possible, and, in the second place, to strengthen as much as possible his influence in the kampong where he has no kinsmen living. The latter is done by establishing a marriage tie, or by trying to have a

602 /126 cont./ kinsman or a trusted follower named as kampong
634 head. Thus, at an election for a kapala, the brother of the
662 adat community head was set up as a candidate against a
member of the leading group of relatives residing there. This
[666] brother obtained a number of votes from members of the
Rest group living there, but nevertheless lost the election.
Only after the first ballot had been declared a test ballot,
and the second produced the same result, did the adat com-
munity head give in.

634 The adat community head counteracts the formation of
661 power centers in his region. He looks with disfavor upon
marriage connections between the closest kinsmen /127/ of
his various Kapala, unless it is he himself who brings about
such a marriage. Furthermore, he knows that an ornament
which is in the hands of one of the Kapala groups always
signifies a potential threat to him.

Insofar as he is concerned with affairs outside the adat
634 community, the adat community head generally endeavors
661 to establish ties either with his fellow adat community heads
643 or with his prince and his kinsmen. The prince looks with
disfavor upon the former practice for it threatens to create a
direct power center within his realm. He would be even more
averse to a tie between one of his adat community heads and
a neighboring prince. Although this need not be expected
from the heads of the adat communities lying close around
the center of Goa, in the marginal, mountainous regions
634 the situation is different. There it has happened that a local
643 head defected from his prince in order to follow another (1).
662

1. "Although the mountain Makassarese continued for a long time to resist a union with the maritime Makassarese, and in 1817 under Aroe Mampoe submitted to the new Prince of Goa,

634 /127 cont./ Karaeng Lembangparang,
643 Aroe Bakara had neverthe-
652 less obtained some following among them. This following grew gradually and made it possible for him to cause the greatest part of the Goa mountain districts to defect from their Prince."
Eerdmans, p. 398.

These heads, living along the frontiers of the realm, frequently did not so much follow the most powerful of their neighbors, but rather the one who permitted them the greatest freedom of action in their territories. After 1905 the boundaries were also fixed in this area.

In the interior the prince tries to create as powerful a unity as possible in his kingdom by working for unity in his own related group in the first place and, furthermore, by extending as much as possible his influence in the adat communities under his jurisdiction.

The Prince of Goa conducted this policy successfully during the years preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War. In a short period of time he succeeded in having one of his kinsmen appointed as adat community head in two of these adat communities.

602 These two former heads' respective groups of relatives
634 went down in standing through this action. After all, they
558 derived this standing in the very first place from the headship, and now they seemed to have been pushed back into the rank
602 of the ordinary groups of relatives. At this moment they
634 merely endeavored /128/ to surround the new adat community
662 head of karaëng blood as much as possible with their own
557 people, so that they could still remain leaders among the

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/128 cont./ other groups of relatives in their adat communities, even though in this position they merely carried out the commands of the karaëng.

The karaëng, on his part, constantly tried to break through this tie which was, as it were, placed on him, by seeking contact with the prominent members of the other groups. The latter saw in this a chance to occupy a prominent position in the adat community through the karaëng, a position which they had not enjoyed previously. On the other hand, they did not dare to place themselves too much in the foreground in relation to the kin groups of the former heads, taking into account what might happen if the Prince's influence, at present penetrating more deeply, should again diminish.

The adat community heads who had remained in power felt themselves threatened by the Prince's political successes. "We are becoming unimportant, " said one of them.

648 In a discussion of the relationship of the prince of Goa to his fellow princes, three different points must be kept in mind. First, territorially speaking we go beyond Goa in such a discussion. The entire Makassarese-Buginese region then becomes the field of investigation. Secondly, due to the fact that a number of events that took place at the courts of the princes were more or less regularly recorded during the last few centuries, we are able to use a number of historical data in this discussion which are unknown to the adat community heads and kampong heads. Thirdly, we must first indicate the position of the Netherlands East India Company and later the Government of the Dutch East Indies with respect to this opposition, which was ultimately intended to capture the hegemony of South Celebes.

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If we look at what Eerdmans reports about this, we get the impression that the conduct of the Netherlands East India Company repeatedly brought about a reversal in the power relations existing at that moment, but that this did not produce any alteration in the manner in which the princes

838 /152 cont./ become apparent that it is not altogether correct to translate the term kawe kawe by homosexual. Lack of a better one led me to use this translation for the time being.

The distinction connotes that homosexuality is accepted as abnormal, but nonetheless as an existing phenomenon just like an albino or a deaf-mute. In 1949 there were no men living in the kampong Bontoramba who were regarded as kawe kawe. In all of Borongloë (around 14, 000 inhabitants), there may have been five. Compared with other adat communities, this number will probably /153/ seem small. The reason for [684 this is that the adat community head to whom, as a believing 634] Moslem, these kawe kawe were already a thorn in the side anyway had threatened to cut off the hair of each one (some of them wore their hair down to their shoulders) because one of them had made a young girl pregnant. As a result many of the kawe kawe left Borongloë. Only a few stayed. I was repeatedly able to observe one of them. Here follows a brief description of his outward appearance and behavior. His name was Taking.

Taking was thirty-five years old and lived with a married brother. They were a poor household, but only when it was completely necessary did Taking work in the sawah. Usually and by preference he would spend his time in the back part of the house with the women. In his manner of sitting and speaking and in clothing he was scarcely distinguishedable from them. At the kin-group festivals in the house of the adat community head, he worked hard in the kitchen, helping with preparations. On such occasions he frequently did the unpleasant work of keeping the strongly smoking fire going, work which generally is performed by lower women. At the ritual at the climax of the festival, however, he was, along with a number of older women, relatives of the head, the one who participated in its arrangement. Both the kitchen work [554 and the conduct of the ritual were in the hands of women at

[95 cont.]
793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These orna-
[293 ments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of
778] the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was
[774 the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and
other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were
reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had
the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his
property. [96] His power was extended more and more because
he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this
gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was prob-
[636 ably the only native jurisdictional community on southern
634] Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and
given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people,
however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their posi-
tion from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornament-
[631] ships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form
larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as
well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.
565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and
Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes,
the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom
formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among
the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature
644 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because
many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treat-
ment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng,
sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became.
The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural
work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In
exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client
in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary
and could be severed by either side.
[714] Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the
582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy
583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

I [126 cont.]
544 Regulations the holding of cockfights is prohibited on penalty
673 of a fine of 16-25 guilders, with the alternative of 7-12 days compulsory labor. This does not alter the fact, however, that
MK cockfights are clandestinely held everywhere and on many oc-
541 casions. Naturally, this prohibition does not apply to those areas
673 where the sovereigns have self-government, such as in the states
634 of southern Celebes.

j. Quail Fights

I The quail is called gĕmak or puju; quail fights are known
544 as ngadu gĕmak. Only females are used for quail fights, be-
525 cause they are more beautiful, stronger, and more courageous than the males. The fights take place in a cage, pĕngadon, literally, "fighting place," which is five decimeters high and 7.5 decimeters long, with very thin bars. Both quails are put in the pĕngadon at the same time and immediately begin to fight furiously, both birds trying to hit or stab each other, especially around the eyes and ears. The fight lasts until one falls back. Here, too, betting is primary (1).

1. Tijdschr. v. Ned. Ind., 1873, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff.

k. Cricket Fights

At cricket fights, ngadu-djangkrik only the males do the fighting. They are first tamed by letting them hang horizontally by means of a thread tied around their bodies for 24 hours and after that by holding them under water to make them unconscious. In this condition they are put in a small bamboo tube where they soon come to. The fights take place in a little basket, also called pĕngadon, which is divided into two parts by a sliding

000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
586 and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
153 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
152 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with
[565] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

● 634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas, the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said that this will mean very little in this area except for the formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to receive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect, too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean further insecurity for his position. There are great preparations being made for this event at the present time. There will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge. This is merely a generic term. At the top are the ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here (though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng, descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depending on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
505 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba, and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over. This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English. Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre-Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong. He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

541 728 642 634 [562] [793 838]

The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of his status.

567 554

114 /78 cont./ upon a division into two classes /standen/, the
565 nobility and the people. In addition he reported the existence of intermediary classes, that of headmen and slaves. The groups of relatives from which this society is constructed remain in the background with Friedericy. Proceeding from what is already known here, the relationship of kinship and class will first be indicated at this point. A few introductory comments will precede this.

635 All Makassarese-Buginese land, as has been mentioned,
565 is divided into provinces. The prince who stands at the head of a province belongs to a bilateral group of relatives which constitutes a class /stand/ apart, the nobility. The members of this group are called karaëng. They primarily live together in a few kampongs bordering on each other and constitute a well-integrated group. They are distinguished from the other groups of relatives residing in their province by virtue of the fact that their common descent is, according to general opinion, higher than that of the other groups. Among other things, this opinion finds expression in the forms of social intercourse with those lower, the people, which is indicated by the term tau samara' (literally, "ordinary people").

565 It is not possible to say that the nobility is distinguished from the lower groups of relatives through a certain ritual or through any other special characteristic (2), for all groups

2. For the term "specialities" /cited in English/, see R. Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 272 ff.

of relatives distinguish themselves from others around them through such a specialty. Each group of relatives is quite conscious of this, and the members actually boast of it. One can state that the karaëng group possesses more of these special characteristics than the other groups, that in some cases it forbids the use of these special characteristics to members of

[95 cont.]

793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These orna-
[293 ments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of
773] the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was
[774 the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and
other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were
reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had
the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his
property. [96] His power was extended more and more because
he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this
gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was prob-
● [636 ably the only native jurisdictional community on southern
634] Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and
given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people,
however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their posi-
tion from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornament-
[631] ships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form
larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as
well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.

565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and
Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes,
the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom
formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among
the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature
641 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because
many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treat-
ment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng,
sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became.
The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural
work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In
exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client
in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary
and could be severed by either side.

[614] Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the
582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy
583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

MK [374 cont.]
642 in arriere fee, and Tanette with Lipoekasi in arriere fee.
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[636] of war, etc. They are free in the administration of the internal affairs of their state, but when ascending the throne, they must pay a visit to Makassar to be installed by the Government and to renew the contract.

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101 rese and Buginese states. The most important Makassarese states are Gowa, and Laïkang; the Buginese states are Baröe, Soppeng, Adjatapparang, Mandar (at least in part), Loewoë, Wadjó, Tanette, and Boni. A third tribe that inhabits Celebes is the
T 101 To-radja = mountain-dwellers. Among the principal Toradja states are Masinrimpoeloe and Laiwoei in particular.

MK The main features of the government are similar in all
642 the states. The feudal system exists everywhere on southern
423 Celebes. We have encountered this feudal system in the Malay states on Sumatra and Borneo, but not to the extent that it occurs here. In the first place the feudal system also arose here out of the sovereigns' practice of granting part of the land in fee to their children or relatives to provide for their support or to reward faithful servants. These feudal tenants are called paseadjingang = blood relatives, from the [375] word seadjing = brother. Another way that the feudal system arose was through war, when a weaker prince was conquered by a more powerful one. In the latter case the vanquished was allowed to govern his own land, but he was in the same position as the other feudal tenants. This kind of feudal tenant is called palili. The obligations of these feudal
MK tenants to their liege lord are: to assist him in war, to appear
[211] at his court for ceremonial occasions, festivities, etc., and the

Bali OF7
Lombok OF12

Javanese OE5
Borneo OC1
Makassar OG6
Ternate OH16
Batjan OH7

Lm
Bl
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[450 cont.]

What we have said applies only to those regions where we exercise direct authority. In the lands that retained self-government, the populace continues to enjoy its own administration of justice. This is the case in Surakarta and Djokjakarta on Java, in the states on Borneo's east coast, in the Makassarese and Buginese states, in the states of Ternate, Tidore, and Bachan, on Bali, Lombok, etc. In all these lands the provisions of the adat and the prescriptions of Islam are applied throughout, not only in civil but also in criminal cases. The Netherlands Indies Government exerts influence only to the extent of opposing the application of cruel and mutilating punishments. In some courts it has even become the rule to impose only the punishments that are specified in the criminal code of law for natives. Moreover, the provision that the death penalty may not be executed without the consent of the Governor General and places of exile are to be designated by the Government is often applied. Trial by ordeal is also often prohibited. Finally, here and there a local official is authorized to attend the sessions of the court, to direct its activities, and to give advice. Although we thus see that even in the [451] lands that have retained self-government the sphere of native law has become more and more restricted by the application of European principles of justice, it is different in those regions that belong to us only in name and have remained wholly or largely outside our influence, such as in the interior of Sumatra, Borneo, and Celebes and on New Guinea, not to mention the smaller islands. In the sphere of the administration of justice the ancestral institutions are still found unchanged here, and we shall now discuss them.

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b. Law of Vengeance

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We have just used the word composition. By this is to be understood the milder form of the civil law of vengeance,

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/135/
whose name was Ta Lamoa, to present their case to the ruler of Bone. According to radja /raja/ Lariwoe, who died in 1902, Matinroë ri Malingongëng was ruler of Bone when Ta Lamoa arrived there. This ruler held sway from 1749-1775 (J. A. Bakkers, "Het Leenvorstendom Boni /The Feudal Principality of Boni/," T. B. G., Vol. 15, p. 165).

When Ta Lamoa and his companions arrived at the court of Bone and the ruler learned that they were envoys from a land far away, he wanted to see whether he was dealing with noblemen or with slaves. He therefore had the front veranda of the house in which the Toradja were staying covered with pisang leaves, and there the guests lay down at night to rest. The ruler had a few female slaves sleep in their immediate vicinity. The Toradja were afraid to even touch them. When on the following morning the ruler had the pisang leaves inspected to see whether they were undisturbed, and this was indeed the case, he knew that the envoys from Tomini Bay had not been with the female slaves, from which he concluded that he was dealing with noblemen. He now asked them why they had come. When he heard that they had come to ask him for a radja, he immediately designated one of his nephews /Dutch neven, nephews, cousins/, who bore the name of Pile-witi, "twisted foot," because of his clubfoot.

Pile-witi, however, was not in Bone; he was staying in Parigi where he had fled because of a matter involving a woman. He lived, unknown, in a little house in Pombalowo. Ta Lamoa was given 40 Boeginese /Buginese/ noblemen and a number of slaves by the ruler of Bone in order to found a new court. With these he traveled via Gorontalo to Parigi. At a number of places where the company called, some of the Boeginese retinue remained behind; the Boeginese colonies which are found here and there in Tomini Bay are said to be descended from them.

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114 /116 cont./ society declares that the class of slaves is "really
567 secondary" and that it had "no appreciable task in the life of the society." Consequently, he eliminates slaves from his further discussion. From his data, however, it must be con-
565 cluded that slaves stood in a special relationship to the karaëng
567 and that in Goa they had no other ties among each other than the awareness that they all belonged to members of one and the same related group. The above-mentioned sunrang regulation in which the Prince establishes a special sunrang only for his
554 slaves favors this point. To mention another example in
567 support of this interpretation, the adat community head of
634 Borongloë does not speak to a karaëng about his ata, but about /117/ his people (taunna), because speaking of his ata would be an expression of haughtiness. In so doing he would place himself on a level with a karaëng and thereby make himself ridiculous. Toward his subjects he does speak of his ata, but even then he does so much less openly than the Prince (1).

[641]

1. In 1949 slaves in Borongloë had the active right to vote. In point of fact they participated in the election. Before the war I made no inquiries into this matter. On page 552 of his dissertation (1933), Friedericy reports that slaves were barred from the right to vote with respect to the heads placed over them. Here he is referring to the slaves belonging to the karaëng.

178 It seems that the possession of slaves is something that be-
565 longs to the karaëng group like a certain ritual or a certain
567 color, and that it is something which has been successively

[95 cont.]
793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These orna-
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[373 cont.]

BR 563 642 one. They are oppressed and exploited, not only by the sovereigns themselves, but also and primarily by the district chiefs. We have said that as a rule such a district has been granted in fee by a sovereign to a member of his family or to someone of the higher nobility, who can then rule as he pleases, except for certain obligations toward the sovereign. These feudal tenants or district chiefs regard the Dajak living in their territory entirely as their property; they dispose of their persons and their goods entirely as they please and oppress them in all kinds of ways. The BR [651] Dajak population is oppressed by a number of taxes. The principal ones are the hasil and the serah. The hasil is a kind of poll tax imposed on each household, lawang or lawa. The serah is forced trade, whereby the necessities required by the natives, such as salt, tobacco, iron, copper wire, cotton goods, etc. are furnished by the sovereign and the high officials at fixed prices to be paid in rice, rattan, and other Dajak products whose value is set by the sovereign. Moreover, the Dajak have to give many kinds of services on behalf of the Malay sovereigns and notables (tilling their fields, building houses, gardens, and proas, etc.). Furthermore, for festivities given by the princes and notables, the Dajak are required to furnish whatever is wanted, and when BR 567 slaves are needed, the Dajak are taken by either force or ruse, or are made bondmen as soon as they fall a little behind in paying the hasil or their debts incurred by the serah.

I BR 636 643 The influence of the Government [374] is still too weak in many places to put an end to these extortions once and for all. The power of the Malay sovereigns does not extend into the interior, however, except in some parts along the Kapuas.

MK 642 We shall now consider the states on southern Celebes. We must make a distinction between the states according to their relationship with the Government. 1. Feudal states governed by sovereigns who have their territory in fee from the Government, but otherwise are entirely free in the management of the internal affairs of their states. To this group belong Bone with Lamaroe

MK [374 cont.]
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MK tenants to their liege lord are: to assist him in war, to appear
[211] at his court for ceremonial occasions, festivities, etc., and the

[375 cont.]

642 like. The way the liege lord summons his feudal tenants for a
423 festivity or war is peculiar. The invitation or summons is made
211 by means of bila-bila. Such a bila-bila is a strip of lontar leaf, in which a certain number of flat knots are tied. There are as many knots as there are days before the war starts or the festivity is to begin. There is a great difference in the way the feudal
[576] tenant must take the bila-bila from the hand of the messenger or envoy of the liege lord, depending on whether it is a summons to war or an invitation to a festivity. The bila-bila for a festivity is taken by the royal feudal tenant with his right hand, while with the left hand he makes the motion used in dancing. The bila-bila for a war is accepted with the left hand, while he touches the kris with the right hand, the object being to demonstrate his devotion to the liege lord by dancing or swinging the kris. According to Dr. Matthes, bila-bila is a corruption of bilang-bilang, from bilang = to count, since the number of knots in the lontar leaf serve for calculating the number of days before the festivities or war will begin.

643 Otherwise, the government is organized the same as in
645 the Malay states. At the head stands a sovereign who is assisted by a state administrator and a state council. The general name in Makassarese for sovereign is karaëng, and in Buginese arung or patta (1). This is also the title, however, for a nongoverning

1. Since the type for the Buginese sound ᨅ is not in stock, the Buginese words that have this sound are spelled as above.

[376] prince. A ruling prince is karaëng mágaú (from gaú = deed, affair, and ágaú = to be active, to manage, and in Buginese, aru or patta mangkaú (the same radical gaú = deed, affair, and mágaú = to be active, to manage). The name of the state administrator is different in the various states and so is the composition of the state council. We shall now discuss the

MK [377 cont.]
643 children. The other three are called pabitjara or council mem-
645 bers.

The government in the other states is the same with more or less deviation. Besides the sovereign, there is a state administrator as well as a state council which decides all important matters. No governmental act can be performed without its authorization. The members of the state council are also electors, and since they do not have to be concerned at all about the right of the first-born, the power of the sovereign is further reduced. As well as
MK by the state council, the power of the sovereign is further
642 weakened by the many feudal tenants. The form of government
643 is monarchal only in name, but is indeed entirely aristocratic.
645 There is one state where this is even completely the case, namely, Wadjo. Wadjo is wholly an aristocratic republic, governed by 40 princes (patta). The executive power, however, is vested in the six most important ones, the so-called patta-annange, at the head of which stands a president, aru mátowa or patta-mátowa. The other 33 are only summoned for deliberations about peace or war or other important events. A new patta is always chosen from among the nearest blood-relatives of his predecessor. The feudal system also prevails in Wadjo.

G On northern Celebes there are first the Gorontalese states,
101 Gorontalo, Limboto, Bone, Attinggolo, and Boalemo; further-
642 more the small states along the north coast, Bolaang Mongondou,
643 Bolaang Oeki, Bintaoena, Bolaang Itam, Kaidipan, and Boewoel.
645 The government of all these states is fairly uniform. The sovereign bears the title of radja. Next to him is the state administrator, generally called djugugu. There are some other dignitaries, of whom the kapitan or commander of the fleet, who at the same time is commander of the troops on land, is the most important. In most of the states these high officials form a state council,
G which [378] deals with the most important matters. These states,
I including the Gorontalese, are all bound to the Government by
[636] contract.

Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Sumatra OD1
Ternate OH16
Gorontolo OG4

I [386 cont.]
642 administrator and the state council. In most cases the govern-
643 ment is only nominally monarchal, because the sovereign has to
645 consult the state council about all important matters. The mem-
bers of the state council have much power, since at the same time
BR they are the electors. This is the case in the Buginese and
I Makassarese states in particular, and also in the Malay states on
MK the west coast of Borneo. As far as the government of the sub-
642 division of the state is concerned, it often is the case that the
sovereigns grant subdivisions, districts if one prefers to call them
that, in fee to members of their families for their support, or
to faithful servants in order to reward them in this way. Other-
wise, the feudal system may also have arisen, as we have seen,
through war, for example, when a weaker sovereign was con-
T quered by a stronger one, but was allowed to retain possession
G of his land. The feudal system exists primarily in the Buginese
BR and Makassarese states, but it also frequently occurs in the Malay
S states on Borneo's west coast. Concerning the title of the sover-
I
643 eigns, we have seen that the title of sultan or [387] raja occur
frequently. In the Malayan states of Sumatra, jang dipertuwan
or jang dipertuwan besar is a common title, on Borneo panembahan.
The title of the state administrator in the Malayan states is often
the same as that of the sovereign with the addition of the word muda.
In the states of the Moluccas, or rather of Ternate and northern
Celebes, the common title is djugugu. As we have seen, the
titles of the sovereigns and the state administrators on southern
Celebes vary greatly.

I A few remarks in conclusion. Succession to royal office
643 is determined by a choice made by the high officials. When
making the choice, however, they must take the royal family
into account, primarily the descendants of the functionary to be
replaced. It is thus the sons who are considered, namely, the
first-born, but it should be noted that women, too, can ascend
the throne. This is even the rule among some peoples. This
is certainly peculiar, since it is even found in Malayan states,
and the constitutional law of Islam does not permit the enthronement

000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
586 and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
153 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
152 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with
[565] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas, the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said that this will mean very little in this area except for the formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to receive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect, too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean further insecurity for his position. There are great preparations being made for this event at the present time. There will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge. This is merely a generic term. At the top are the ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here (though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng, descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depending on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only

In the Mamasa area there are plenty of slaves and they are divided in inheritance along with the sawah, houses, etc. They "go with" the houses. S 567 428

He also says that in one region on the coast there have been three cases of slave man-commoner woman marriages in one year. Thus the old taboo seems to be weaker, but he admitted that this was on the coast. I told him about my idea concerning the taboo on marriages of higher women with lower men in the Makassarese and Buginese areas. And he says that the law of punishment by banishment for five years now (down from the former twenty, then ten years) is not written in the law, as the Dutch would never do that. It is in adat, and what happens is that such a case will be judged on the adat level and the exile decreed. The pair do not dare disobey and they also do not dare appeal the judgment to the Dutch type of higher court. They simply follow the decree and go away. They believe that if they did not do this they would be poisoned or "a tree would fall on them," etc. S 565 684 671 582 752

In Mamasa, he says, there is much trouble about the stealing of dogs. The folk there say that although dogs are cheap, the people will not have any in the after-life if they are stolen. The Controleur has decreed, therefore, that all dogs not tied up are fair game. Some have been taken and killed, and the folk are now very careful. S 685 231 775

The houses in the Mamasa area are big like those of the Dyak, housing perhaps as many as a hundred. Each family occupies a separate section, and these sections are arranged according to rank. S 342 592 565

He said that the incest taboo there [in Mamasa--Analyst] extends out to third degree cousins. (What does this mean?) S 835

Sumbawa: The Controleur from Mamasa said that I must ask van der Wolk about an island off Sumbawa where it is reported that there are no men, only women. They are supposed to go once a year to Sumbawa and steal men. They keep them on the island for two or three months and then let them go. Male children are kept for seven or eight years and then sent to Sumbawa. He says that the Controleur is fondled by the women when he visits there and that the Resident of Ambon, upon hearing this, ordered the controleur to stay there only a short time. This sounds amazing, and I must check it. What a story! 000

Watampone: In the last few days before leaving I saw a great commotion over the passing of the resident powers to the Hadat Tinggi in the person of the Ketua, the Arumpone. There were hundreds of guests, horse races, and pasar malam for six days. M 541 642

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
565 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba, and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over. This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English. Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre-Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong. He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

541 728 642 634 [562] [793 838]

The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of his status.

567 554

583 /87 cont./ community head), and in part to kin relationship (kinsmen of the adat community head). By juggling these unequal amounts, it is possible to obtain a higher sunrang according to one rule than one is entitled to according to another.

554 The amount of the sunrang is in principle linked to the level of the woman's group of relatives. Her standing and that
583 of her group is made known by the sunrang paid at her wedding. It is therefore important for her kinsmen that she command as high a sunrang as possible. On the other hand, for the man's kinsmen it is just as important to pay a high sunrang on the basis of the principle that in effect man and wife are equal in standing. It is therefore comprehensible that the sunrang has a tendency to rise.

554 In his kingdom, the prince is the highest. He, and with him his kinsmen of the same blood, should therefore have the
565 highest sunrang within that kingdom. As a result he is concerned
583 that the sunrang in his region be clearly established according to
[643] rank and status, and known to everyone, so that his subjects will not pay or receive a higher sunrang /88/ than he himself. Hence, one repeatedly encounters prescriptions concerning the amount of the sunrang in lontar. Nature, however, seems to be stronger than rules. There always arises, some time after the amount has been officially established, the tendency to surpass the prescribed limits. Rules are only too gladly forgotten. As time goes on, more and more people seem to have paid and received a sunrang that was higher than they were permitted. Consequently, a new sunrang edict must be issued periodically. The last such regulation in the kingdom of Goa dates back to 1940. This sets the sunrang for

kinsmen of the Prince	at 28 reals
for the adat community head	at 26 reals
for the latter's kinsmen	at 24 reals
for ordinary people	at 20 reals
for slaves belonging to the Prince	at 12 reals.

565 643 /98 cont./ Several characteristics are linked to the Prince's group of relatives, and as such becomes status characteristics.

/99/ The Prince speaks of his slaves (ata), but if the adat community head were to speak of his slaves in the company of a man of nobility, it would make him ridiculous. The Prince regards the use of a certain kind of spear (lallung) at the ornament ritual as prohibited to anyone except his own kin group. Difficulties have never arisen about this, for it appeared that this type of spear is frequently unknown among members of the lower groups of relatives. But difficulties did arise concerning the use of the festive drum (ganrang) which is likewise exclusively reserved for kinsmen of the Prince. It turned out that the ganrang was regularly played in secret by others, too. In many cases the Prince winked at this practice, but when, in 1941, he heard that in a certain kampong the drum had been played where, in his [534] opinion, this should not have happened, he sent out the kapala concerned to investigate. No punishment followed the misdemeanor, and no prohibition for the future. The fact that the guest who had brought the drum with him came from outside Goa was accepted as an excuse, but only in order to prevent the further difficulties that would have resulted from an actual prohibition. Playing the ganrang is a privilege of the Prince of Goa; everyone, even the stranger, must comply with that. This fact corresponds to what was reported above about the amount of the sunrang for Buginese who in their own land have a much higher bride price (sompa) than the Prince of Goa, but who place themselves under his sunrang, at least formally, while they reside inside his kingdom.

565 634 643 At his inauguration the prince of Goa stands upon the Goan investiture rock where the prescribed ritual is performed on him. There he accepts the vows of faithfulness from the great of the realm and adat community heads. The last two adat community heads of Borongloe stood on the "Flat Rock"

565 /99 cont./ of Borongloë in 1939 and 1947 respectively.
634 There the ritual was performed on them, and they received
643 the vows of faithfulness from prominent kinsmen and kapala-kampong. But while the princes of Goa have stood upon their rock for hundreds of years for their inauguration, this was not the case in Borongloë.

The inauguration of the father of the present-day head, which took place in 1916, /100/ was performed with ritual (adinging dinging) at the "Flat Rock," but he did not insist upon it, and vows of faithfulness were not made. However, when this head abdicated in 1938, he himself arranged the inaugural festival for his son, and on this occasion standing on the rock was presented as old adat. It is characteristic that
565 this adoption of a ritual element belonging to the karaëng
626 group was not repudiated by members of this group, but by a
634 few members of one of the other prominent groups of relatives of Borongloë. As an old man said: "You, Gallarrang (1),

1. Title of the adat community head of Borongloë.

did not stand on it (the stone), and now you let your son stand on it."

This way of striving to rise was therefore criticized by a member of one of the adat community's kin groups foremost in opposition. The person against whom the remark was directed, the old adat community head, later reported that shortly thereafter the old man had fallen sick and since then had never really recovered again. In his opinion this signified that what he had done was correct and that the criticism had been unjust. He believed that the ancestors would have turned against him, had they considered the ritual performed by him to be incorrect. This indicates that a prominent
[177] figure may interfere consciously in ritual matters and bring about changes.

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the karaëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng.
[582] Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

156 The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in Kooreman's time are different from those required at the
178 present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number
[648] of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
571 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to
634 maintain himself in his function.

/113 cont./
Slaves (ata)

567 Matthes translates the term ata by "slave," "servant,"
571 "subject." This translation is still correct, even today.
196 When the Prince of Goa speaks of his ata, it must be determined from the context whether he means by that his slaves, his followers, or his subjects, or possibly even his noble confederates. If someone refers to himself as ata in relation to
[554 the Prince, this is a self-abasement which -- especially if
643] an important person is involved -- /114/ frequently amounts to an excessive elevation of the Prince and thus, at the same time, of the speaker himself.

It is as difficult to translate the concept ata with a single term as it is to describe someone's social status in fixed, known terms. A translation is only possible if the relationship of the speaker to the one whose ata he considers himself to be is clear. Ata indicates a relationship. A resident of kampong Pakatto who calls himself an ata (subject) of the Prince of Goa turns out to own an ata (slave) himself.

Insofar as the term ata is translated by "slave," it appears
567 that slaves belong to the highest social class. Friedericy
[644] reports that they were generally despised, but that court slaves occupied a privileged position compared to ordinary people (1). It seems that slaves cannot be placed in a fixed

1. H. J. Friedericy,
Dissertation, p. 551.

social hierarchy. They do not form an integrated group, either. Each slave has individual ties with his master. Their position can merely be indicated by the relationship to their master.

The position of slaves in Makassarese-Buginese country does not give rise to strong sentiments. "Even

537 /118 cont./ This boastful tone also comes to the fore in
643 the loyalty oath (aru) made to the prince by lower chieftains or prominent followers at the inauguration of a new prince or at other very important happenings such as war. It is a combination of expressions of the greatest self-glorification and words expressing the most abject subjection to the superior. It is the same kind of self-abasement which in the end is nothing but a self-elevation, as has already been noted in cases where men of standing call themselves the slaves of the prince.

This oath is uttered with a drawn kris and amidst signs of the strongest emotion. Sentence after sentence is shouted rather than spoken. The oath following here belongs to the former adat community head of Borongloë. Among other occasions, he uttered it at the inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1937. The recording of the text took place in 1948 (1).

[114]

1. This translation has already appeared in the monthly magazine Oriëntatie for February, 1949. A number of improvements were made in it. The original text became mutilated and could therefore not be reprinted here.

537 Listen to me,
539 the most miserable servant of God,
643 the least among the warriors of the Prophet.
Where there is nobody, there am I
and where there is somebody, there am I
as his twin brother.
I am the man of the women,
the lover of the girls,
the man who is unshakably faithful to the adat,
who holds fast to the adat,

537 /118 cont./
539 who stands firmly for the truth.
643 I am always at work,
like a pack saddle that is never taken off,
like a saddle strap that is never loosened.
I am strong as a crupper which never tears, /119/
as a needle which never breaks,
as a hide that never yells when it is beaten.
Whether it is heavy or light,
I carry all.
If I am sent far away,
then nobody needs to help me at my task;
then one only needs to listen
to the report that I bring back.
For I am as a dove that does not
have to be lured but that comes by itself.
If I get work to perform close by,
then I need no help with it;
then one only needs to look on at my work.
For I am as a cock that does not need to be called,
but that comes of its own accord.
Even if there is but one single piece of rattan from a rattan mat,
even if there is but one single string of lontar,
if the Royal Council should sit on it, I will sit on it.
Even if rain and wind beat against me,
even if the whirlwind turns me around,
I am not afraid,
so long as I find protection with the Royal Council.
I am a descendant of people who persevere;
I am a descendant of people who do not fear death;
I am the most reliable of all confidants;
I am the best of all followers;
I am the most valiant man of Goa,
the hero of Borongloe.
Listen to the Berang River,
the never-breaking anchor cord of Goa.

537 /119 cont./
539 Listen to the mountain, the Bawakaraëng,
643 the never-loosening anchor,
such am I, too,
and only he who can be trusted in this way,
can truly be trusted.
If the Royal Council removes to the west,
then I will also go to the west;
if it removes to the east,
I will also go to the east. /120/
But if the Royal Council resides
with you, my Prince, in the ancestral gathering hall, then I will remain below (1).

[342
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1. That is to say, I will not take part in the conference; I follow. Makassarese dwellings are built on posts. If the prince confers with his Royal Council, the lower people wait under the house and listen in.

Opposition

571 Fairchild's definition of the concept "opposition" gives a good picture of conditions in South Celebes. He defines it by: "resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent" (2) /cited in English/. This term will be used here.

2. H.P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, New York, 1944.

571 /120 cont./ Opposition is inherent in the relations of men among each other. In the family the relation between father [593] and son -- and to a lesser extent that between brothers -- is strongly formalized. As a result, opposition within the family is greatly reduced in force.

Opposition is observable between relatives and especially between the prominent members of one group of relatives.

554 The relation between a high and a low and, likewise, 561 between an old and a young man, is also formalized. 571 contradict a higher or an older man is prohibited. To speak in his presence soon becomes a sign of discourtesy. The manner in which these social relations are conducted makes a stiff impression.

571 Opposition is further observable between groups of relatives. Where there is an ornament, the worship communities are in opposition to each other. There is opposition between kampongs, between adat communities, and among the wealthy.

Within all these groupings, there are always latent oppositions present. They are merely not always noticeable.

571 Worship communities consequently do not always conduct 643 themselves as a unit (3). The opposition can frequently be [794]

> 3. A realm, that is to say, a local administrative and political unit, and the worship community around the ornament belonging to the prince of that realm, coincide to a great extent.

traced back to the family of the prince, for instance, if the individual who has been appointed prince on the basis of his descent, does not, at the same time, possess the personal /121/ qualities necessary for the effective exercise of his office.

643 669 /121 cont./ The prince is regarded as the person of purest blood and as the possessor, to the highest degree, of the personal qualities which the Makassarese expect from a leader. If a prince satisfies both these requirements, he would seem to be in a position to conduct a policy directed at increasing his territory and the number of his subjects.

If a prince does not satisfy these requirements, there frequently occurs a schism within the realm which begins in the royal family. The conflict between the person who formally is the rightful heir because he is the oldest son or because he is considered to be of the purest blood and, on the other hand, the person who possesses the best personal qualities is frequently already present at a succession to the throne. Such a schism constitutes a threat to the prince. The power that his kingdom can exert outwardly remains small. For in that case, his efforts are still merely directed at maintaining his position within his realm. A classic example of this is the fraternal war in Sidenreng in 1831 and the succeeding years.

Eerdmans (1) clearly indicates the reasons that led to the

114 643 648 669 175

1. The quotation which follows here is taken from an important unpublished note concerning the history of the government of Celebes and the dependencies from the pen of the retired Assistant Resident, A. L. A. F. Eerdmans, who died shortly before the Japanese invasion. Other quotations from the same note, following below, will be indicated by "Eerdmans." It is hoped, that it will still be possible to publish the part of this work that was spared

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/121 cont./ in the war. Publication of the work had been decided upon before the war, but had not been carried out.

battle: "From the preceding it appears that La Pawawooi Mohamad Ali, Prince of Sidenreng, a very old man, had always faithfully upheld Dutch interests and had performed many and important services for the government. When his son, Petta Tjambange, married the Wadjo princess, Mapalakae Aroe Maenge, it was decreed that the son that might be born from this marriage would be successor to the throne of Sidenreng.

175 "From this union was born La Patongai, Datoe Lampoele,
643 who accordingly was presented to the administration at Macassar as successor to the throne, and recognized by decree.
669 Datoe Lampoele, however, was a restless, adventurous person, whose actions and conduct caused offense in many respects. Moreover, he was greatly attached to Bone. /122/ One thing and another led to the fact that his grandfather, the old Prince of Sidenreng, became more and more estranged from him. The latter developed an increasing affection for a son of Petta Tjambange from a second marriage to We Nomba Daroe /sic/ Pamana, called the La Pangorisang, whom he decided upon as successor to the throne. Datoe Lampoele did not want to relinquish his claims to Sidenreng's throne and began to court the support of the Princess and prominent persons inside and outside of Sidenreng even during the final years of Mohamad Ali's life. Furthermore, he was able to count definitely upon the support of his father-in-law, Datoe Mario-ri-awa, and a number of prominent people from Wadjo and Bone. On the other hand, La Pangorisang had many followers of his cause among the great of Sidenreng, the Wadjo kinsmen of his mother, Datoe Pamana. Furthermore, he received support from the Prince of Barroe (Topatarai Soemagaroeka), his later father-in-law, as well as from the Princess of Sawitto and Rappang.

175 /122 cont./ When the old Prince of Sidenreng died on
643 November 7, 1831, and La Pangorisang made his appearance
669 as the new prince, a fraternal war soon broke out" (1). And

1. Eerdmans, pp. 515-516.

later:

"Through our intervention, La Pangorisang had been reinstated in 1835 in the districts taken away from him during the war. He had been reconciled with Datoe Lampoele, who was permitted to settle in Sidenreng. Quietly, however, he hoped for help from Bone in order to attain his goal sooner or later: Sidenreng's throne. Consequently, Sidenreng remained divided into two parties hostile to each other" (2).

2. Eerdmans, p. 520.

662 Signs of opposition are to be found on each level in a
557 multiplicity of forms. The system of followers strengthens
571 the position of the combatants. The striving is directed at beating a superior with the help of as many inferiors by way of followers and as many equals by way of confederates as possible. One tries constantly to become the highest among one's equals. A certain unity of territory is always maintained in the struggle; opponents and allies are found by preference among one's neighbors. In this way, the entire Makassarese-Buginese country, each kingdom, each adat community, each kampong, and even each group of relatives, as well as each family with more than one man, is potentially a theatre of battle.

/123/ In each of these groupings, several individuals strive for more power within the territorially limited opportunities existing for them. In so doing, they are always faced with the competitive efforts of their equals among each other. For if someone, in a certain situation, believes that

602 /126 cont./ kinsman or a trusted follower named as kampong
634 head. Thus, at an election for a kapala, the brother of the
662 adat community head was set up as a candidate against a member of the leading group of relatives residing there. This
[666] brother obtained a number of votes from members of the Rest group living there, but nevertheless lost the election. Only after the first ballot had been declared a test ballot, and the second produced the same result, did the adat community head give in.

634 The adat community head counteracts the formation of
661 power centers in his region. He looks with disfavor upon marriage connections between the closest kinsmen /127/ of his various Kapala, unless it is he himself who brings about such a marriage. Furthermore, he knows that an ornament which is in the hands of one of the Kapala groups always signifies a potential threat to him.

Insofar as he is concerned with affairs outside the adat
634 community, the adat community head generally endeavors
661 to establish ties either with his fellow adat community heads
643 or with his prince and his kinsmen. The prince looks with disfavor upon the former practice for it threatens to create a direct power center within his realm. He would be even more averse to a tie between one of his adat community heads and a neighboring prince. Although this need not be expected from the heads of the adat communities lying close around the center of Goa, in the marginal, mountainous regions
634 the situation is different. There it has happened that a local
643 head defected from his prince in order to follow another (1).
662

1. "Although the mountain Makassarese continued for a long time to resist a union with the maritime Makassarese, and in 1817 under Aroe Mampoe submitted to the new Prince of Goa,

634 /127 cont./ Karaeng Lembangparang,
643 Aroe Bakara had neverthe-
652 less obtained some following among them. This following grew gradually and made it possible for him to cause the greatest part of the Goa mountain districts to defect from their Prince."
Eerdmans, p. 398.

These heads, living along the frontiers of the realm, frequently did not so much follow the most powerful of their neighbors, but rather the one who permitted them the greatest freedom of action in their territories. After 1905 the boundaries were also fixed in this area.

In the interior the prince tries to create as powerful a unity as possible in his kingdom by working for unity in his own related group in the first place and, furthermore, by extending as much as possible his influence in the adat communities under his jurisdiction.

The Prince of Goa conducted this policy successfully during the years preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War. In a short period of time he succeeded in having one of his kinsmen appointed as adat community head in two of these adat communities.

602 These two former heads' respective groups of relatives
634 went down in standing through this action. After all, they
558 derived this standing in the very first place from the headship, and now they seemed to have been pushed back into the rank
602 of the ordinary groups of relatives. At this moment they
634 merely endeavored /128/ to surround the new adat community
662 head of karaëng blood as much as possible with their own
557 people, so that they could still remain leaders among the

175 /129 cont./ It was only then that the government very
177 gradually began to place emphasis upon other personal
643 characteristics of the prince. The qualities which up to that
648 time had been regarded as very important for him by the Makassarese now became less so. On the one hand, the government deprived a forceful personality of the chance to conduct a policy of expansionism, and, on the other hand, it supported a weak personality whenever he was threatened in his dignity by neighbors or kinsmen.

175 Only then did the opposition in the form described by
177 Kooreman disappear, as it existed between the Prince and one of his most prominent relatives who, together with a large
643 number of followers, built up power within the realm without
669 the Prince's interference. In Kooreman's description, this state of affairs seems to be a phenomenon inherent in Makassarese society. At the same time, followers are described as good fighters who have no objection against a sword fight. Lower heads -- and with them all their subjects -- are also to be found among these. The silent endurance of the kampong residents who had to suffer from /130/ this counterforce is explained by pointing to the high blood of their leader whereby only a complaint registered with someone still higher, thus the prince, could have success. This is quite aside from the direct threat which is presented by such a group.

Finally, the prince himself did not act either in numerous similar cases when complaints reached him. Rather than risk a defeat through which he could lose his entire dignity, he tolerated this power within his kingdom. The leader of such a group made his appearance everywhere. As a close kinsman of the prince he also appeared in the palace. No such power groups existed when an active and forceful prince was the ruler, one who could lead his closest kinsmen by his personal qualities and who knew how to direct their energy for conquests outside his own territory. A small local "terror" of an otherwise dedicated follower of the prince was not held too much against him.

000 /131 cont./ circumstances the appearance of daëng Mangemba became temporarily possible in 1927. For this, see Z(entgraaff), Celebesproblemen, pp. 5 ff.

177 643 602 662 With the disappearance of these figures, however, the opposition within the circle of the prince and his closest relatives did not disappear. After all, this opposition has its basis within the family in the relationship between the brothers. What disappeared was merely the form of opposition described by Kooreman in 1883, a power within the realm under the leadership of a man of high nobility, based upon force directed against the prince.

The opposition itself remained dormant. In the years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War, it emerged principally in a number of questions concerning hereditary succession.

In 1949 it again became apparent, this time in parliamentary form. It appeared that relatives of the various princes and Self-government members had seats in the representative councils which at that time were set up both for the daërah (the South Celebes Council), as well as for a number of kingdoms (among others the Bone Council). Compared to their ruling kinsmen, these men of the nobility are progressive individuals, but in a number of cases their endeavors merely seem aimed at eliminating the ruling prince and at one of them becoming the prince himself. They conduct the traditional South Celebes policy merely under new names and in new forms.

177 648 In November, 1948, the High Hadat (Hadat Tinggi) for the entire region of the daërah of South Celebes was set up. It was intended as an administrative body in which the various princes should have a seat. Unity was thereby created which

177 /134 cont./ goalkeeper of the karaëng's team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaëng had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaëng
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he, and not the karaëng who was the loser in this collision. It is understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
576 showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams, high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive" in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaëng can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

668 /137 cont./ Turkish Government would shortly come to replace Dutch rule, and the 'Companiya' had to be driven out of the land." Eerdmans, p. 1087.

The person who predicts the coming of salvation is the leader of the group, but he frequently lacks the noble blood and just as frequently the personal qualities which the Makassarese otherwise expect in a leader. His followers are those who purchase the djimat and who learn the prescribed ritual. They do not have the feelings of loyalty toward him either which are otherwise customary in a relationship of followers. It therefore seems better not to speak of a followers' relationship in this connection. The only tie which exists is based upon the belief in his prophecies. To proceed against such a group with armed force always brings rapid success. They practically never offer resistance. Actual overthrow of the existing government is not the prime target at which these people aim. If the forecasts are not realized soon, they wait. But once the leader has been imprisoned, the group collapses and the movement fails. Such a movement was not only aimed against the government, but also against their own princes, when the Netherlands East Indies Company still occupied a completely unimportant position in Makassarese life. The princes at that time took just as effective countermeasures whenever such a movement was in the offing.

[648 643]

/138/ The expectation of salvation in South Celebes centers on the arrival of one of those strong personalities who in the history of the country played an important role by fighting successfully against the prince ruling at that time or else against Dutch rule. It is hoped that he will now succeed in his former striving, and that he will be able to drive out

1: Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1947. During the procession.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

After the inauguration, many try to obtain a bit of the earth next to the investiture stone. Compare page 66.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 7]

[94 cont.]
631 of these territorial institutions is quite different from that of those found in other parts of the archipelago. From olden times on southern Celebes there has been [95] a kind of
643 feudal nobility, the Karaëng among the Makassarese and the Aroeng of the Buginese, with the members of their families, the Anakaraëng (Makassarese) and the Anakaroeng (Buginese). The criterion by which a Karaëng or an Aroeng is recognized as chief or ruler by the population is the possession of the so-called
[293 778] "regalia," which in southern Celebes are called ornaments (in Buginese, aradjang; in Makassarese, kalompowang). [Illustration appears here.] Among these objects there are a few of value, but also a number that are quite worthless, little bones, little pieces of wood, small stones, etc. and an article that is considered the most important, the gaoekang. It is a stone or a little stick that was found by the original owner, long, long ago in a particular
[142 291]

Buginese from Southern Celebes
Photo. Kol. Instituut Amsterdam, Coll. Veen.

[293 778] concealed place, or which he received under mysterious conditions. The worship of these regalia has something of the nature
793 of fetishism; among the prominent Karaëng there are even

I
M1 [359 cont.]
175 Company. An expedition was equipped to punish the sultan.
64 After a fierce battle in 1784 Riouw was conquered and the sultan
721 was forced to recognize the Netherlands administration as his
M1 overlord, from whom he had his state in fee. The sultan's seat
[636] was transferred to Lingga, where it is today. In the beginning
the sultan retained his authority over Johore and Pahang. With
the Treaty of London of 1824, however, this was changed because
the Netherlands ceded all its territory on Malacca to England in
return for what England still held on Sumatra, namely, Benkulen.

I In 1830 a new treaty was concluded with the sultan of
M1
648 Lingga, whereby monetary compensation for the loss of the two
636 territories (Johore and Pahang) was promised him.

The sovereign of Lingga bears the title of Jang dipertuwan besar or sultan of Lingga. He has his state in fee from the Government, which is authorized to depose him and to name his successor, who, however, must always belong to the ruling dynasty
M1 and insofar as possible be chosen by succession.

MK The sultan is assisted by a state administrator with the
643 title Jang dipertuwan muda Riouw or Radja muda Riouw from the
645 dynasty of the Buginese princes. On these islands there are many
563 Buginese, whose settlement there [360] dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century, when they supported the Sultan of Lingga in a war with Siak. In 1720 one of the Buginese commanders was appointed viceroy of the state by the sultan, and since that time this office has always been held by a Buginese. The viceroy is recommended by the sultan and appointed by the Government. He has his seat on the island of Penjingat or Maro near Riouw.

M1 The viceroy is not only the general state-administrator,
643 but he also has supreme control of the islands between the coast
645 of Sumatra and Singapore Strait and Dempo Strait in the China Sea, that is, the Riouw group (Bintan, Batam, Bulan, Gampang, Galang or Galah, Chombal, Sugi) and the Karimun Islands (Great and Small Karimun). The viceroy seems to have had proprietory
M1 rights over these islands. The sultan more directly governs the
636 Lingga group (Lingga, Singkep, Sebangka, Sadjuwa, and Temiang).
643
651 The sultan receives 35,000 guilders from the Government
563 in compensation for leases ceded to the country. Otherwise his

[375 cont.]
642 like. The way the liege lord summons his feudal tenants for a
423 festivity or war is peculiar. The invitation or summons is made
211 by means of bila-bila. Such a bila-bila is a strip of lontar leaf, in which a certain number of flat knots are tied. There are as many knots as there are days before the war starts or the festivity is to begin. There is a great difference in the way the feudal
[576] tenant must take the bila-bila from the hand of the messenger or envoy of the liege lord, depending on whether it is a summons to war or an invitation to a festivity. The bila-bila for a festivity is taken by the royal feudal tenant with his right hand, while with the left hand he makes the motion used in dancing. The bila-bila for a war is accepted with the left hand, while he touches the kris with the right hand, the object being to demonstrate his devotion to the liege lord by dancing or swinging the kris. According to Dr. Matthes, bila-bila is a corruption of bilang-bilang, from bilang = to count, since the number of knots in the lontar leaf serve for calculating the number of days before the festivities or war will begin.

643 Otherwise, the government is organized the same as in
645 the Malay states. At the head stands a sovereign who is assisted by a state administrator and a state council. The general name in Makassarese for sovereign is karaëng, and in Buginese arung or patta (1). This is also the title, however, for a nongoverning

1. Since the type for the Buginese sound ᵉá is not in stock, the Buginese words that have this sound are spelled as above.

[376] prince. A ruling prince is karaëng mágaú (from gaú = deed, affair, and ágaú = to be active, to manage, and in Buginese, aru or patta mangkaú (the same radical gaú = deed, affair, and mágaú = to be active, to manage). The name of the state administrator is different in the various states and so is the composition of the state council. We shall now discuss the

[376 cont.]

643 government of some of the principal states, first Gowa, a remnant
645 of the ancient and, before Speelman, powerful state of the Makassarese. The sovereign here is the Karaëng mágaŭ. The state administrator here is called Tumá-bitjara-butta. The state council is called bate salapang, from bate = insignia, anything that serves as insignia, banner, and salapang = nine. The meaning is thus "nine banners," because each of the nine princes who make up the council carries a special banner.

Boni is a Buginese state. The sovereign is assisted by a state administrator, To-márilalang, from to = tau = man, márilalang = to be inside, from rilalang = within. To-márilalang = the person who is inside the inner rooms, that is, who stands in the most intimate, in the closest relationship, namely, with the sovereign. Furthermore, there is the state council, Aru pitu, literally, seven princes, because the council consists of seven princes. This council has great authority and deals with all governmental matters of any importance. The princes, members of the state council, are also the electors who choose a new sovereign. The Government then confirms their choice. This council can also recommend to the Government that a sovereign be removed. The state administrator, too, is appointed and dismissed in the same manner. Membership on the council is hereditary, in the female as well as in the male line.

Finally, we wish to discuss Soppeng. The sovereign here bears the title of polipuwe = the bottom (pong) of the trunk on which the land, lipu, rests, as though it were the rest of the tree (the whole is pong-lipu-we, we = e and serves as the definite article). The state administrator is called watalli-puwe, literally, that part of the trunk which is next to the pong and bears the name watang as though serving with the pong to support the whole tree, which [377] refers to land and people. The state council here consists of four electors and three high officials. The four electors are called pangebá, from the radical ebá = to carry on the arm, referring to a child. The name thus indicates that they look after the sovereign with as much care as a mother gives her

MK [377 cont.]
643 children. The other three are called pabitjara or council mem-
645 bers.

The government in the other states is the same with more or less deviation. Besides the sovereign, there is a state administrator as well as a state council which decides all important matters. No governmental act can be performed without its authorization. The members of the state council are also electors, and since they do not have to be concerned at all about the right of the first-born, the power of the sovereign is further reduced. As well as
MK by the state council, the power of the sovereign is further
642 weakened by the many feudal tenants. The form of government
643 is monarchal only in name, but is indeed entirely aristocratic.
645 There is one state where this is even completely the case, namely, Wadjo. Wadjo is wholly an aristocratic republic, governed by 40 princes (patta). The executive power, however, is vested in the six most important ones, the so-called patta-annange, at the head of which stands a president, aru mátowa or patta-mátowa. The other 33 are only summoned for deliberations about peace or war or other important events. A new patta is always chosen from among the nearest blood-relatives of his predecessor. The feudal system also prevails in Wadjo.

G On northern Celebes there are first the Gorontalese states,
101 Gorontalo, Limboto, Bone, Attinggolo, and Boalemo; further-
642 more the small states along the north coast, Bolaang Mongondou,
643 Bolaang Oeki, Bintaoena, Bolaang Itam, Kaidipan, and Boewoel.
645 The government of all these states is fairly uniform. The sovereign bears the title of radja. Next to him is the state administrator, generally called djugugu. There are some other dignitaries, of whom the kapitan or commander of the fleet, who at the same time is commander of the troops on land, is the most important. In most of the states these high officials form a state council,
G which [378] deals with the most important matters. These states,
I
[636] including the Gorontalese, are all bound to the Government by contract.

I [387 cont.]
643 of women. Nevertheless, female rule is not rare in the archipelago. The most remarkable example of it is furnished by the
A 643 state of Atjeh. In the seventeenth century, for a period of 58
562 years, Atjeh was ruled by four consecutive sultanas. There were
779 then two parties in Atjeh, an Arabian party, or rather a princes' party, and a national party, which was represented primarily by the orangkaja, members of the state council. It was primarily these orangkaja, who, opposing the efforts of the priests in the Arabian party, were able to perpetuate female rule during all that time, which gave them the opportunity to exercise more unlimited authority and personal influence. After the death of the next to last of these four sultanas, Inâjat Schabi, in 1688, a war broke out between the champions of the national and of the Arabian party. The former wanted to place a princess, Kamalat Schah, on the throne, whereas the latter demanded a sovereign of male sex. The national party, the orangkaja, were victorious, and Princess Kamalat Schah was placed on the throne [388] and upheld. The party of the priests, however, did not remain quiet and 11 years later, in 1699, came forth with a letter from a cadi of Mecca, informing the people of Atjeh that the exercise of legal authority by a woman was in conflict with the laws of Islam. The orangkaja no longer dared to resist. Kamalat Schah was removed and the government was handed over to a prince; since that time no woman has headed the government of Atjeh.
MK South Celebes is another country where female rule frequently
643 occurs, indeed is practically the rule. This has always been the
562 case here; Crawfurd even mentioned it as a peculiarity. According to the Government Yearbook, Bone and Tanette are still ruled by female sovereigns, as is Barroe and four of the six states
BR of Adja Tapparang.

I Women at the head of the government seems to be purely
643 Polynesian. We also find it among the pagan peoples. It has
171 been reported that some Dajak [Dyak] tribes are ruled by women.
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B [416 cont.]
565 Among the Batak, too—as a reminder, they are divided
554 into two standings, the namora-mora and the halak na djadji—
551 the custom of assuming a galar exists. They have probably adopted it from the Malays, although in a different form. The differentiation into galar pusaka and galar muda does not exist here, and there is only one kind, which is like the galar muda and is used with the nama kètè. It also consists of two parts, the title and the description. The usual title is dja, an abbreviation of radja, for example, Dja porkis, Dja langit, etc. The galar here, however, is not limited to the nobility, but is borne by many of the common people, especially by the well-to-do.[417] The namora-mora, and particularly those who are closely related to the sovereign, change the galar in later life, when assuming office, when marrying, etc., for another whose title is baginda, sutan, mangaradja, pertuwan, etc., as follows: Pertuwan sangkupan, Sutan ganga alam, etc. Often two titles are combined, such as Sutan mangaradja, Djona alam, etc. The title of the galar usually stays in the family [geslacht] in the sense that it passes from father to grandson. If the father has the title pertuwan, then his son is not pertuwan, but sutan, the grandson pertuwan, the great-grandson sutan, etc. Persons without a title have si in front of their name.

e. Celebes

MK
565 Among the Buginese and Makassarese, too, the nobility
643 is quite sharply distinguished from the common class. Members
[562] of the royal family have the title karaëng among the Makassarese, and arung or patta or opis among the Buginese. Both titles are borne by men and women. The ruling sovereigns, male and female, have such titles, but with the addition of mágaú Bug. and mangkaú Mak., thus, karaëng mágaú and arung mangkaú. Princes
MK and princesses of high birth who may be considered for the succes-
[554] sion are called patola instead of karaëng or arung. There is a

[417 cont.]

565 number of titles for the other princes and royal persons, but we
643 shall not discuss them here. The most common title for a noble
554 person who does not belong to the royal family is daëng among both peoples. This title originally indicated someone of high birth, but later it was assumed out of self-conceit and lost much of its importance. Buginese and Makassarese who have a right to this title, however, are very proud of it, and when they have risen to some office, they would rather be addressed as daëng than by their official title. Daëng is also a title for women. A native always addresses his wife and older sisters by it, unless they are of royal blood, thus are karaëng. Another noble title, although less exalted than daëng, is the Makassarese [418] kare. We have already seen how people from the common class are addressed.

643 Just as we have noted for the Javanese and Sumatran
293 sovereigns, every ruling sovereign here has his decorations, called kalompuang, or the so-called ornaments. They consist of various objects, such as long krises, guns, shields, badju rante = coat of mail, betel boxes with cuspidors, parasols, etc. Among all the objects, however, one is the most important. It is called gangkang and is generally a strange sort of thing that according to tradition was found in a mysterious way where the seat of the state was established. Thus, there is a gangkang that is a wild tuber of peculiar shape; another one is a small golden image, and in still another one can recognize an old, worn-out
793 paintbrush. All these ornaments, and the gangkang in particular,
778 are venerated; feasts are even given in their honor. Also, priests are appointed to take care of them.

643 The sovereign derives his authority from those ornaments.
778 For example, to remove the sovereign during a revolt, an at-
669 tempt is made to gain possession of the ornaments. If this succeeds, he has been virtually deprived of his authority.

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to this, then the Karadja had a sword and a spear brought to Wotoe, and then the Datoe of Loewoe' stepped in (this is not likely).

The Karadjas whom Ta Mantaha knew were: Ta Raeli, Raeli, Ta Lanto, Ta Landano, Ta ngKalendjae, Ta mBojagi, Ta ngKolabada, Ta nTelingka and Ta Modapi (two brothers who were Karadja together), Ta ngKonte'e, Ta Balié, Ta nTigi (Kontjo). When Ta ngKaledjae died and left no son, his daughter Ranta-loda (Indo i Dai) became Karadja. Matoa-bawa-lipoe left her in office, but installed Tambojagi, a brother-in-law of Ta ngKalendjae, as Karadja beside her.

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9. The rulers of the country. The Datoe of Loewoe'.

Now we come to the dominion of the rulers of Loewoe' (Palopo) over the Toradja. That is, the East Toradja recognized a few rulers as lords of the land. Most tribes named as such the ruler (datoe) of Loewoe'. The tribes in the northeast of the country had their own master in the ruler (djena) of Todjo; and the tribes in the east, in the plain of the Laa River, paid tribute to the ruler (datoe ri tana) of Mori. The first named, the Datoe of Loewoe', undoubtedly had the oldest rights, a supremacy which certainly dates from times immemorial.

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According to existing traditions this situation came about in the following way. In olden days the inhabitants of Wotoe on the north shore of the Gulf of Bone lived at the mouth of the Tjerekang; some give Malio as the name of their settlement. From here the people moved to Lampenai, a hill located between the Kalaena and present-day Wotoe. A little river, the Laaosa (called Laakarai by the people of Angkona), which in turn empties into the Pewoeso'i, /120/ "washing place," flows along there.

/121 cont./

173 These foreigners became related by marriage to the people of
[622] Wotoe, and they called into being the rulers of the miniature
states which made up the realm of Loewoe', the most important
[166] of whom are the Chiefs of Wotoe and Waiboenta. From
Lampenai the people moved to Bibilassa, not far from the
present-day Wotoe, to which they finally went because the
water at Bibilassa was brackish.

173 One group of the immigrants, which had dominance over
• 643 the others, kept going west until they settled at Malangke. The
[167] chiefs of this group are reported to be descended directly from
Sawerigading. They became Datoe of Loewoe'. The first Datoe
is said to have been Sawerigading; after him his son La Galigo,
and after him his son La Mapanganro. These three Datoes are
said to have returned to the sky at the end of their lives. This
is said to have happened in the following way, according to our
above-mentioned informant: when these datoes felt that they
had reached the end of their life, their corpses were exposed
to the wind outside the ridge of their palace, and then they
disappeared. The bodies of those who were Datoe of Loewoe'
after La Mapanganro were cremated at Malangke. Ashes and
bones were buried in an earthen pot in the ground (L. van
Vuuren, "Lijkverbranding op Celebes /Cremation on Celebes/,"
[174] Not. Bat. Gen., 51, 1913). This is clear proof that these im-
[177] migrants, among whom were the Datoes, were under Hindu in-
fluence. They are still known in Loewoe' by a name which is
derived from the kind of wood upon which their bodies were
cremated. Thus people speak of Datoe maningo ri badjo, "Datoe
who sleeps on badjo wood"; Maningo ri djampoee, "he who
sleeps on djamboe wood (Psidium guajava)," etc.

The last Datoe who lived at Malangke and who is known by
the name of Petta (poewang) Malangke, "master of Malangke,"
was married in Wotoe. He was the last Heathen among the Datoes.
According to our informant /122/ this ruler is reported to have

M 173 • 643 M [292] /122 cont./ said: "I shall become Mohammedan as soon as my pigs are gone." He (Matinroe ri Malangke) died before he achieved this through his livestock. A ceremonial jacket of his, of black cotton with long sleeves, is still kept by his grave at Pao, not far from Malangke. His son, Matinroe ri Goa, "he who rests in Goa," converted to Islam and moved to Palopo. This move is said to have been inspired by the wish to live under more pleasant circumstances and to be able to cultivate sawahs and to erect a masjid. Malangke, however, was also suitable ground for this. The move is probably connected with the wish to break completely with the heathenish past. Our informant named for us the following Datoes of Loewoe': After Matinroe ri Goa, Tompotika came to power. After him: Matinroe ri langkanae (palace), Matinroe ri Kaloekoe-bodo, M. ri Sambamparoe, M. ri tangana Loewoe' (in the middle of Loewoe'), M. ri Kamomberoe, M. ri Limpo-madjang, and Datoe Kambo Daeng ri Sompa, a woman who died in her thirties.

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T 173 T [177] Among the East Toradja the name Sawerigading is little known. The memory of the contact with the Hinduized immigrants lives on in the traditions concerning Lasaeo, a mythical hero who for a short time founded a little realm at Pamona on Lake Poso, but finally went to Waiboenta in Loewoe'.

10. The rights of Wotoe over the Toradja. The tribute to Loewoe'.

T 648 643 T 648 631 From the above it appears that Wotoe had the oldest rights over the East Toradja, and that these rights were passed on to the Datoe. Yet the Toradja have always considered the Chief of Wotoe their immediate head. Homage for the Datoe was brought to this Chief, and he took care of its delivery. Whenever the Datoe sent an envoy to the East Toradja to convey one order or another, this envoy always traveled by way of Wotoe, from where the Chief sent someone along as his deputy, because otherwise the Toradja would not recognize the envoy as such. At the end of the last

T /122 cont./
648 century the Chief of Djaladja gained great influence at the court
631 of Palopo, because he sent the Datoe large gifts in buffaloes and
M rice. Thus it happened that the Datoe instructed the Chief of
648 Djaladja (his name was Ambe Ma'a) to accompany his envoy,
643 bypassing Wotoe. This caused bad blood at Wotoe. The Toradja, however, never repudiated the Matoa (Matjoa), the Chief of Wotoe, in favor of Ambe Ma'a.

T At indefinite times, sometimes with an interval of a year,
M usually longer, a message came from Palopo or from Wotoe that
648 it was time to collect the tribute for the Datoe. This was called
T mepoee, "to recognize the lord (poee)." As far as the lowland
631 was concerned, this was carried out by the village chief of Tamoengkoe (Pebato), who for this purpose had been installed by Loewoe' as tongko. This tribute consisted of beeswax, foeja /beaten tree bark/, /123/ goat's hair to decorate lances, rice, white chickens, and palm wine. All of this was brought by Tamoengkoe to the Chief of Towale, and the latter delivered all this, augmented with the homage from his own area, to the Chief of Lamoesa. The latter was the general representative of
T the Datoe. Lamoesa lies in the plain of the Kodina, on the right
[103] bank of this river. Here, at a spot which bears the name of Landea-ndopo, "where the waves rise upon the land," the envoys from Palopo and Wotoe arrived. The Karadja of Lamoesa had to provide the lodging and maintenance for these people as long as
T they stayed at the Lake. In this he was aided by the surrounding
[671] tribes. The adat prescribed that the envoys should not go farther toward the north. When they finally left to return to their country, the Karadja sent along people who brought the tribute for
M the Datoe to Wotoe.

622 Wotoe at that time had various Chiefs. The Mandjara held
631 the highest rank. He was (and still is) installed by the Datoe,
648 but his authority limited him to the inhabitants of the little
T realm of Wotoe. As their lord in Wotoe the Toradja recognized
648 the Matoa- (Boeg. /Buginese/ Matjoa) bawa-lipoe, "he who

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13. The power and prestige of the Datoe of Loewoe'.

We have never noticed any kind of policy of the Datoe toward the East Toradja. If the subjects (palili) simply fulfilled the above-named obligations, he did not bother further with their internal affairs. He calmly let the tribes wage war with one another. If the Toradja experienced molestation on the part of Mori or Sigi, they went to the court to complain about it, but real help was never granted. For example the Datoe never made an effort to rescue the East Toradja from the molestation that was done to them by the mountain tribes of the West Toradja. The Datoe, after listening to the complaint, handed them one or another miraculous remedy, through whose magic action the enemy would be driven back.

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The last time the Datoe helped his subjects in this way was in 1903. On the north shore of Lake Poso the Toradja had damaged and thrown into the water a memorial that had been erected there in memory of Chief Engineer R. Fennema, who had perished in the Lake in 1897. That is, the people believed that the continuous drought that scourged the country at the time was the result of the wrath of the spirits, because they (the Toradja) had admitted the Hollanders into the country. The administrative officer at Poso now asked for damages for the destruction of the memorial, but the people wanted to pay less than was asked. When the messengers of the administrative officer had returned to Poso, the Toradja thought that the soldiers would come and shoot them. They reinforced their villages and sent /127/ a few men to Loewoe' in order to inform the Datoe of the threatening danger and to ask him for help. The Datoe gave the envoys one bullet and a little bamboo container of gunpowder, enough for one shot, along with the message: "Fire this bullet with this powder at the Hollanders if they attack you, and they shall all flee from you." In the meantime, however, the request from the Government had been met, so that the bullet and powder were no longer necessary. The chief of Towale carried these objects afterwards as talisman.

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M /127 cont./
648 In everyday life the Datoe of Loewoe' meant nothing to
M the Toradja. In no case was he considered. The Datoe was
• 643 brought into play only against strangers. In their contacts with
the Government, before it vigorously asserted itself, all over-
T tures were rejected with an appeal to the Datoe. Our attempts
114 to open schools among the Toradja failed in the first years, be-
648 cause the people did not want to know anything about this novelty,
871 from which they expected only disadvantages for their social
177 life. In order to cut off all discussion of this matter they hid
M behind the Datoe, who certainly would not approve if his sub-
648. jects obtained schooling while he himself did not yet have any.
643 Whenever the Toradja saw an advantage in some new thing,
they did not think of consulting the Datoe about it.

M The Datoe of Loewoe' was actually only the keeper of the
648 gaoekang (literally "things, implements, ornaments"), or
643 aradjang ("signs of greatness"), the fetishes in which the strength
[778] of the country is preserved, the regalia. As heirlooms of the
T deified ancestors they make the possessor the direct deputy of
648 these ancestors; this person thus stands on the same level as the
ancestors. Then the Toradja also said of the Datoe: "He is our
T god (lamoa)." That the Datoe left them to their lot and never
[622] concerned himself about them they found precisely "god-like"
and "ancester-like" of him because in this way he left their adat
T untouched. And this is the task of every Chief.

T The Toradjas were loyal subjects of the Datoe, precisely be-
M cause of the superstitious respect that they had for him. The Datoe
648 was said to have white blood in his veins. The mysterious power
M that emanated from his person was considered so great that an
643 ordinary Toradja could not look at him without getting a swollen
[826] stomach and dying. The story is told of two Lage chiefs who
[753] wished passionately to see the Datoe. They actually succeeded
[778] in making their way to him, but the one died already on the
[761] return journey and the other three months after he reached home.

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Because of this superstitious fear, it did not even occur to the people to oppose the wishes or the commands of the Datoe. It was told that whenever the Datoe came to punish rebellious tribes, his army was preceded by swarms of wasps which put the rebels out of action before there was an encounter. The Datoe had power over the success or failure of the harvest. Whenever people opposed him, the rice in the cooking pots would change to worms. This /128/ power over the crops that was ascribed to him was the reason that many Toradja continued to deliver their tribute to the Datoe after the Government had already prohibited this, because they thought that through their show of respect their fields would prosper. Whenever now and then there was resistance to Loewoe', this was not aimed at the Datoe, but at the Chief of one of the little realms that made up Loewoe'. There was ascribed to the Datoe another feared weapon with which he held his subjects in check. Namely, he could bring a contagious sickness over the land; he had nine of these sicknesses at his disposal. The Datoe was said to have inherited this power from one of his ancestors called La Dondorio. The tradition connected with this is too remarkable for it not to be reported.

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M [753]

14. The story of La Dondorio and the To Ngojoe.

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La Dondorio went to seek supernatural power (mempepali asi-asi) on the other side of the ocean. At sea he met someone in a proa, who said to him: "La Dondorio, do not go to the inhabitants of yonder island; only women are there; if a man comes to them, they go at him in order to unite with him; they tear him from one another's arms so that he dies. They are the To Ngojoe, who are called this because they have the wind for a husband. When the wind sweeps over their dwelling place, they all go to sit with their faces in the direction from which the wind comes. If a man comes to them, then they cover (naowoeti) him, and the one with whom he mates becomes pregnant; but if the child is a boy, they sit upon him so that he dies. Therefore there are no men on the island."

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When La Dondorio had listened to this tale, he considered how he could escape the danger: If the women take me as a mate, I shall not come away alive; let me thus manage on my way to get a supply of penes. Where he got them from is not known, but he continued his journey with a supply of male genitalia in his boat. When he was approaching the coast of the island, the To Ngojoe saw that a man was coming to them. They came out of their houses and rushed to the shore and ran to meet him in the sea, for he would oblige whoever reached him first, and the others would have to fight over him.

La Dondorio saw them approaching and he said to the penes: "These are the To Ngojoe, who want to climb into our ship. When they have come close, you must fly up and every one must enter into the arse (tanta'i, but the vulva is surely meant) of each of them, so that they cannot approach me." The genitalia did this so that every one of the To Ngojoe was satisfied. With other men the women stormed their vessel so that it sank and the man drowned.

When all were satisfied, one of the women said to La Dondorio: "You, La Dondorio, are truly a clever man, for you are the only one who is leaving here alive. Therefore we wish to give you something to show our affection for you. We shall give you a protective charm such that all your descendants shall have power over the means that we give. /129/ When you make use of it, it will have effect; so also when your descendants make use of it." In this way La Dondorio received the nine sicknesses.

T 648 753 M 648 643

In former times people were very afraid of them. When a contagious sickness prevailed in Poe'oe-mboto, it was thought that it had been sent by the Datoe, and then rice and chickens were collected in order to go and pay him honor (mepoee). The people were convinced that the Datoe had released one of the nine sicknesses because he was angry at something or other. The sicknesses that La Dondorio had brought along were of all sorts: stomach-ache, headache, fever. The people then went

M T 648 755 753 M 643 /129 cont./ The people then went to ask forgiveness of the Datoe, the descendant of La Dondorio, and then the Datoe gave medicine, charmed water, which was drunk by the sick, and then many became better. Sometimes he gave a charmed piece of wood or curcuma; little pieces of it were chewed and spit on the body of the sick person, or it was rubbed with it. The water charmed by the Datoe was kept in a bottle, and when a contagious sickness made its appearance, this water was mixed with a large quantity of ordinary water, and at eventide when the chickens went to roost, all the people, large and small, were sprinkled with it; this was continued until the sickness had gone away. In such times of sickness no one should cross the road with a piece of wood or a spear in his hand, because then many spirits roamed about, and if one of them was touched by the wood or the spear, he would make the person sick. The physicians (sando) say that when a hornbill (alo) flies across the road, one must say nothing about it, for the bird is possessed by a spirit, and if one says something about the bird, one is made sick by him (VIII, 28). Teka-teka (Phoenicophaeus calyorinchus) and monkeys are also sometimes possessed by spirits that bring sickness (napeontjoga).

T [776] T 753 776 825

M-L 648 643 T [648] M [648] 15. The Datoe-ri-tana of Mori.

Some of the East Toradja brought their tribute to the Datoe-ri-tana, the regional chief of Mori in the east of the country. This title means "ruler over the land." At the time, the last Datoe-ri-tana, Maroendoe, declared that the Datoe of Loewoe' had given him this title because his residence, Petasia, lay so far inland, in contrast to the Loewoe' residence Palopo, which lay close to the sea. The Loewoe'ers, however, use this name as a term of derision for the Mori ruler.

T M-L 648 M [648] It was the tribes of the To Pakambia, To Pada, and To Poe'oe-mbana, together with the subsidiary small tribes of the To Kalae, To Tananda, and To Watoe, that were subject to the Datoe at Petasia. Originally these Bare'e-speaking tribes must also

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16. The relationship of the Datoe-ri-tana to the Datoe of Loewoe'.

There is no longer anything known about the time when Mori was still a vassal state of Loewoe'. The fact that the Datoe-ri-tana /131/ had to deliver slaves as tribute indicates that Mori was formerly dependent on Loewoe'. All sorts of stories making the rounds in Toradja lands make it appear that the Datoe-ri-tana was at least equal in rank to the Datoe of Loewoe'. Thus the following is also told:

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The Datoe of Petasia, hearing that there was a mighty ruler at Palopo, decided to put his power and glory to the test. He sent him an iron rod which was bent into a loop (in the southern part of this area much iron is found). With this gift went the task of bending the rod straight. The Datoe of Loewoe' had a slave make the rod red-hot and bend it straight. In turn the ruler of Loewoe' sent to the Datoe-ri-tana a bar of baked sago, which, when still warm, had been bent into a loop, with the task of bending the sago straight. The Datoe-ri-tana did not succeed in doing this, because when he tried to do it dry, the sago threatened to break; if he put it in water, then the sago dissolved; and if he warmed it, then it stuck together. With this the Datoe-ri-tana acknowledged himself as the inferior of the Datoe of Loewoe'.

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[135]

Shortly after this event the Datoe of Loewoe' came to visit the Datoe-ri-tana. They stayed up until late in the night talking with each other by the light of a resin torch, until all the occupants of the house were asleep. When the resin torch threatened to go out, the Datoe-ri-tana took a stick to poke up the resin, a task that otherwise was done by a slave or a younger member of the company. Then the Datoe of Loewoe' said: "Because you have poked up the resin of the torch, you declare yourself the lesser of us two and you must therefore pay me tribute." The other found this just and agreed.

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/131 cont./

Another story which apparently has come from the Mori side tells: In order to put the Datoe-ri-tana to the test, the ruler of Loewoe' sent him a piece of cotton with the message to take the threads out of this piece. The Datoe-ri-tana did this. In turn he sent the other a piece of beaten tree-bark with the request to take the threads out of it. Seeing that the ruler of Loewoe' was not successful in this, he had to acknowledge that the Datoe-ri-tana was at least his equal.

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17. The tribute to the Datoe-ri-tana.

That the rule of the Datoe-ri-tana is of more recent date than that of the Datoe of Palopo is evident from the fact that his subjects did not entertain the same superstitious fear of him as the subjects of Loewoe' had for their lord. He always received the messengers from his subjects himself, and the tone in which the Toradja spoke of him was not as respectful as when it was a matter of the Datoe of Loewoe'. The Datoe-ri-tana, too, had his representative among the To Pakambia, who bore the title of tongko. At the time when the Government came into this region, the Chief of Bentji held this office.

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The Bare'e-speaking vassal states of Mori showed their dependence on the Datoe-ri-tana by providing buffaloes whenever /132/ a member of the ruling house died or whenever their lord celebrated a great sacrificial feast. If a prince of the blood died, the To Poe'oe-mbana and the To Pakambia contributed 75 bars of wax, and the To Pada two buffaloes; if someone of lesser origin, but still related to the ruling house died, the contributions were 35 bars of wax and one buffalo, respectively. Only the To Pada are able to raise buffaloes on a large scale, because of the extensive grassy plain on which they live. Now and then the tall grass is burned off, and the young shoots then make excellent fodder for the buffaloes.

T W.T 648 175 /134 cont./

Their last expedition took place in March of 1894. One of our people was already settled in Poso at the time. On a certain day there appeared a large fleet of proas, with which the whole shore of Poso Bay was filled. Some 800 Parigiers and other people who had joined them went ashore. The reason for this demonstration was to take revenge for the slaying of a Chief of the To Onda'e who was married to a member of the Parigi ruling house. The expedition failed, because the enemy forces were driven back by the Toradja. A prolonged war between To Pebato and To Parigi was the consequence of this, but because of the great distance they did not often seek each other out, with the result that this war caused few casualties. The influence of Parigi on the East Toradja has never been of great significance.

T W.T [177]

20. The ruler (Djena) of Todjo.

T 648 [167] L [648] [167]

In the first chapter (I, 55 and 56) we saw how the tribes of the To Tora'oe, To Baoe, To Lalaeo, To Ampana, and To Wana were formed on the eastern peninsula during the spread of the Toradja over Central Celebes. They had moved so far from Wotoe and Palopo that there could no longer be any question of paying tribute to the Datoe of Loewoe'. One result of this was that these tribes were not protected against foreign enemies, from whom they suffered a great deal. Ternatans made repeated raids along the shores of Todjo and in doing so penetrated up to the To Baoe in the interior. The Toradja felt powerless against these gangs of robbers armed with guns. They heard how strong Parigi and the little realms in the Paloe valley were under their rulers, and this led them to seek a ruler of their own who could bring unity among them and protect them against the enemy.

T 648 643

M T 173 648 643 M [175] T [622]

At that time (i.e., the second half of the eighteenth century), no ruler on Celebes was more powerful than the one of Bone, and therefore the people turned to him for support. The story tells that the Toradja tribes asked the Chief of Mowomba,

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whose name was Ta Lamoa, to present their case to the ruler of Bone. According to radja /raja/ Lariwoe, who died in 1902, Matinroë ri Malingongëng was ruler of Bone when Ta Lamoa arrived there. This ruler held sway from 1749-1775 (J. A. Bakkers, "Het Leenvorstendom Boni /The Feudal Principality of Boni/," T. B. G., Vol. 15, p. 165).

When Ta Lamoa and his companions arrived at the court of Bone and the ruler learned that they were envoys from a land far away, he wanted to see whether he was dealing with noblemen or with slaves. He therefore had the front veranda of the house in which the Toradja were staying covered with pisang leaves, and there the guests lay down at night to rest. The ruler had a few female slaves sleep in their immediate vicinity. The Toradja were afraid to even touch them. When on the following morning the ruler had the pisang leaves inspected to see whether they were undisturbed, and this was indeed the case, he knew that the envoys from Tomini Bay had not been with the female slaves, from which he concluded that he was dealing with noblemen. He now asked them why they had come. When he heard that they had come to ask him for a radja, he immediately designated one of his nephews /Dutch neven, nephews, cousins/, who bore the name of Pile-witi, "twisted foot," because of his clubfoot.

Pile-witi, however, was not in Bone; he was staying in Parigi where he had fled because of a matter involving a woman. He lived, unknown, in a little house in Pombalowo. Ta Lamoa was given 40 Boeginese /Buginese/ noblemen and a number of slaves by the ruler of Bone in order to found a new court. With these he traveled via Gorontalo to Parigi. At a number of places where the company called, some of the Boeginese retinue remained behind; the Boeginese colonies which are found here and there in Tomini Bay are said to be descended from them.

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Having arrived in Parigi, Ta Lamoa paid his respects to the ruler, Magaoe Djanggo, the same one who in the second half of the eighteenth century concluded a treaty with the East India Company, and informed him of the purpose of his trip. Magaoe Djanggo, however, had never heard of a Boeginese prince in his realm, but after a while Pile-witi was discovered. He at first denied being the one sought and refused to accept the honor offered to him. When the Boeginese who accompanied Ta Lamoa recognized him as the nephew of the ruler of Bone, he agreed to accompany Ta Lamoa. The latter asked the prince for proof of his di[illegible]e origin. Pile-witi thereupon drew his sword, whereby [illegible] was heard, as if a gun had been shot. With the sword he c[illegible]gh a roof beam of his little house, without getting up from h[illegible] When Magaoe Djanggo learned that the shabbily dressed [illegible] Boeginese prince, he offered his apologies for having let [illegible]ive in destitute conditions.

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The company now started out in order to seek a suitable place to settle. The prince did not like the mouth of the Mapane, because mapane means "warm" (unhealthy). Poso made him think of the "stopping" of /136/ the breath (maposo inosa). In the names of the other rivers too he saw no good for the future; but when the name Todjo was mentioned to him, he decided to stay there, because he felt very fatigued (todjo) from the trip.

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The Toradja tribes on the eastern peninsula thus formed a separate society under the Djena of Todjo. This is to be understood in the sense that the Djena secluded himself in his place of residence and did not trouble himself with the internal affairs of his subjects. Only disputes between the tribes were settled by him. Otherwise the contacts of the Djena with his subjects were to serve only for getting from the people as much as there was to get. The Djena, in imitation of the Boeginese realms, maintained a court, which, however, was only a caricature of those found in South Celebes. He had around him various dignitaries who had nothing to do and who did not know what their tasks were.

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794 /76 cont./ qualities. After this person's death the grouping
602 again breaks up. The members then affiliate themselves with
182 others, each according to his own choice. There is no continuity.

Between the prominent members of a group of relatives there always exists a relationship of opposition, which is only intensified by the worship communities. There exists no possibility for such a related group to present a durable and powerful unity to the outside world.

A group of relatives with an ornament is more strongly integrated. /77/ Where there is an ornament, a worship community can be found which comprises a number of people in addition to the related group. The size of this community, however, cannot be precisely indicated.

It is therefore uncertain who constitute the worship community of an ornament. Nooteboom's definition of an ornament, given above, could therefore be simplified. An ornament is an object which is worshipped by a community of individuals.

182 In addition to this worship community, there are a num-
794 ber of extremely weak and small worship communities in a
778 group of relatives. They comprise no more than one or
602 several households. Their members turn to their ancestors in their own pantasa' for family or household affairs. In addition, they can also always turn to the ancestors who are worshipped at the ornament.

644 Ornaments are also in the hands of ordinary kampong
182 people. The royal ornaments are therefore not "inherent to
778 the royal dignity" (1).

1. See Friedericy, op. cit., p. 501.

Neither is royal dignity "exclusively reserved for those who are of purest blood" (1). In that case the principle of

/77 cont./ 1. Ibid.

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182 descent would dominate completely, and that is not the case.

An ornament is supposed to be in the hands of the group member with the purest blood and the best personal qualities. The individual who has the ornament in his possession is therefore believed to have these qualities until it turns out to be otherwise.

One who shows that he possesses the best personal qualities is therefore, according to the Makassarese idea, of high blood.

A prince is regarded as possessing these personal qualities to the greatest degree. However, they do not always find expression.

182 An ornament strengthens the unity of the group. At the same time it furthers the continuity of this unity. But a breakthrough on the basis of personal qualities must always be considered a possibility, in the light of what has been said above.

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Chapter II

Social Status

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565 In the ethnological literature Makassarese-Buginese society is known as a hierarchical society. Friedericy (1) decided

1. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlands-Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. 4, p. 582.

/113 cont./
Slaves (ata)

567 Matthes translates the term ata by "slave," "servant,"
571 "subject." This translation is still correct, even today.
196 When the Prince of Goa speaks of his ata, it must be determined from the context whether he means by that his slaves, his followers, or his subjects, or possibly even his noble confederates. If someone refers to himself as ata in relation to
[554 the Prince, this is a self-abasement which -- especially if
643] an important person is involved -- /114/ frequently amounts to an excessive elevation of the Prince and thus, at the same time, of the speaker himself.

It is as difficult to translate the concept ata with a single term as it is to describe someone's social status in fixed, known terms. A translation is only possible if the relationship of the speaker to the one whose ata he considers himself to be is clear. Ata indicates a relationship. A resident of kampong Pakatto who calls himself an ata (subject) of the Prince of Goa turns out to own an ata (slave) himself.

Insofar as the term ata is translated by "slave," it appears
567 that slaves belong to the highest social class. Friedericy
[644] reports that they were generally despised, but that court slaves occupied a privileged position compared to ordinary people (1). It seems that slaves cannot be placed in a fixed

1. H. J. Friedericy,
Dissertation, p. 551.

social hierarchy. They do not form an integrated group, either. Each slave has individual ties with his master. Their position can merely be indicated by the relationship to their master.

The position of slaves in Makassarese-Buginese country does not give rise to strong sentiments. "Even

177 /134 cont./ goalkeeper of the karaëng's team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaëng had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaëng
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he, and not the karaëng who was the loser in this collision. It is understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams,
576 high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive" in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaëng can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

838 /154 cont./ on roads. Her kinsmen accepted these transgressions of the sex prohibitions without further ado. Apparently they did not think of the forbidden contact situation in which she found herself.

838 793 644 From a description by Matthes, it appears (1) that in his

1. B. F. Matthes, Over de Bissoe's of Heidense Priesters der Boegineezen /Concerning the Bissu or Heathen Priests of the Buginese/.

time (around 1870) a number of bissu lived at several courts of the princes. These were men who dressed and behaved partly like women. They took care of the ornaments and performed the ritual belonging to them. One old bissu, a senile man, who was only charged with guarding the ornaments [178] still lived in the palace of the Prince of Goa in 1939. At that time women were already performing the ritual. In 1949, he seemed to have died. The guarding services had then also passed into the hands of the women.

178 838 644 The disappearance of the bissu at the courts could, among other things, be a consequence of the dawning realization that, according to Moslem law, homosexuality is prohibited. The reason that they had disappeared as much as a generation ago at one court and, at the other court, continued to exist until recently could possibly be found in the differences in strictness of religious ideas held by various princes.

838 793 /155/ Only in the little place of Segeri, 75 kilometers north of Macassar, can a number of bissu still be found to this day. There they take care of the ornament and perform the ritual pertaining to it. A number of them are married and live in their own house with wife and children. They dress

121 /157 cont./ demanded of them in a certain culture, and that
838 therefore there are among them those "who have voluntarily given up the struggle to conform to the masculine role and who wore female attire and followed the occupations of a woman."

It appears that in Makassarese society a number of male
838 individuals at an early age turn away from those of their own sex and attach themselves to the girls. They adapt themselves to these /158/ in clothing and behavior. The older ones accept the fact that they are different from other boys. When they get older, they continue in their attitude. This entails certain consequences with respect to their sexual life.

Sexual contact with their female peers is regarded as out of the question. A kawe kawe is accepted as a matter of course into the group of women. If a kawe kawe comes from outside and is not yet known, then the men and old women at first watch him carefully, so I was told. In case of sexual contact with a woman, the kawe kawe is, among other things, threatened with expulsion from the group of women. Consequently, he would have to spend his time regularly in the group of men where he does not feel at home emotionally. It is possible that this fact restrains him from attempting sexual contacts with one of the women. To satisfy his sexual needs, he is therefore dependent on men.

I am not acquainted with any cases of men who became kawe kawe after they had passed puberty. The social separation of the sexes at that time may already be too great for the transition to be regarded as still possible.

838 One does find the phenomenon that men at the courts
793 partly dress and behave like women, in an institutionalized
644 way, for the ornament ritual. The possibility of the kawe kawe to be both man as well as woman -- in social life --, is here an imperative.

A kawe kawe tied to this institution is called a bissu. Even a "normal" married man seems to be capable of being

838
793/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

178 The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance
838 of the bissu institution, however, At present, insofar as they
548 did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

114 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and
589 women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated
885 who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

1. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 54.

537 /119 cont./
539 Listen to the mountain, the Bawakaraeng,
643 the never-loosening anchor,
such am I, too,
and only he who can be trusted in this way,
can truly be trusted.
If the Royal Council removes to the west,
then I will also go to the west;
if it removes to the east,
I will also go to the east. /120/
But if the Royal Council resides
with you, my Prince, in the ancestral gathering hall, then I
will remain below (1).

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1. That is to say, I will not take part in the conference; I follow. Makassarese dwellings are built on posts. If the prince confers with his Royal Council, the lower people wait under the house and listen in.

Opposition

571 Fairchild's definition of the concept "opposition" gives a good picture of conditions in South Celebes. He defines it by: "resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent" (2) /cited in English/. This term will be used here.

2. H.P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, New York, 1944.

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M1 [359 cont.]
175 Company. An expedition was equipped to punish the sultan.
64 After a fierce battle in 1784 Riouw was conquered and the sultan
721 was forced to recognize the Netherlands administration as his
M1 overlord, from whom he had his state in fee. The sultan's seat
[636] was transferred to Lingga, where it is today. In the beginning
the sultan retained his authority over Johore and Pahang. With
the Treaty of London of 1824, however, this was changed because
the Netherlands ceded all its territory on Malacca to England in
return for what England still held on Sumatra, namely, Benkulen.

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M1 In 1830 a new treaty was concluded with the sultan of
648 Lingga, whereby monetary compensation for the loss of the two
636 territories (Johore and Pahang) was promised him.

The sovereign of Lingga bears the title of Jang dipertuwan besar or sultan of Lingga. He has his state in fee from the Government, which is authorized to depose him and to name his successor, who, however, must always belong to the ruling dynasty
M1 and insofar as possible be chosen by succession.

MK The sultan is assisted by a state administrator with the
643 title Jang dipertuwan muda Riouw or Radja muda Riouw from the
645 dynasty of the Buginese princes. On these islands there are many
563 Buginese, whose settlement there [360] dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century, when they supported the Sultan of Lingga in a war with Siak. In 1720 one of the Buginese commanders was appointed viceroy of the state by the sultan, and since that time this office has always been held by a Buginese. The viceroy is recommended by the sultan and appointed by the Government. He has his seat on the island of Penjingat or Maro near Riouw.

M1 The viceroy is not only the general state-administrator,
643 but he also has supreme control of the islands between the coast
645 of Sumatra and Singapore Strait and Dempo Strait in the China Sea, that is, the Riouw group (Bintan, Batam, Bulan, Gampang, Galang or Galah, Chombal, Sugi) and the Karimun Islands (Great and Small Karimun). The viceroy seems to have had proprietory
M1 rights over these islands. The sultan more directly governs the
636 Lingga group (Lingga, Singkep, Sebangka, Sadjuwa, and Temiang).
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651 The sultan receives 35,000 guilders from the Government
563 in compensation for leases ceded to the country. Otherwise his

[375 cont.]
642 like. The way the liege lord summons his feudal tenants for a
423 festivity or war is peculiar. The invitation or summons is made
211 by means of bila-bila. Such a bila-bila is a strip of lontar leaf, in which a certain number of flat knots are tied. There are as many knots as there are days before the war starts or the festivity is to begin. There is a great difference in the way the feudal
[576] tenant must take the bila-bila from the hand of the messenger or envoy of the liege lord, depending on whether it is a summons to war or an invitation to a festivity. The bila-bila for a festivity is taken by the royal feudal tenant with his right hand, while with the left hand he makes the motion used in dancing. The bila-bila for a war is accepted with the left hand, while he touches the kris with the right hand, the object being to demonstrate his devotion to the liege lord by dancing or swinging the kris. According to Dr. Matthes, bila-bila is a corruption of bilang-bilang, from bilang = to count, since the number of knots in the lontar leaf serve for calculating the number of days before the festivities or war will begin.

643 Otherwise, the government is organized the same as in
645 the Malay states. At the head stands a sovereign who is assisted by a state administrator and a state council. The general name in Makassarese for sovereign is karaëng, and in Buginese arung or patta (1). This is also the title, however, for a nongoverning

1. Since the type for the Buginese sound ḡ is not in stock, the Buginese words that have this sound are spelled as above.

[376] prince. A ruling prince is karaëng mágaú (from gaú = deed, affair, and ágaú = to be active, to manage, and in Buginese, aru or patta mangkaú (the same radical gaú = deed, affair, and mágaú = to be active, to manage). The name of the state administrator is different in the various states and so is the composition of the state council. We shall now discuss the

[376 cont.]

643 government of some of the principal states, first Gowa, a remnant
645 of the ancient and, before Speelman, powerful state of the Makassarese. The sovereign here is the Karaëng mágaŭ. The state administrator here is called Tumá-bitjara-butta. The state council is called bate salapang, from bate = insignia, anything that serves as insignia, banner, and salapang = nine. The meaning is thus "nine banners," because each of the nine princes who make up the council carries a special banner.

Boni is a Buginese state. The sovereign is assisted by a state administrator, To-márilalang, from to = tau = man, márilalang = to be inside, from rilalang = within. To-márilalang = the person who is inside the inner rooms, that is, who stands in the most intimate, in the closest relationship, namely, with the sovereign. Furthermore, there is the state council, Aru pitu, literally, seven princes, because the council consists of seven princes. This council has great authority and deals with all governmental matters of any importance. The princes, members of the state council, are also the electors who choose a new sovereign. The Government then confirms their choice. This council can also recommend to the Government that a sovereign be removed. The state administrator, too, is appointed and dismissed in the same manner. Membership on the council is hereditary, in the female as well as in the male line.

Finally, we wish to discuss Soppeng. The sovereign here bears the title of polipuwe = the bottom (pong) of the trunk on which the land, lipu, rests, as though it were the rest of the tree (the whole is pong-lipu-we, we = e and serves as the definite article). The state administrator is called watalli-puwe, literally, that part of the trunk which is next to the pong and bears the name watang as though serving with the pong to support the whole tree, which [377] refers to land and people. The state council here consists of four electors and three high officials. The four electors are called pangebá, from the radical ebá = to carry on the arm, referring to a child. The name thus indicates that they look after the sovereign with as much care as a mother gives her

MK [377 cont.]
643 children. The other three are called pabitjara or council mem-
645 bers.

The government in the other states is the same with more or less deviation. Besides the sovereign, there is a state administrator as well as a state council which decides all important matters. No governmental act can be performed without its authorization. The members of the state council are also electors, and since they do not have to be concerned at all about the right of the first-born, the power of the sovereign is further reduced. As well as
MK by the state council, the power of the sovereign is further
642 weakened by the many feudal tenants. The form of government
643 is monarchal only in name, but is indeed entirely aristocratic.
645 There is one state where this is even completely the case, namely, Wadjo. Wadjo is wholly an aristocratic republic, governed by 40 princes (patta). The executive power, however, is vested in the six most important ones, the so-called patta-annange, at the head of which stands a president, aru mátowa or patta-mátowa. The other 33 are only summoned for deliberations about peace or war or other important events. A new patta is always chosen from among the nearest blood-relatives of his predecessor. The feudal system also prevails in Wadjo.

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101 On northern Celebes there are first the Gorontalese states,
642 Gorontalo, Limboto, Bone, Attinggolo, and Boalemo; further-
643 more the small states along the north coast, Bolaang Mongondou,
645 Bolaang Oeki, Bintaoena, Bolaang Itam, Kaidipan, and Boewoel. The government of all these states is fairly uniform. The sovereign bears the title of radja. Next to him is the state administrator, generally called djugugu. There are some other dignitaries, of whom the kapitan or commander of the fleet, who at the same time is commander of the troops on land, is the most important. In most of the states these high officials form a state council,
G I which [378] deals with the most important matters. These states,
[636] including the Gorontalese, are all bound to the Government by contract.

576 /10 cont. / One soon learns that as a distinguished guest one cannot sit down just anywhere when entering a house. It is wrong to sit down where the lowest are supposed to sit, because then the host is ill at ease. It is conceited, and that is disliked, if one sits down directly in the highest /prestige/ side of the house. It is good since it is a token of modesty, which is appreciated, if one sits down a little lower than where one would actually be allowed to take one's place. These are all mistakes which are not held against an occasional visitor, but which will be found troublesome infractions if they occur in the routine of daily life.

574 576 One further learns that, once seated, one may not leave if something is being prepared in the kitchen. It is better to be much too late for a subsequent appointment than to offend one's host by departing. When high Dutch civil and military [448] authorities, who were present at the wedding feast of one of the grandsons of the Prince of Goa in 1741, stood up during the rather long-drawn-out meal and said farewell, people spoke disapprovingly about this occurrence for weeks after in the kampongs. The offer of refreshments is a sign on the part of the host that he wants to do his guests an honor, and an early departure hurts him.

576 I learned that to shake hands does not belong to the customary greeting ceremony. Those present during a conversation or upon departure, including the host, will as much as "touch" the [778] hand of a high guest in order by so doing to obtain something of the good and fortunate, which, after all, adheres to every higher person. A Macassarese is embarrassed by a "firm" handshake.

The statement "I am leaving now" (lampama') is customary and gives one an intimate feeling. The same applies to the question addressed to a person one encounters on the way: "Where are you coming from?" A detailed answer is not expected. Indication of the wind direction suffices. The purpose of question and answer seems merely to be the creation of an intimate atmosphere. A stranger is passed by in silence, but one remains on one's qui vive.

62 19 cont. groups in one territory, and, secondly, it appears
621 that a genealogical group lives scattered over several territories. Both deviations from the initially advanced principle demand closer elaboration.

166 In the first place, certain historical factors which contributed
178 to the development of this situation should be pointed out.
621 These are increase in population, greater security since the year 1905, and irrigation by which sawah cultivation became possible in districts hitherto unsuited for this, with the result that migration of small groups took place with much greater frequency than was previously necessary or possible. To an increasing degree, strangers requested permission to settle in a certain kampong territory (2).

2. Such, at least, is the official decree; in practice permission is not asked until the house has already been built and the sawah has already been broken.

621 In the second place, the difference in meaning of the term "kampong territory" at the present time and half a century ago should be pointed out. At that time the boundary of a territory coincided with the boundary of the power exercised by the related group residing in that region. The boundary changed in proportion to the power exercised by this group segment. This applied in the first place to /20/ the boundaries of the present-day kampongs. It also applied to a lesser degree to the boundaries of the present-day adat communities and provinces. After the arrival of the Dutch East Indies Government
621 in the region of the principalities in 1905, maps were made
● 648 in the course of the first few decades, and the boundaries
631 were indicated on them. The situation at that time was essentially fixed. Within the established boundaries, displacements of power subsequently took place. Territorial and power boundaries, therefore, no longer coincided at that time.

773/64 cont. / not hold /65/ water. An eel appeared which curled
612 up inside it and in this way closed off the seams of the basket
262 with the slime of its skin, and in that way the woman was able to carry out her task. Out of gratitude she there upon vowed that she and her descendants would not eat the eel and its descendants.

[484] However, neither in the Kapala group nor in any of the other groups in Bontoramba were people able to produce such a story. Nor were they able to name a certain animal that a number of relatives were prohibited from eating.

Pantasa'

778 In the attics of Makassarese houses one frequently finds
769 a pantasa' (literally, "bedstead"). This is a little house on posts, from 70 to 100 centimeters tall, hung with mosquito netting. It has a small entrance going up to the front of the house (sapana) such as only the nobility possesses. In this little house one can see a small pillow and a little mat.

The care of these pantasa' primarily involves having a candle burn by its side every Thursday evening at sundown (malang Djuma') and always having ready a glass filled with water, a little bowl with betel and areca nuts, and a cup of water for washing one's hands, such as is customary at every meal. It is believed that the ancestors (pattautoaang) descend here. Therefore, care is taken at all times to leave whatever is customarily presented to an honored guest.

In or near these pantasa' is to be found a small closed basket (baku paballe, literally, "medicine basket"). A number of objects belonging to the ritual are kept in it. Next to the pantasa' one finds, in some cases, a large open basket (salosso), where the larger ritual objects are kept.

[648] It is told that formerly almost all the houses had their pantasa', but that in 1905 the Dutch troops destroyed a great number of them because they were used in blood sacrifices, which always had renewed opposition as a result. It is further

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
794 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the daërah.

778 /69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other
612 ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament.
634 For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community
[726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

571 [607] /104 cont./ had voluntarily become followers. They lived not only in the vicinity of their master; some resided even outside the Glarangship or regency, and only came if they were called or required protection.

571 631 "If a follower found himself in a dispute, if he had committed a misdemeanor which might put him in difficulties, or else if he had been harmed or insulted, he would not turn to his head, his Glarang, or to the regent, but rather to his master, his Karaeng, who acted as his protector, safeguarded his rights, and always tried to help him out of difficulties. It is obvious that the more prominent, the more influential the person who concerns himself with the interests of his follower, the easier it was to obtain justice, the more chance there was to be judged in the right even if one were wrong. Conversely, it was all the easier to go unpunished if one had committed an offense.

"This system of followers underwent such an expansion that not only Anakaraeng, but all nobles, and even well-to-do natives had followers. Consequently, in addition to the division of the /105/ land area into Glarangships and Kalompowan kampongs, there existed a division of residents into nobles, each with his followers, so that everyone of them constituted a power in the regency."

571 648 The quotation was long but valuable. Kooreman further points out that the function of the European administration is actually that of a super-karaeng, able to provide effective protection for all who ask for it, without any obligations being attached to this. In his opinion, this had as a consequence that in the course of decades the appeal for protection to the anakaraeng decreased, so that their power disappeared at the same time. As a result, little states within the state -- in the sense of a nobleman forming with his followers a unit within the realm -- no longer occurred.

178 571 From the data available at present, it appears that in the course of the last 75 years the forms in which the system of

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the karaëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng.
[582] Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
156 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the
178 present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis
[648] figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
571 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to
634 maintain himself in his function.

643 669 /121 cont./ The prince is regarded as the person of purest blood and as the possessor, to the highest degree, of the personal qualities which the Makassarese expect from a leader. If a prince satisfies both these requirements, he would seem to be in a position to conduct a policy directed at increasing his territory and the number of his subjects.

If a prince does not satisfy these requirements, there frequently occurs a schism within the realm which begins in the royal family. The conflict between the person who formally is the rightful heir because he is the oldest son or because he is considered to be of the purest blood and, on the other hand, the person who possesses the best personal qualities is frequently already present at a succession to the throne. Such a schism constitutes a threat to the prince. The power that his kingdom can exert outwardly remains small. For in that case, his efforts are still merely directed at maintaining his position within his realm. A classic example of this is the fraternal war in Sidenreng in 1831 and the succeeding years.

Eerdmans (1) clearly indicates the reasons that led to the

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1. The quotation which follows here is taken from an important unpublished note concerning the history of the government of Celebes and the dependencies from the pen of the retired Assistant Resident, A. L. A. F. Eerdmans, who died shortly before the Japanese invasion. Other quotations from the same note, following below, will be indicated by "Eerdmans." It is hoped, that it will still be possible to publish the part of this work that was spared

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/121 cont./ in the war. Publication of the work had been decided upon before the war, but had not been carried out.

battle: "From the preceding it appears that La Pawawooi Mohamad Ali, Prince of Sidenreng, a very old man, had always faithfully upheld Dutch interests and had performed many and important services for the government. When his son, Petta Tjambange, married the Wadjo princess, Mapalakae Aroe Maenge, it was decreed that the son that might be born from this marriage would be successor to the throne of Sidenreng.

175 "From this union was born La Patongai, Datoe Lampoele,
643 who accordingly was presented to the administration at Macassar as successor to the throne, and recognized by decree.
669 Datoe Lampoele, however, was a restless, adventurous person, whose actions and conduct caused offense in many respects. Moreover, he was greatly attached to Bone. /122/ One thing and another led to the fact that his grandfather, the old Prince of Sidenreng, became more and more estranged from him. The latter developed an increasing affection for a son of Petta Tjambange from a second marriage to We Nomba Daroe /sic/ Pamana, called the La Pangorisang, whom he decided upon as successor to the throne. Datoe Lampoele did not want to relinquish his claims to Sidenreng's throne and began to court the support of the Princess and prominent persons inside and outside of Sidenreng even during the final years of Mohamad Ali's life. Furthermore, he was able to count definitely upon the support of his father-in-law, Datoe Mario-ri-awa, and a number of prominent people from Wadjo and Bone. On the other hand, La Pangorisang had many followers of his cause among the great of Sidenreng, the Wadjo kinsmen of his mother, Datoe Pamana. Furthermore, he received support from the Prince of Barroe (Topatarai Soemagaroeka), his later father-in-law, as well as from the Princess of Sawitto and Rappang.

621 /125 cont./ by interesting a member of the high nobility in
622 the case. Their help is of importance because (although this
66L is not based upon the election regulation) sometimes they de-
clare the ballot invalid, or else report afterward that only a
test ballot had been held, in case the result did not agree with
their wishes (1).

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1. The 1927 regulation of the election of headmen is therefore not applied as was intended by the European administration which introduced it. Majority of votes is, according to Makassarese feelings, not sufficient in itself to capture the kapalaship. To this end, the consent of their own head is also required. This regulation, therefore, does not preclude arbitrary actions on the part of the higher people, but it does limit them.

622 The kapala can strengthen his position by establishing
662 a link with other kapala. The proved means of doing this is
634 to contract a marriage. But this action would immediately
result in a power formation within the adat community, which
the adat community head does not like to see. To an even
greater degree this is the case if a kapala were to seek contact
with a neighboring adat community head. Such an act would
suggest a certain enmity toward the kapala's own /adat com-
munity/ head, for it is an immediate threat of defection from
177 his own head to the neighboring head. Insofar as is known,
634 the latter situation rarely occurred, because after 1905 these
648 defections were no longer left to the free interplay of

177 /125 cont./ Makassarese forces, but had to be approved by
634 the officials of the Inland Administration. This administration
648 in practice only rarely permitted boundary alterations. It preferred to hold fast to the boundaries fixed in the years after 1905.

622 The kapala can also seek to establish contact with the kin
662 group of the /126/ adat community head. A marriage between members of the two groups of relatives seems to be possible (1).

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1. In this connection one can remark that it is always a man from the adat community head's group who marries a girl of the kapala group. Some difference in standing is always considered to exist between adat community head and kampong head, and therefore between their groups of relatives. Through the marriage, the implication is avoided that a man is marrying a woman from a group of relatives with higher standing than his own. A cousin (samposikali) of the adat community head was thus joined in marriage with a daughter of the kapala of Bontoramba.

622 In the succession to the kapalaship, a clear preference for the son, at least for a close

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634 /128 cont./ other groups of relatives in their adat communities,
662 even though in this position they merely carried out the com-
557 mands of the karaëng.

The karaëng, on his part, constantly tried to break through this tie which was, as it were, placed on him, by seeking contact with the prominent members of the other groups. The latter saw in this a chance to occupy a prominent position in the adat community through the karaëng, a position which they had not enjoyed previously. On the other hand, they did not dare to place themselves too much in the foreground in relation to the kin groups of the former heads, taking into account what might happen if the Prince's influence, at present penetrating more deeply, should again diminish.

The adat community heads who had remained in power felt themselves threatened by the Prince's political successes. "We are becoming unimportant," said one of them.

648 In a discussion of the relationship of the prince of Goa to his fellow princes, three different points must be kept in mind. First, territorially speaking we go beyond Goa in such a discussion. The entire Makassarese-Buginese region then becomes the field of investigation. Secondly, due to the fact that a number of events that took place at the courts of the princes were more or less regularly recorded during the last few centuries, we are able to use a number of historical data in this discussion which are unknown to the adat community heads and kampong heads. Thirdly, we must first indicate the position of the Netherlands East India Company and later the Government of the Dutch East Indies with respect to this opposition, which was ultimately intended to capture the hegemony of South Celebes.

175 If we look at what Eerdmans reports about this, we get
648 the impression that the conduct of the Netherlands East India Company repeatedly brought about a reversal in the power-relations existing at that moment, but that this did not produce any alteration in the manner in which the princes

175 /128 cont./ conducted their policies. The princes saw in the
648 Netherlands East India Company and, later, in the Government of the Dutch East Indies not the ruler who had to be driven out by the concentration of all forces /129/, but a new power center, which they drew upon in their mutual oppositions and which they utilized to realize their political aims.

The N. E. I. Company was attacked whenever its position was regarded as weak. As soon as the number of troops in Macassar was decreased, or a squadron had again departed from the Macassar roadstead, the tone of the opponent's letters changed (1). The N. E. I. Company was repeatedly defeated

1. e. g., in the conflict between the Queen of Bone, Bataritodja, and Governor Smout, around 1730. "The impudent conduct of Bataritodja was primarily caused by the decrease of our troop strength at Macassar. There was urgent need for military reinforcements on Java"; see Eerdmans, p. 291.

[183] but never destroyed. That fits in with the Makassarese habit of thought. It is regarded as sufficient if the defeated opponent is the weaker one in the ensuing discussions. Whenever the N. E. I. Company was attacked, it always found support from those who did not like to see an increase in the attacker's power.

This state of affairs lasted until 1905. At that time the whole of South Celebes was subjected to the authority of the Dutch East Indies Government. It was only then that the boundaries of kingdoms, adat communities, and kampongs were fixed. These boundaries have subsequently been adhered to as much as possible.

175 /129 cont./ It was only then that the government very
177 gradually began to place emphasis upon other personal
643 characteristics of the prince. The qualities which up to that
648 time had been regarded as very important for him by the Makassarese now became less so. On the one hand, the government deprived a forceful personality of the chance to conduct a policy of expansionism, and, on the other hand, it supported a weak personality whenever he was threatened in his dignity by neighbors or kinsmen.

175 Only then did the opposition in the form described by
177 Kooreman disappear, as it existed between the Prince and one
643 of his most prominent relatives who, together with a large
669 number of followers, built up power within the realm without the Prince's interference. In Kooreman's description, this state of affairs seems to be a phenomenon inherent in Makassarese society. At the same time, followers are described as good fighters who have no objection against a sword fight. Lower heads -- and with them all their subjects -- are also to be found among these. The silent endurance of the kampong residents who had to suffer from /130/ this counterforce is explained by pointing to the high blood of their leader whereby only a complaint registered with someone still higher, thus the prince, could have success. This is quite aside from the direct threat which is presented by such a group.

Finally, the prince himself did not act either in numerous similar cases when complaints reached him. Rather than risk a defeat through which he could lose his entire dignity, he tolerated this power within his kingdom. The leader of such a group made his appearance everywhere. As a close kinsman of the prince he also appeared in the palace. No such power groups existed when an active and forceful prince was the ruler, one who could lead his closest kinsmen by his personal qualities and who knew how to direct their energy for conquests outside his own territory. A small local "terror" of an otherwise dedicated follower of the prince was not held too much against him.

175 /130 cont./ In the period after 1905, when complaints
177 registered with the officials of the Inland Administration were
648 acted upon, the leaders of such groups, even those of high
669 nobility, were increasingly restricted in their movements. It became apparent that they were not safe before the administration officials if someone had registered a complaint about them. Very slowly, often unconsciously, the realization must have dawned upon them, that they had to choose between submission to the rules of the new order, which the government upheld, and resistance against this same government.

175 The activities of those who chose resistance became
648 increasingly more distinct from those of the first mentioned.
669 Those who continued to resist were forced to withdraw gradually with their followers into districts beyond easy access until they were finally taken prisoner or killed, after having been forced completely into the defensive and having been labeled bandit chieftain or gang leader. Such was the end of men like daëng Pabarang in the western part of Bone around 1910, and like Tolo (1) in Polombangkeng /131/ in 1915.

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1. "In the second quarter of the year mentioned (1915), the number of robberies increased disquietingly through the appearance of a number of notorious gang leaders in the former province of Goa. Among these leaders there belong Tolo and his dreaded lieutenants, Basareng, Baso Patjiro Daëng Mapata, (constituting part of the Goa royal family) Radjamang,

000 /131 cont./ circumstances the appearance of daëng Mangemba became temporarily possible in 1927. For this, see Z(entgraaff), Celebesproblemen, pp. 5 ff.

177 643 602 662 With the disappearance of these figures, however, the opposition within the circle of the prince and his closest relatives did not disappear. After all, this opposition has its basis within the family in the relationship between the brothers. What disappeared was merely the form of opposition described by Kooreman in 1883, a power within the realm under the leadership of a man of high nobility, based upon force directed against the prince.

The opposition itself remained dormant. In the years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War, it emerged principally in a number of questions concerning hereditary succession.

In 1949 it again became apparent, this time in parliamentary form. It appeared that relatives of the various princes and Self-government members had seats in the representative councils which at that time were set up both for the daërah (the South Celebes Council), as well as for a number of kingdoms (among others the Bone Council). Compared to their ruling kinsmen, these men of the nobility are progressive individuals, but in a number of cases their endeavors merely seem aimed at eliminating the ruling prince and at one of them becoming the prince himself. They conduct the traditional South Celebes policy merely under new names and in new forms.

177 648 In November, 1948, the High Hadat (Hadat Tinggi) for the entire region of the daërah of South Celebes was set up. It was intended as an administrative body in which the various princes should have a seat. Unity was thereby created which

177 /132/ corresponded completely to the line of developments.
648 The struggle for the hegemony of South Celebes herewith entered into a subsequent stage.

The princes of Bone and Goa became, respectively, chairman and vice-chairman of this body (1). It is to be expected

1. Concluded as of December, 1949.

that Goa will continue its struggle for the hegemony by endeavoring to capture the chairmanship of the Hadat Tinggi, an attempt that, if Goa should ever succeed in doing so, will subsequently be conducted in the same manner and with the same means by the kingdom which will then occupy the second position of power.

648 The people of South Celebes, and most of all the princes, know that they are part of a larger whole. Each power center situated outside South Celebes which wants to exercise influence in this area is regarded by the princes as a possible aid in attaining their ideal, hegemony. They are constantly striving for a single large kingdom encompassing the whole of South Celebes, where there will be peace. They think that this is possible to attain only for a prince of ideally pure extraction, one who possesses to the highest degree the ideal personal qualities.

Opposition is therefore conducted on the highest imaginable plane -- for South Celebes. The prince who has the leadership of the High Hadat will continue to strive toward the collapse of power of the other realms in order to strengthen his own position as well as that of his group of relatives, and in order to give them a greater durability. The possibility of conducting opposition will, however, always continue to be present with one of the other groups, if only for the reason that no prince can be of ideally pure extraction or can possess the ideal personal qualities.

175 /134 cont./ Shortly after the formation of the federated
648 state of East Indonesia, the Makassarese Nadjamuddin daeng
602 Malewa became prime minister. He belonged to a related group of officials living in Macassar and, aside from possessing a particularly keen intelligence and /135/ quick mind, he was endowed with those personal qualities which the Makassarese regard as indispensable for a leading figure.

Each individual with particularly good personal qualities creates a tension in his group of relatives. The tension which the Nadjamuddin aroused was simply of special dimensions.

The unity of this group of relatives was reinforced by the pressure from outside. After the formation of the new federated state, there developed in the ministries at Macassar a silent struggle between the various population groups -- Ambonese, Balinese, Makassarese, Menadonese -- for official positions. Under the pressure of the others, the Makassarese joined forces.

The new premier understandably found no Parliament that was able to comprehend the place ascribed to him in western Europe. The clearly defined rights and obligations, tied as they are in Europe to the ministers, could not be directly communicated here. As a result, the premier again resorted to the ancient Makassarese pattern of government.

Nadjamuddin ruled via his kinsmen and followers, who were active as officials in the ministries. In the Makassarese view, therefore, they constituted at the same time the highest social class.

The idea that this rule would be merely temporary, since, after all, it was dependent upon political conditions, was foreign to them.

The fall of Nadjamuddin as prime minister was conceived by the Makassarese as an impairment of his social standing and therefore also of theirs. The feelings of siri', (1) which came into being through this state of affairs

175 /135 cont./ 1. See Chapter 3, third part.
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led them to turn away from the other population groups. The separatist tendencies of the time, which here assumed a political form, have their basis here.

Expectation of Salvation

668 In South Celebes expectations of salvation display a number of characteristics which in various points agree with the phenomena described above in this chapter. That is the reason for treating them here. The general traits are the following.

[187] A man or a woman prophesies that the days of the existing rule are numbered. All princes, Dutchmen, foreign Easterners /136/ will be killed or go away. Natural disasters and eclipses of the sun are close at hand; taxes will no longer have to be paid, and feudal services will no longer have to be performed (1). The person who makes these forecasts

1. There arose "a commotion because a certain Baso Oewa Taéna, who also called himself Baso Daëng Magassieng, predicted an eclipse of the sun, during which Battara Gowa (Sangkilang) would appear and would marry his daughter to him, Baso. After streams of blood had flowed and all Europeans and foreign Easterners had been removed, a mighty

668 /137 cont./ Turkish Government would shortly come to replace Dutch rule, and the 'Companiya' had to be driven out of the land." Eerdmans, p. 1087.

The person who predicts the coming of salvation is the leader of the group, but he frequently lacks the noble blood and just as frequently the personal qualities which the Makassarese otherwise expect in a leader. His followers are those who purchase the djimat and who learn the prescribed ritual. They do not have the feelings of loyalty toward him either which are otherwise customary in a relationship of followers. It therefore seems better not to speak of a followers' relationship in this connection. The only tie which exists is based upon the belief in his prophecies. To proceed against such a group with armed force always brings rapid success. They practically never offer resistance. Actual overthrow of the existing government is not the prime target at which these people aim. If the forecasts are not realized soon, they wait. But once the leader has been imprisoned, the group collapses and the movement fails. [648 643] Such a movement was not only aimed against the government, but also against their own princes, when the Netherlands East Indies Company still occupied a completely unimportant position in Makassarese life. The princes at that time took just as effective countermeasures whenever such a movement was in the offing.

/138/ The expectation of salvation in South Celebes centers on the arrival of one of those strong personalities who in the history of the country played an important role by fighting successfully against the prince ruling at that time or else against Dutch rule. It is hoped that he will now succeed in his former striving, and that he will be able to drive out

177 /156 cont./ sudden great popularity (1). The onlookers, men,
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1. So great was the interest in this dance that teachers complained about the sleepiness of their pupils during the day in school (report by the ex-teacher Noeroeddin to Dr. A. A. Cense).

according to reports principally married men, showed their enthusiasm by stuffing money in large sums down the necks of the little dancers. After some time the dance was prohibited by the administration. Only after the capitulation of the Dutch East Indies in 1942, have Masri representations been given again.

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The name of the dance probably betrays the land of origin /157/ (1). Lane (2) first gives a description of a dance
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1. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Dr. G. F. Pijper.

2. E. W. Lane, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London and New York, 1908, p. 389.

by women who at the same time are prostitutes, and then reports that the only thing which is really disapproved in it is the fact that women perform this dance. Consequently, men may also take the place of women as performers of this dance. They are usually young men, accompanied by the rabab. They represent women, but in order to prevent people from

588 /220/ In the case of a silariang marriage, the man must
684 pay a fine (kasalaang). The person performing the marriage ceremony records this payment in the marriage register. The money is kept and offered to the wife's father during the reconciliation. The latter does not want to accept the fine directly during the performance of the marriage because in so doing he would again recognize a tie with his daughter that he does not want. He therefore often asks the imam, the man who has performed the wedding ceremony, to accept this money as a "good gift" (sidakka'). That is the practice in Borongloë. Elsewhere, the marriage official hands this fine over to the wife's father directly after the marriage has been performed.

177 A few observations can be made concerning the origin
627 of this local difference. This fine formerly used to be called,
684 "cutting off what is pointed, " or "making blunt what is sharp"; this meant that after the receipt of the fine no reason for stabbing was thought to exist any more (1). The fine was

1. Cf. C. T. Bertling, "Huwelijk en huwelijksrecht in Zuid-Celebes /Marriage and Marriage Law in South Celebes/, " /Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 147, p. 203. /Batavia, 1938./

regarded as an element of the reconciliation, and for that reason was not paid until that occasion. Makassarese feelings linked the receipt of the fine to the end of the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship.

177 Shortly after the South Celebes expedition of 1905, the
627 number of stabbings based upon a silariang affair seems to
● 648 have been very large. At that time the administration looked
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177 /220 cont./ for means to limit this number. In 1906,
627 Governor Kroese issued a circular letter in which he made the
648 suggestion designed to cause the fine to be paid directly at
684 the nikka' and to be accepted by the wife's wali, in cases of silariang marriage. He hoped that the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship would be directly removed in this way.

However carefully the suggestion may have been handled, the pressure that was exerted was nonetheless too strong. Since that date the fine has in fact been paid at the nikka' in a great many districts, but the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship nonetheless has remained in existence. Only when we keep in mind these historical facts can we understand why, in a certain region where the wife's father accepts the fine at the nikka' but the sunrang not until the reconciliation, 'making blunt what is sharp' now indicates this sunrang.

684 /221/ According to Moslem law, the wife's wali may
582 refuse his consent to a marriage on the basis of the fact that the woman is of a higher status than the man. In an ordinary case such a difference is reason for refusing a marriage request, even if a different reason is given: "It is not seeming that they should marry" (taena nasiratang), is the usual
[588] expression. If the wali in a case of silariang refuses to give his consent on these grounds, the imam separates them, unless the couple desires to carry through the marriage. In that case the affair goes before the judge. If the decision states that the woman is higher than the man, they are separated. Rather than seeing her married to a man of lower blood, the kinsmen will take her back again though she made them siri'.

684 After such a separation by authority of the imam or judge,
695 there no longer exists any tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship. The functionary concerned reports to the tumasiri' that the

1: Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1947. During the procession.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

After the inauguration, many try to obtain a bit of the earth next to the investiture stone. Compare page 66.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 7]

MK [374 cont.]
642 in arriere fee, and Tanette with Lipoekasi in arriere fee.
I 2. Allied states. The basis of our relationship with these states
MK is the peace and alliance treaty concluded in 1667 by Speelman,
[648] known under the name of Buginese contract, which was renewed in 1824 by Van der Capellen. Their sovereigns are allies of the Government and have certain obligations to fulfill, such as the
MK protection of trade, guarding against piracy, assistance in case
[636] of war, etc. They are free in the administration of the internal affairs of their state, but when ascending the throne, they must pay a visit to Makassar to be installed by the Government and to renew the contract.

MK These states can be divided by population into Makassa-
101 rese and Buginese states. The most important Makassarese states are Gowa, and Laïkang; the Buginese states are Baróe, Soppeng, Adjatapparang, Mandar (at least in part), Loewoé, Wadjó, Tanette, and Boni. A third tribe that inhabits Celebes is the
T To-radja = mountain-dwellers. Among the principal Toradja
101 states are Masinrimpoeloe and Laiwoei in particular.

MK The main features of the government are similar in all
642 the states. The feudal system exists everywhere on southern
423 Celebes. We have encountered this feudal system in the Malay states on Sumatra and Borneo, but not to the extent that it occurs here. In the first place the feudal system also arose here out of the sovereigns' practice of granting part of the land in fee to their children or relatives to provide for their support or to reward faithful servants. These feudal tenants are called paseadjingang = blood relatives, from the [375] word seadjing = brother. Another way that the feudal system arose was through war, when a weaker prince was conquered by a more powerful one. In the latter case the vanquished was allowed to govern his own land, but he was in the same position as the other feudal tenants. This kind of feudal tenant is called palili. The obligations of these feudal
MK tenants to their liege lord are: to assist him in war, to appear
[211] at his court for ceremonial occasions, festivities, etc., and the

to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper 665
administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there 668
are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an
eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad ex- 668
periences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't 663
keep their word, and although he is a conservative, he keeps 576
his word. Thus he is disgusted with politics. Nevertheless, 178
he has a great deal of influence even with those who are relatively radical. When a blazing representative of the Republic here meets the Radja he gives him sembah [homage, respectful greeting with hands placed together on the forehead]. And this is true also in Makassar. But the new and radical politicians are also still caught in the web of the rigid adat of South Celebes. As for the exiled Arumpone, the Controleur said that if the Dutch were to leave, there is a good chance for a coup d'etat here, and in other places as well. He also agreed that if in the Republic, with freedom the radjas will suffer with a resultant political upsurge. As 648
for the point that many of the people think that the Dutch and 663
the radjas are working together, I get the impression that it 178
is partly true, and the Dutch I meet constantly rationalize 565
this by saying that all would fall apart here if the traditional custom law, the adat, which depends upon the ordered, ranked universe were to be suddenly abolished. But, says the Controleur, the people do not know how much the Dutch keep the radjas from excesses both diplomatically and behind the
scenes. Still, he said that it is difficult now because the 661
Dutch are only here as helpers and can work only through the 656
radjas. In previous times if there was a bad fellow high up in the state, the Dutch could jail him. But now, for example in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use anyway because the replacements would probably be just as bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating the size of the family. For example, they will list a family as consisting of nine members when it really has only five. Then they will give out the ration for five members, keeping the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the Chinese.

Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that 665
if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties 521
would get much support. He also said that the relatively

[The Basin of the Poso]

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On the left shore of the Tomasa, not far from its mouth, there is a piece of land that bears the name of Tana-inoli, "bought land"; Kadomboekoe had ceded this land to Onda'e in former times. The story about this is as follows: Long ago Indo i Kolombio, the female Chief of Kadomboekoe, had invoked the help of Onda'e in order to kill her brother Patasi, /40/ because the latter had made her out to be a witch and declared that she had given birth to a black snake. She promised them for this a reward of two big pigs, which were called Saketo and Poela-tamoengkoe. The To Onda'e accepted the proposal, but they did not carry out the mission immediately because they first went to the coast to make salt. Only after several months had passed did they kill Patasi. When they now came for their reward, it appeared that the two pigs had been slaughtered for a funeral feast which the To Kadomboekoe had celebrated in the meantime. The To Onda'e were displeased at this, but they finally settled for the above-mentioned patch of land.

The To Onda'e never profited from this acquisition. They let the To Kadomboekoe lay out their fields freely on the land given away. In the beginning it may well have happened that To Onda'e traveling through Tana-inoli asked the To Kadomboekoe farming there for a chicken, some rice, and a piece of foeja (beaten tree-bark) for the use of their land, but long before our arrival this was no longer the custom.

The land of Bandoa was also bought from Kadomboekoe by Lage through a Chief who was named Tawoea-mbine. The mountain Siwo belonged to Lage and was sold to the To Wingke-mposo Tawojo-ndisa for one buffalo with six pieces of cotton and one pig with six pieces of cotton.

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In the first half of the last century Mandarese (called To Mene by the Toradja) must have had great influence in Kadomboekoe. How they got there and how numerous they were, no one can tell any more; it is certain that the whole tribe was converted to Islam by them. When the Mandarese returned to their land, they

OG11 Toradja OG11
Western Toradja OG12
Makassar OG6
Mandar

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[The Basin of the Poso]

When the /40 cont./ Mandarese returned to their land, they gave a multicolored flag to the To Kadomboekoe and said the following: "You are now Mohammedans, and if your descendants eat the meat of pigs we shall fine them 40 young female slaves." The grandfather of Papa i Melempo, who was Chief of the tribe when the Government came, was the last Mohammedan. Tampabanda (as he was called) lies buried near the former village of Aboki, and in his grave was also placed the only Koran in the country. The To Kadomboekoe claim that they returned to Heathenism because there was no one who could teach them to recite from the Koran.

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On their way back, the Mandarese must have traveled across the area called Ampibabo (on the west side of Tomino Bay), which until a few years ago recognized the sovereignty of Mandar (Tjenrana). A few of the To Kadomboekoe followed the Mandarese there and had descendants in Ampibabo, so that even now there is kinship between the two regions. When the above-mentioned flag had become unusable in 1895 because of age, it was taken to Ampibabo, and through the intercession of the Chief of this place a new one was obtained from Mandar. The To Kadomboekoe, however, did not recognize in any respect whatever the supremacy of Mandar.

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32. The history of the To Pajapi.

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Now it still remains for us to speak about the inhabitants of the district that lies to the west of the Poso River. Part of this land was formerly inhabited by a Toradja tribe, the To Pajapi, which has now as good as disappeared from Central Celebes, except for a small remnant. The history of this tribe is a sad one.

The To Pajapi (pajapi is the name of a tree) are a Toradja tribe about which the Bare'e speakers can not tell much. This is probably to be explained by the fact that they belonged to the West Toradja group, as the linguistic investigation determined.

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to this, then the Karadja had a sword and a spear brought to Wotoe, and then the Datoe of Loewoe' stepped in (this is not likely).

The Karadjas whom Ta Mantaha knew were: Ta Raeli, Raeli, Ta Lanto, Ta Landano, Ta ngKalendjae, Ta mBojagi, Ta ngKolabada, Ta nTelingka and Ta Modapi (two brothers who were Karadja together), Ta ngKonte'e, Ta Balié, Ta nTigi (Kontjo). When Ta ngKaledjae died and left no son, his daughter Ranta-loda (Indo i Dai) became Karadja. Matoa-bawa-lipoe left her in office, but installed Tambojagi, a brother-in-law of Ta ngKalendjae, as Karadja beside her.

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9. The rulers of the country. The Datoe of Loewoe'.

Now we come to the dominion of the rulers of Loewoe' (Palopo) over the Toradja. That is, the East Toradja recognized a few rulers as lords of the land. Most tribes named as such the ruler (datoe) of Loewoe'. The tribes in the northeast of the country had their own master in the ruler (djena) of Todjo; and the tribes in the east, in the plain of the Laa River, paid tribute to the ruler (datoe ri tana) of Mori. The first named, the Datoe of Loewoe', undoubtedly had the oldest rights, a supremacy which certainly dates from times immemorial.

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According to existing traditions this situation came about in the following way. In olden days the inhabitants of Wotoe on the north shore of the Gulf of Bone lived at the mouth of the Tjerekang; some give Malio as the name of their settlement. From here the people moved to Lampenai, a hill located between the Kalaena and present-day Wotoe. A little river, the Laaosa (called Laakarai by the people of Angkona), which in turn empties into the Pewoeso'i, /120/ "washing place," flows along there.

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At the time when the people in this area still made their clothes out of foeja /beaten tree bark/, they fetched from this hill the stones from which were made the little hammers (ike) with which the tree bark was flattened. The headman under whose leadership the move had taken place bore the name of Samba-langi, "covering the sky." The village was strong because it was surrounded by three earthen walls. Samba-langi continued to be invoked for a long time by people from Wotoe who brought buffaloes to Lake Posoe: "Samba-langi, give us health, and do not let the buffaloes die on the way."

Now the story goes that the son of Samba-langi, once when he was bathing in the Kalaena, saw maize leaves and other refuse floating in it. This convinced him that there must be people living upstream. He followed the river upstream and came to the country now known as Saloe-maoge. There he saw a bamboo container hanging on a sugar palm, in which palm wine was collected. The people of Lampenai drank some of the liquid and then placed salt and sugar at the foot of the tree as the price for the enjoyment. After that they returned home.

When Samba-langi learned of the vicissitudes of his son, he ordered him to go back to the land upstream and to try to contact the inhabitants of Saloe-maoge. After they had again placed salt and sugar at the foot of a tree, they hid in the bushes in order to see who came to get these delicacies. Before long there appeared a man who was totally naked and who fled immediately when the coastal inhabitants showed themselves. Nevertheless eventually they managed to establish contact with the man and his fellow tribesmen. Coastal and mountain inhabitants made friends with each other. When the question came up as to who was the younger (inferior) and who the older (superior), the mountain people said to the people from the coast: "Of course you are our superiors, and we shall show you honor, because you wear trousers and a jacket, while we wear only a loincloth."

T /122 cont./
648 century the Chief of Djaladja gained great influence at the court
631 of Palopo, because he sent the Datoe large gifts in buffaloes and
M rice. Thus it happened that the Datoe instructed the Chief of
• 648 Djaladja (his name was Ambe Ma'a) to accompany his envoy,
643 bypassing Wotoe. This caused bad blood at Wotoe. The Toradja, however, never repudiated the Matoa (Matjoa), the Chief of Wotoe, in favor of Ambe Ma'a.

T At indefinite times, sometimes with an interval of a year,
M usually longer, a message came from Palopo or from Wotoe that
648 it was time to collect the tribute for the Datoe. This was called
T mepoee, "to recognize the lord (poee)." As far as the lowland
631 was concerned, this was carried out by the village chief of Tamoengkoe (Pebato), who for this purpose had been installed by Loewoe' as tongko. This tribute consisted of beeswax, foeja /beaten tree bark/, /123/ goat's hair to decorate lances, rice, white chickens, and palm wine. All of this was brought by Tamoengkoe to the Chief of Towale, and the latter delivered all this, augmented with the homage from his own area, to the Chief of Lamoesa. The latter was the general representative of
T the Datoe. Lamoesa lies in the plain of the Kodina, on the right
[103] bank of this river. Here, at a spot which bears the name of Landea-ndopo, "where the waves rise upon the land," the envoys from Palopo and Wotoe arrived. The Karadja of Lamoesa had to provide the lodging and maintenance for these people as long as
T they stayed at the Lake. In this he was aided by the surrounding
[671] tribes. The adat prescribed that the envoys should not go farther toward the north. When they finally left to return to their country, the Karadja sent along people who brought the tribute for
M the Datoe to Wotoe.

622 Wotoe at that time had various Chiefs. The Mandjara held
631 the highest rank. He was (and still is) installed by the Datoe,
648 but his authority limited him to the inhabitants of the little
T realm of Wotoe. As their lord in Wotoe the Toradja recognized
648 the Matoa- (Boeg. /Buginese/ Matjoa) bawa-lipoe, "he who

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622 /123 cont./
631 carries the villages," answers for them. Before the tribute
648 came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe, it was first brought to a chief
T who bore the title of Ampoe lemba, literally "tribal chief,"
648 the equivalent of mayor of Wotoe. From him the people went to the Paramata, after that to the Matoa-bintoe'a, and then they came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe. To the question which we posed repeatedly, whether the tribute that was left with the Matoa-bawa-lipoe actually reached the Datoe at Palopo, the answer was always: "We do not know that" (3).

3. There were also other Chiefs at Wotoe, whose function has not been clearly described. Thus there was the Topalatoea, a worthy of whom nothing was known but that he would have to die when a daughter was born to him. Another respected man was Palemba-ragi, a high chief of the Toradja tribes, recognized by Loewoe'.

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648 Exceptions to the above rule were the tribes of the To Lage
631 and To Onda'e, who had to bring a slave to Loewoe' every nine
T years. The To Lage brought the slave to Lamoesa, whereupon
648 Lamoesa accompanied the Lage envoys to Wotoe, where they
567 paid their respects to the Chiefs named. The To Onda'e, however, needed no intermediary, but brought their slave directly to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe at Wotoe and from there to Palopo. This manner of bringing tribute (mepoee) is called monangoe boeadja, "to swim like a crocodile (straight to the goal)."

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173 The following tradition is connected with the mepoee of the
648 To Onda'e. The To Onda'e had risen up against the Datoe. The
728 war that resulted from this threatened to end with the downfall
T of the To Onda'e. Then an old man stood up and addressed the
173 assembled Chiefs as follows: "Brothers, the only way by which
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we can escape destruction is that some of us go directly to the Datoe without stopping anywhere, just as a crocodile swims straight to his goal /124/ (monangoe boeadja). They must offer a slave to the Datoe and surrender themselves to him for life or death." This advice was followed. The Chiefs Tamoina, Jamoenta, and Roemampoe set out; the slave Moloeëdi was taken along as a gift. From Boeraoe on, Ambe Kando accompanied them to Palopo. The Datoe of Palopo received the envoys favorably on condition that the To Onda'e should provide a slave as tribute every nine years (4).

4. According to another version, Roemampoe took with him: a chicken, a basket (kapipi) of rice, a packet of pinang nuts, a packet of sirih fruits, a bamboo container of palm wine, and a piece of beaten tree bark. Having arrived at Palopo, he offered all this to the Datoe and surrendered himself for his mercy or displeasure. Mercy was granted to the To Onda'e under the above-named condition. Roemampoe took along from Palopo: a bata manoeroe, "the flag descended from the sky," which the ruler of Loewoe' planted near a village that he wished to punish with sickness; a taripa djandji, a mango tree which appears only in stories; and two types of yellow bamboo.

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11. The sphere of influence of Walboenta.

It was the Toradja tribes that lived in the so-called Poso depression (the basin of the Poso) who recognized the Datoe of Loewoe' as lord and used the Chief of Wotoe as intermediary. In this latter respect two small tribes were an exception, the To Bantjea and the To Palande, the first on the west shore of the

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Lake, the second on the east shore. These two tribes rendered honor to the Datoe of Palopo through the ruler, Makole, of Waiboenta. People were not able to explain to us the reason for this: it had always been thus. The traditions, however, point to circumstances that are connected with the departure of the ruler of Pamona to Waiboenta (I, 18, 27).

The story goes that the Toradja ruler and his entourage, after their departure from Pamona, stayed for some time in Bantjea, and that, when they moved on, a member of the kin group (an aunt?) of the ruler stayed in Bantjea with her party. Thus the tribe of the To Bantjea did not yet exist when Wotoe already ruled over the Toradja. Palande must have been populated from Bantjea; To Bantjea must in any case have mixed with the To Palande. This circumstance would then explain satisfactorily why these two small tribes brought their homage to the Datoe by way of Waiboenta. That this always annoyed Wotoe appears from the fact that the Wotoeërs, whenever they stayed at the Lake, were always eager to mulct and oppress (motengkoe batoe) the people of Bantjea.

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In a war that Waiboenta fought with Bada', in which it was completely beaten by these mountain Toradja (see West-toradjas, I, p. 308), Waiboenta offered its subjects in Bantjea, Palande, and Rato as war tribute to Bada'. After this time the To Bada' came to Lake Poso continually and exacted tribute from the small tribes named and oppressed them in all sorts of ways; they treated them completely as their slaves. /125/ The Lake dwellers now decided to buy themselves free of their new masters. The To Bantjea and To Palande gave nine slaves, and inhabitants of Rato and sago-washing basket (jâkssi) with locally forged chopping knives. A man of Bantjea, named Lae-bagi or Ngkai-djanggo, who had married in Bada', led the negotiations on this occasion. This must have taken place in the first quarter of the last century.

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A considerable time after Bantjea and Rato had bought themselves free, a delegation from Waiboenta came to Bantjea to ask why tribute was no longer brought (mepoee) to Waiboenta. The answer ran: "Because you sold us to the To Bada', from whom we have again liberated ourselves." Then the envoys from Waiboenta concluded a treaty of friendship with Bantjea. On the side of Bantjea it was Talintoe who concluded the treaty; on the part of Waiboenta, La Bada appeared. Both ran some distance into the Lake. Then La Bada plunged his kris into the water and said to Talintoe: "Open your mouth." When the latter had done this, La Bada let the water drip from his kris into the mouth, while he said: "If you, To Bantjea, forget our agreement, your bodies will pass away just like this water which flows into your body" (ane ndisaja posintoewoe pai Waiboenta, da marege koromi ewa karege noe oee, anoe moili ri ra ngkoromi). Talintoe did the same to La Bada with his sword. Having reached dry land again, La Bada set up a stone at the foot of the hill on which the village lay. Both parties then took an egg in their hands and La Bada said: "If you, To Bantjea, break our treaty, your bodies shall pass away like this egg." At the same moment he dashed the egg to pieces against the stone. Talintoe did the same. -- This stone is still found in place; no honors are paid to it and no sacrifices are brought to it. All that happens is that now and then the weeds are removed a few meters around the stone.

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Since this time the relations between Bantjea and Waiboenta have always been good. Gradually the To Bantjea began to go along with the other Toradja in offering their tribute to the Datoe of Palopo by way of Wotoe. There was no special motive for this, unless it is to be sought in the expectation that in this way the harassments of Wotoe might come to an end.

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13. The power and prestige of the Datoe of Loewoe'.

We have never noticed any kind of policy of the Datoe toward the East Toradja. If the subjects (palili) simply fulfilled the above-named obligations, he did not bother further with their internal affairs. He calmly let the tribes wage war with one another. If the Toradja experienced molestation on the part of Mori or Sigi, they went to the court to complain about it, but real help was never granted. For example the Datoe never made an effort to rescue the East Toradja from the molestation that was done to them by the mountain tribes of the West Toradja. The Datoe, after listening to the complaint, handed them one or another miraculous remedy, through whose magic action the enemy would be driven back.

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The last time the Datoe helped his subjects in this way was in 1903. On the north shore of Lake Poso the Toradja had damaged and thrown into the water a memorial that had been erected there in memory of Chief Engineer R. Fennema, who had perished in the Lake in 1897. That is, the people believed that the continuous drought that scourged the country at the time was the result of the wrath of the spirits, because they (the Toradja) had admitted the Hollanders into the country. The administrative officer at Poso now asked for damages for the destruction of the memorial, but the people wanted to pay less than was asked. When the messengers of the administrative officer had returned to Poso, the Toradja thought that the soldiers would come and shoot them. They reinforced their villages and sent /127/ a few men to Loewoe' in order to inform the Datoe of the threatening danger and to ask him for help. The Datoe gave the envoys one bullet and a little bamboo container of gunpowder, enough for one shot, along with the message: "Fire this bullet with this powder at the Hollanders if they attack you, and they shall all flee from you." In the meantime, however, the request from the Government had been met, so that the bullet and powder were no longer necessary. The chief of Towale carried these objects afterwards as talisman.

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• 648 M 643 In everyday life the Datoe of Loewoe' meant nothing to the Toradja. In no case was he considered. The Datoe was brought into play only against strangers. In their contacts with the Government, before it vigorously asserted itself, all overtures were rejected with an appeal to the Datoe. Our attempts T 114 648 871 177 to open schools among the Toradja failed in the first years, because the people did not want to know anything about this novelty, from which they expected only disadvantages for their social life. In order to cut off all discussion of this matter they hid M 648 643 behind the Datoe, who certainly would not approve if his subjects obtained schooling while he himself did not yet have any. Whenever the Toradja saw an advantage in some new thing, they did not think of consulting the Datoe about it.

M 648 643 [778] T 648 The Datoe of Loewoe' was actually only the keeper of the gaoekang (literally "things, implements, ornaments"), or aradjang ("signs of greatness"), the fetishes in which the strength of the country is preserved, the regalia. As heirlooms of the deified ancestors they make the possessor the direct deputy of these ancestors; this person thus stands on the same level as the ancestors. Then the Toradja also said of the Datoe: "He is our god (lamoa)." That the Datoe left them to their lot and never T [622] concerned himself about them they found precisely "god-like" and "ancester-like" of him because in this way he left their adat untouched. And this is the task of every Chief.

T M 648 M 643 [826] [753] [778] [761] The Toradjas were loyal subjects of the Datoe, precisely because of the superstitious respect that they had for him. The Datoe was said to have white blood in his veins. The mysterious power that emanated from his person was considered so great that an ordinary Toradja could not look at him without getting a swollen stomach and dying. The story is told of two Lage chiefs who wished passionately to see the Datoe. They actually succeeded in making their way to him, but the one died already on the return journey and the other three months after he reached home.

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Because of this superstitious fear, it did not even occur to the people to oppose the wishes or the commands of the Datoe. It was told that whenever the Datoe came to punish rebellious tribes, his army was preceded by swarms of wasps which put the rebels out of action before there was an encounter. The Datoe had power over the success or failure of the harvest. Whenever people opposed him, the rice in the cooking pots would change to worms. This /128/ power over the crops that was ascribed to him was the reason that many Toradja continued to deliver their tribute to the Datoe after the Government had already prohibited this, because they thought that through their show of respect their fields would prosper. Whenever now and then there was resistance to Loewoe', this was not aimed at the Datoe, but at the Chief of one of the little realms that made up Loewoe'. There was ascribed to the Datoe another feared weapon with which he held his subjects in check. Namely, he could bring a contagious sickness over the land; he had nine of these sicknesses at his disposal. The Datoe was said to have inherited this power from one of his ancestors called La Dondorio. The tradition connected with this is too remarkable for it not to be reported.

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14. The story of La Dondorio and the To Ngojoe.

La Dondorio went to seek supernatural power (mempepali asi-asi) on the other side of the ocean. At sea he met someone in a proa, who said to him: "La Dondorio, do not go to the inhabitants of yonder island; only women are there; if a man comes to them, they go at him in order to unite with him; they tear him from one another's arms so that he dies. They are the To Ngojoe, who are called this because they have the wind for a husband. When the wind sweeps over their dwelling place, they all go to sit with their faces in the direction from which the wind comes. If a man comes to them, then they cover (naowoeti) him, and the one with whom he mates becomes pregnant; but if the child is a boy, they sit upon him so that he dies. Therefore there are no men on the island."

M /128 cont./
778 When La Dondorio had listened to this tale, he considered
539 how he could escape the danger: If the women take me as a
643 mate, I shall not come away alive; let me thus manage on my way to get a supply of penes. Where he got them from is not known, but he continued his journey with a supply of male genitalia in his boat. When he was approaching the coast of the island, the To Ngojoe saw that a man was coming to them. They came out of their houses and rushed to the shore and ran to meet him in the sea, for he would oblige whoever reached him first, and the others would have to fight over him.

La Dondorio saw them approaching and he said to the penes: "These are the To Ngojoe, who want to climb into our ship. When they have come close, you must fly up and every one must enter into the arse (tanta'i, but the vulva is surely meant) of each of them, so that they cannot approach me." The genitalia did this so that every one of the To Ngojoe was satisfied. With other men the women stormed their vessel so that it sank and the man drowned.

When all were satisfied, one of the women said to La Dondorio: "You, La Dondorio, are truly a clever man, for you are the only one who is leaving here alive. Therefore we wish to give you something to show our affection for you. We shall give you a protective charm such that all your descendants shall have power over the means that we give. /129/ When you make use of it, it will have effect; so also when your descendants make use of it." In this way La Dondorio received the nine sicknesses.

T In former times people were very afraid of them. When a
648 contagious sickness prevailed in Poe'oe-mboto, it was thought that
753 it had been sent by the Datoe, and then rice and chickens were
M collected in order to go and pay him honor (mepoee). The
648 people were convinced that the Datoe had released one of the
643 nine sicknesses because he was angry at something or other. The sicknesses that La Dondorio had brought along were of all sorts: stomach-ache, headache, fever. The people then went

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648 /129 cont./ The people then went
755 to ask forgiveness of the Datoe, the descendant of La Dondorio,
753 and then the Datoe gave medicine, charmed water, which was
M drunk by the sick, and then many became better. Sometimes
643 he gave a charmed piece of wood or curcuma; little pieces
of it were chewed and spit on the body of the sick person, or
it was rubbed with it. The water charmed by the Datoe was
kept in a bottle, and when a contagious sickness made its ap-
pearance, this water was mixed with a large quantity of ordinary
water, and at eventide when the chickens went to roost, all the
T people, large and small, were sprinkled with it; this was con-
[776] tinued until the sickness had gone away. In such times of sick-
ness no one should cross the road with a piece of wood or a spear
in his hand, because then many spirits roamed about, and if one
T of them was touched by the wood or the spear, he would make
753 the person sick. The physicians (sando) say that when a hornbill
776 (alo) flies across the road, one must say nothing about it, for the
825 bird is possessed by a spirit, and if one says something about the
bird, one is made sick by him (VIII, 28). Teka-teka
(Phoenicophaeus calyorinchus) and monkeys are also sometimes
possessed by spirits that bring sickness (napeontjoga).

M-L 15. The Datoe-ri-tana of Mori.

648 Some of the East Toradja brought their tribute to the Datoe-
643 ri-tana, the regional chief of Mori in the east of the country.
T This title means "ruler over the land." At the time, the last
[648] Datoe-ri-tana, Maroendoe, declared that the Datoe of Loewoe'
M had given him this title because his residence, Petasia, lay so
[648] far inland, in contrast to the Loewoe' residence Palopo, which
lay close to the sea. The Loewoe'ers, however, use this name
as a term of derision for the Mori ruler.

T It was the tribes of the To Pakambia, To Pada, and To
M-L Poe'oe-mbana, together with the subsidiary small tribes of the
648 To Kalae, To Tananda, and To Watoe, that were subject to the
M Datoe at Petasia. Originally these Bare'e-speaking tribes must also
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M-L /129 cont./
648 have been subject to Loewoe', since the Datoe-ri-tana was
T formerly also a vassal of this ruler. Maroendoe, the last Datoe-
[648] ri-tana, who was shot down by the soldiers during the capture of
M-L his fortress Woela-nderi, told us that he was a vassal of Loewoe',
[643] that he had to deliver four slaves as tribute for the Datoe of that country and, in connection with the building of a palace at Palopo, had to take care of the /130/ fastening of the floor-boards with wooden pegs. When we asked him why he had never fulfilled these obligations, he answered indifferently "that during his reign things had not gone that far." We have already mentioned above that the Datoe of Loewoe' repeatedly had his subjects march against the Chief of the To Mori. The tribes who lived along the borders had to suffer most from the hostilities. (5).

5. Mr. O. H. Goedhart reports the following in his article, "Drie landschappen in Celebes-Banggaai /Three regions in Celebes-Banggai/," T. B. G., Vol. 50, 1908, p. 530): "The makoles Maroendoe and Ede as well as those of Toli-toli and Kangoewa frankly confessed to me that they were vassals of the Datoe of Loewoe' and would not refuse to follow a summons from the latter to come to Palopo. They acknowledged further that Mori was obligated to come to pay tribute annually at Palopo, on which occasion there was offered to the Datoe as homage: one slave (mea); three shields (kanta); one klewang (pisau); a quantity of tree bark beaten flat (boenta), and a quantity of wax (pantieng). For nine years, however, this obligation had not been fulfilled by Mori; the reason that Maroendoe and Ede gave for this is wholly identical with the one given to me by the Makoles of Matano and Noeha, the two Loewoe'

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dependencies on which the region of the To Mori borders, and to whose chiefs Maroendoe is closely related, according to Loewoe' as well as Mori conceptions. -- For the sake of completeness I report here in addition that in connection with the building of a palace at Palopo the Makole of Petasia must take care of the fastening of the floorboards with wooden pegs."

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Loewoe' itself once undertook a campaign against one of the rebellious Toradja tribes, namely, the To Pada. In the old days Tempa was the main village of this tribe. This was laid waste by the Loewoe'ers under a certain Daeng Makita. For some time the To Pada then again brought tribute to the Datoe of Loewoe'. Encouraged by the bold attitude of the Datoe-ri-tana, the To Pada, under their high chief Papa i ngGowo, again turned away from Loewoe'. The Chief named said: "If there are still living descendants of Daeng Makita, who laid waste to Tempa, let them come here to see Tempa. The coconut trees have grown tall again, and the deer of Tempa have again shed their horns." This challenge was reported to the Datoe.

In 1903 the envoy of Loewoe', Ambe Ma'a, came to Lake Poso; he summoned all the subjects of his lord, even To Bada' joined in, and with a large army he marched on Tempa. As soon as the To Pada heard of the approach of the Loewoe'ers, they hid their possessions. Whatever was suitable for it, such as copper objects, was buried in the ground, and other goods were hidden in caves. The To Pada, however, quickly saw the uselessness of their resistance and surrendered. They had to pay a heavy fine. Shortly thereafter subjugation to the Government followed.

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16. The relationship of the Datoe-ri-tana to the Datoe of Loewoe'.

There is no longer anything known about the time when Mori was still a vassal state of Loewoe'. The fact that the Datoe-ri-tana /131/ had to deliver slaves as tribute indicates that Mori was formerly dependent on Loewoe'. All sorts of stories making the rounds in Toradja lands make it appear that the Datoe-ri-tana was at least equal in rank to the Datoe of Loewoe'. Thus the following is also told:

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The Datoe of Petasia, hearing that there was a mighty ruler at Palopo, decided to put his power and glory to the test. He sent him an iron rod which was bent into a loop (in the southern part of this area much iron is found). With this gift went the task of bending the rod straight. The Datoe of Loewoe' had a slave make the rod red-hot and bend it straight. In turn the ruler of Loewoe' sent to the Datoe-ri-tana a bar of baked sago, which, when still warm, had been bent into a loop, with the task of bending the sago straight. The Datoe-ri-tana did not succeed in doing this, because when he tried to do it dry, the sago threatened to break; if he put it in water, then the sago dissolved; and if he warmed it, then it stuck together. With this the Datoe-ri-tana acknowledged himself as the inferior of the Datoe of Loewoe'.

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Shortly after this event the Datoe of Loewoe' came to visit the Datoe-ri-tana. They stayed up until late in the night talking with each other by the light of a resin torch, until all the occupants of the house were asleep. When the resin torch threatened to go out, the Datoe-ri-tana took a stick to poke up the resin, a task that otherwise was done by a slave or a younger member of the company. Then the Datoe of Loewoe' said: "Because you have poked up the resin of the torch, you declare yourself the lesser of us two and you must therefore pay me tribute." The other found this just and agreed.

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Another story which apparently has come from the Mori side tells: In order to put the Datoe-ri-tana to the test, the ruler of Loewoe' sent him a piece of cotton with the message to take the threads out of this piece. The Datoe-ri-tana did this. In turn he sent the other a piece of beaten tree-bark with the request to take the threads out of it. Seeing that the ruler of Loewoe' was not successful in this, he had to acknowledge that the Datoe-ri-tana was at least his equal.

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17. The tribute to the Datoe-ri-tana.

That the rule of the Datoe-ri-tana is of more recent date than that of the Datoe of Palopo is evident from the fact that his subjects did not entertain the same superstitious fear of him as the subjects of Loewoe' had for their lord. He always received the messengers from his subjects himself, and the tone in which the Toradja spoke of him was not as respectful as when it was a matter of the Datoe of Loewoe'. The Datoe-ri-tana, too, had his representative among the To Pakambia, who bore the title of tongko. At the time when the Government came into this region, the Chief of Bentji held this office.

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The Bare'e-speaking vassal states of Mori showed their dependence on the Datoe-ri-tana by providing buffaloes whenever /132/ a member of the ruling house died or whenever their lord celebrated a great sacrificial feast. If a prince of the blood died, the To Poe'oe-mbana and the To Pakambia contributed 75 bars of wax, and the To Pada two buffaloes; if someone of lesser origin, but still related to the ruling house died, the contributions were 35 bars of wax and one buffalo, respectively. Only the To Pada are able to raise buffaloes on a large scale, because of the extensive grassy plain on which they live. Now and then the tall grass is burned off, and the young shoots then make excellent fodder for the buffaloes.

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Their last expedition took place in March of 1894. One of our people was already settled in Poso at the time. On a certain day there appeared a large fleet of proas, with which the whole shore of Poso Bay was filled. Some 800 Parigiers and other people who had joined them went ashore. The reason for this demonstration was to take revenge for the slaying of a Chief of the To Onda'e who was married to a member of the Parigi ruling house. The expedition failed, because the enemy forces were driven back by the Toradja. A prolonged war between To Pebato and To Parigi was the consequence of this, but because of the great distance they did not often seek each other out, with the result that this war caused few casualties. The influence of Parigi on the East Toradja has never been of great significance.

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20. The ruler (Djena) of Todjo.

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In the first chapter (I, 55 and 56) we saw how the tribes of the To Tora'oe, To Baoe, To Lalaeo, To Ampana, and To Wana were formed on the eastern peninsula during the spread of the Toradja over Central Celebes. They had moved so far from Wotoe and Palopo that there could no longer be any question of paying tribute to the Datoe of Loewoe'. One result of this was that these tribes were not protected against foreign enemies, from whom they suffered a great deal. Ternatans made repeated raids along the shores of Todjo and in doing so penetrated up to the To Baoe in the interior. The Toradja felt powerless against these gangs of robbers armed with guns. They heard how strong Parigi and the little realms in the Paloe valley were under their rulers, and this led them to seek a ruler of their own who could bring unity among them and protect them against the enemy.

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At that time (i.e., the second half of the eighteenth century), no ruler on Celebes was more powerful than the one of Bone, and therefore the people turned to him for support. The story tells that the Toradja tribes asked the Chief of Mowomba,

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whose name was Ta Lamoa, to present their case to the ruler of Bone. According to radja /raja/ Lariwoe, who died in 1902, Matinroë ri Malingongëng was ruler of Bone when Ta Lamoa arrived there. This ruler held sway from 1749-1775 (J. A. Bakkers, "Het Leenvorstendom Boni /The Feudal Principality of Boni/," T. B. G., Vol. 15, p. 165).

When Ta Lamoa and his companions arrived at the court of Bone and the ruler learned that they were envoys from a land far away, he wanted to see whether he was dealing with noblemen or with slaves. He therefore had the front veranda of the house in which the Toradja were staying covered with pisang leaves, and there the guests lay down at night to rest. The ruler had a few female slaves sleep in their immediate vicinity. The Toradja were afraid to even touch them. When on the following morning the ruler had the pisang leaves inspected to see whether they were undisturbed, and this was indeed the case, he knew that the envoys from Tomini Bay had not been with the female slaves, from which he concluded that he was dealing with noblemen. He now asked them why they had come. When he heard that they had come to ask him for a radja, he immediately designated one of his nephews /Dutch neven, nephews, cousins/, who bore the name of Pile-witi, "twisted foot," because of his clubfoot.

Pile-witi, however, was not in Bone; he was staying in Parigi where he had fled because of a matter involving a woman. He lived, unknown, in a little house in Pombalowo. Ta Lamoa was given 40 Boeginese /Buginese/ noblemen and a number of slaves by the ruler of Bone in order to found a new court. With these he traveled via Gorontalo to Parigi. At a number of places where the company called, some of the Boeginese retinue remained behind; the Boeginese colonies which are found here and there in Tomini Bay are said to be descended from them.

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Having arrived in Parigi, Ta Lamoa paid his respects to the ruler, Magaoe Djanggo, the same one who in the second half of the eighteenth century concluded a treaty with the East India Company, and informed him of the purpose of his trip. Magaoe Djanggo, however, had never heard of a Boeginese prince in his realm, but after a while Pile-witi was discovered. He at first denied being the one sought and refused to accept the honor offered to him. When the Boeginese who accompanied Ta Lamoa recognized him as the nephew of the ruler of Bone, he agreed to accompany Ta Lamoa. The latter asked the prince for proof of his divine origin. Pile-witi thereupon drew his sword, whereby a crack was heard, as if a gun had been shot. With the sword he cut through a roof beam of his little house, without getting up from his seat. When Magaoe Djanggo learned that the shabbily dressed man was a Boeginese prince, he offered his apologies for having let him live in destitute conditions.

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The company now started out in order to seek a suitable place to settle. The prince did not like the mouth of the Mapane, because mapane means "warm" (unhealthy). Poso made him think of the "stopping" of /136/ the breath (maposo inosa). In the names of the other rivers too he saw no good for the future; but when the name Todjo was mentioned to him, he decided to stay there, because he felt very fatigued (todjo) from the trip.

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The Toradja tribes on the eastern peninsula thus formed a separate society under the Djena of Todjo. This is to be understood in the sense that the Djena secluded himself in his place of residence and did not trouble himself with the internal affairs of his subjects. Only disputes between the tribes were settled by him. Otherwise the contacts of the Djena with his subjects were to serve only for getting from the people as much as there was to get. The Djena, in imitation of the Boeginese realms, maintained a court, which, however, was only a caricature of those found in South Celebes. He had around him various dignitaries who had nothing to do and who did not know what their tasks were.

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Divorce Registers

114 217 586 The divorce registers are kept by the Kali of Goa for a part of the province of Goa that comprises several adat communities. /251/ This is an administrative problem which is regulated differently according to locality. During the Japanese occupation, when it was considered unsafe to travel, the Imam of Borongloë temporarily was also authorized to register divorces.

The maintenance of these four types of personal registers was poor. Registers of a few years back were in such a deplorable state that it was no longer fruitful to consult them. Before these registers can develop into a Registrar's Office, a good many improvements will first have to be made.

Land-tax Registers

114 217 ● 651 423 In the land-tax registers each plot of land whose boundaries are very precisely indicated is to be found with the name of the person who pays the tax on it. This may be the Indonesian owner. A woman's plots are regularly recorded in the name of her husband or, if she is unmarried, in the name of her oldest brother. Younger brother's plots are frequently entered in the name of the oldest.

Registration of land is done by kampong territory. It is possible to calculate the average landownership per head and per house. It is impossible to say how many are "large landowners" -- assuming that one would want to consider someone who possesses more than five hectares as such, for instance, for by entering a part of his land in the name of his wife or children, the total ownership of one man can no longer be traced through these land registers.

The land-tax service places the taxpayer and the Indonesian owner practically on a par. Jurisprudence, however, does not simply connect with Indonesian property rights the fact that someone is entered in the land-tax registers.

114 217 423 651 /251 cont./ The land-tax registers make a distinction between lands in Indonesian possession and lands that have been taken in pawn. In a calculation of the averages of the sawah areas, these two types of land must be added together. The land-tax registers are in excellent condition.

The Indonesian Notary

114 217 675 925 The so-called Inland Notary, kept in the adat community office, which before the war began to assume an increasingly important task, was still not up to prewar /252/ standards in mid-1949. In 1940, 318 transactions were registered in Borongloë, in 1946 and 1947, 36 and 56 respectively.

The purpose of this institution is to further legal certainty. Parties which enter into a transaction, can report this to the head concerned, and the latter is then obligated to enter this transaction in the register, and at the same time to give to both parties a summary of what was recorded by him.

In the columns are recorded in order: name and place of residence of the purchaser; name and place of residence of the seller; a description of the article; then its boundaries are indicated if it is land, and its characteristics if it concerns a buffalo; the sum that is paid or -- in case of an exchange -- the article with a similar description; and finally, the further agreements that are made subsequent to this transfer.

The adat community head makes an entry of the transaction if the local well-informed head of the kampong where the land is situated or from which the buffalo comes tells him that he has heard no objections against the transaction. The institution was popular because the native courts of law especially attached much value to the summaries produced by purchasers or pawnees at their sessions.

The personal care and interest for this institution on the part of the local heads varies greatly, and it is upon this that the number of transactions recorded appears to be directly

114 /253 cont./ Minor Native Law Court (Hadat Ketjil) of
217 Borongloë. The registers of "major" matters handled by the
671 Native Law Court (Hadat Besar) of Goa are to be found in the provincial office in Sungguminasa. In the civil registers are listed name and place of residence of the parties; the demand and the answer; the statements by the witnesses, the decision of the judge, and a single consideration in which is stated how the judge arrived at his decision. Relatively the same applies to criminal matters. These considerations are not directly comparable to those found in the registers of government judges.

Community-Labor Register

114 The kampong head has a register with the names of the
217 men in his kampong who are subject to government corvée,
651 nowadays community labor. This, however, does not list the total number of men able to work because a few kinsmen of the head and a few kampong functionaries are exempted from such labor, and because many heads are inclined to extend the number of exemptions according to their own judgment in order to strengthen their position in the kampong. This register is poorly kept. Old registers are not preserved.

/254/ Overnight Register

114 The kampong head keeps an overnight register (buku
217 bermalan) in which the person who spends the night in a kampong
486 is recorded by his name, his place of residence, the duration of his stay, and name of his host. Its purpose during the turbulent years of 1946 and 1947 was to exercise a certain control over strangers who came into the kampong. Now that this control is no longer so important, a name is entered only now and then so that the book will not be completely blank when a checkup is made. More than 90 per cent of overnight stays were not noted, so far as I was able to observe. The register therefore is of no use in measuring a certain horizontal mobility.

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The Registration Register is, in view of its makeup, probably designed to give a picture of the number of able-bodied men and the tax to be rendered by them in each kampong territory.

Next to the column in which the name of the man is recorded, there is one showing the number of his wives, his children, buffaloes, and horses; his profession, his age, the amount he must pay in income tax, and so forth. Unmarried and able-bodied young men have their own place in the register. The youngest of these was nineteen years old.

This register cannot serve to indicate the total number of residents because houses in which a widow lives with children are not recorded. If a young man is around nineteen years of age, he receives a place in the register, but not his mother and younger brothers and sisters. Houses without a male head of the family are therefore not included in it.

The register apparently was not kept up regularly. Some newborn children were not entered, and some deceased were not written off. I was told by the administration that the total number of those entered increased by 10 per cent after the distribution of kain was done on the basis of this register. This 10 per cent appeared to consist mainly of unmarried women and girls.

Compared to my own card system of the residents of /255/ Bontoramba, 17 men (or boys) and 104 women (or girls) were not registered, altogether 121, or around 15 percent, for a total of 803 residents. The increase of 10 per cent just mentioned had already taken place then.

The estimated age is recorded only for the men entered in the register. The observation made in the 1930 Census Report, that age estimates are unreliable was here confirmed. A man of 47 years appeared to have a son of 38. Several men would have been fathers in their twelfth year. The oldest man of the kampong was estimated at 66 years of age. In these

S 691 683 578 828 Then I remembered a night in Makale hearing Karaëng Djongala (whom I met again, remarkably, on a trip in Makale, and found to be not a bad fellow at all, and now speaking Dutch) and de Boer comparing notes regarding legal cases. De Boer said eighty cases a month was not at all uncommon, while the Karaëng said that in his place in Makale there were perhaps twenty, mainly knifings.

A police fellow and the Controleur said that there was much irrational knifing here too. The pattern seems to run something like this. First people become panas hati [literally, hot livered, i.e., hot tempered--Analyst],then they kill someone, and finally become all right. They consider themselves not to be criminals, but victims of unbearable emotion, and thus not really criminals.

M 212 871 556 Regarding literacy, Andi said that the percentage of literates here now is about 27 per cent, and this is used by him as a reason for not taking over democracy for a long time. This in turn might enable them to maintain control just as the Dutch did. However, they are setting up schools rapidly, and so are slitting their own throats. Maybe they are sincere, but I look for trouble. As for schools I asked a number of questions today (my last day in Bone this trip). There are village schools for the first three years. Then students may go on to a continuing school in town, in Bukaka which is not far away. Or they may enter the sekolah agama [(Islamic) religious school], in which religion and Arabic are taught. The sekolah agama is located in the village. I got the feeling that these religious schools are losing out in competition with town schools. Only the rich can afford to go beyond the second year high school level, as it is necessary to go to Makassar. I asked about the poor and they said there were no scholarships, so they were usually only able to attend the désa schools. Beyond that they might possibly go to the sekolah agama. In Watampone the breakdown is something like this. There are six years of primary schooling offered followed by four years of middle instruction. After these ten years, if a further education is desired, students must go to Makassar. There is a normal school in Watampone for désa school teachers, but for higher normal training one must go to Makassar. Thus there seems to be the same problem as in the United States. There is a need for schools in every town and at all levels because the poor cannot pay room and board in big towns away from home. This leads on to the question of the poor again (I always stress the factor of social mobility in America). The village folks said there were many poor people. They usually live with richer (though none are really rich) people in the houses of the latter and work for

M 556 465 651 735 567

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua. M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads. M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over" M 411 443 563 M 461 463 C 647 563 152 829

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651●

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

634 /127 cont./ Karaeng Lembangparang,
643 Aroe Bakara had neverthe-
652 less obtained some following
among them. This following
grew gradually and made it
possible for him to cause the
greatest part of the Goa
mountain districts to defect
from their Prince."
Eerdmans, p. 398.

These heads, living along the frontiers of the realm, frequently did not so much follow the most powerful of their neighbors, but rather the one who permitted them the greatest freedom of action in their territories. After 1905 the boundaries were also fixed in this area.

In the interior the prince tries to create as powerful a unity as possible in his kingdom by working for unity in his own related group in the first place and, furthermore, by extending as much as possible his influence in the adat communities under his jurisdiction.

The Prince of Goa conducted this policy successfully during the years preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War. In a short period of time he succeeded in having one of his kinsmen appointed as adat community head in two of these adat communities.

602 These two former heads' respective groups of relatives
634 went down in standing through this action. After all, they
558 derived this standing in the very first place from the headship,
and now they seemed to have been pushed back into the rank
602 of the ordinary groups of relatives. At this moment they
634 merely endeavored /128/ to surround the new adat community
662 head of karaëng blood as much as possible with their own
557 people, so that they could still remain leaders among the

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Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads. M 651 466

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I had many talks at random, especially with Thierens. He 181
is willing to work, but says it is only toward a dim future. The
police official (Aru Pontjeng) and his son (Aru Matjege, head
of the local government) especially, see that things are not
good. Everything is inefficient and childish. I met the former
one day, and at once he asked my impression. I dodged his
question and he said at least everyone eats here. I said yes,
but many were slaves. He was shocked, but saw my point,
I will talk with him again. I told Thierens that questions, es-
pecially of the kampong folk and even of Andi and the Sulewa-
tang, showed that the people were ripe for economic education.
They are puzzled. And they take to such talk. Thierens said
that they get scared, and agreed that they go on governmental
business trips in order to get away from problems. The truth 423
is, it is too poor a land. Then too, it is feudal. Thierens told 566
me a secret. I had seen private fish ponds belonging to the
Arumpone in Palette, near the sea. He told me that near that
place entire kampongs are working in the service of the arum-
pone. It is quite medieval. But perhaps the only way to oper-
ate this place is to keep serfs and slaves. At least they eat.
But what hope is there for a rise of standards? For example, 653
I asked how they built roads and schools. Andi said heeren- 434
dienst [literally 'master's service']. I then said that if that
were true, how would they pay for the increasing number of
teachers. For that they would need money too. I said that they
had rice, maize, and men--and that is all. The answer I do
not know. As Thierens said, for the past forty years they have 185
grown more and more used to Western administration. Now, 434
they must keep things up to Western standards of speed and ef-
ficiency. They have neither, but they do have even grander
ideas than the Dutch gave them concerning the future. They try
to reach outward to a level of speed approximating that which
the Dutch represented, and so forth. Instead they become dizzy.
They are desperate. And even with the help of the Dutch (and
Pontjeng said right away that they co-operate with the Dutch),
how can they pay the Dutch and give them enough security in-
ducement unless they have the money. In all, it is a non-pay-
ing daerah, and my guess is that the whole of East Indonesia is
a non-paying negara. The only way out seems to be to get Java
and Sumatra, and perhaps, in part, Borneo, to pay the bills;
or to slip into a peasant economy and drop all ideas of grandeur
and of a great and prosperous future with schools, etc.

Tomorrow, August 30, 1949, I am leaving for Makassar. 000

to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper 665
administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there 668
are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an
eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad ex- 668
periences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't 663
keep their word, and although he is a conservative, he keeps 576
his word. Thus he is disgusted with politics. Nevertheless, 178
he has a great deal of influence even with those who are
relatively radical. When a blazing representative of the Republic here meets the Radja he gives him sembah [homage, respectful greeting with hands placed together on the forehead]. And this is true also in Makassar. But the new and radical politicians are also still caught in the web of the rigid adat of South Celebes. As for the exiled Arumpone, the Controleur said that if the Dutch were to leave, there is a good chance for a coup d'etat here, and in other places as well. He also agreed that if in the Republic, with freedom
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for the point that many of the people think that the Dutch and 663
the radjas are working together, I get the impression that it 178
is partly true, and the Dutch I meet constantly rationalize 565
this by saying that all would fall apart here if the traditional custom law, the adat, which depends upon the ordered, ranked universe were to be suddenly abolished. But, says the Controleur, the people do not know how much the Dutch keep the radjas from excesses both diplomatically and behind the
scenes. Still, he said that it is difficult now because the 661
Dutch are only here as helpers and can work only through the 656
radjas. In previous times if there was a bad fellow high up in the state, the Dutch could jail him. But now, for example in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use anyway because the replacements would probably be just as bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating the size of the family. For example, they will list a family as consisting of nine members when it really has only five. Then they will give out the ration for five members, keeping the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the Chinese.

Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that 665
if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties 521
would get much support. He also said that the relatively

554 /86 cont./ he has built up in his life. The more days and
585 nights the festival lasts, the more guests (largely kinsmen) present, the more buffaloes slaughtered, and the more spacious the pannjambungi (the extension built onto the front of the house for this occasion), the higher is his standing. But the
[583] bride price, sunrang, is the element of marriage which permits the clearest measurable evaluation.

The sunrang is not simply handed over to the wife's kin
583 group by the man and his kin group. It is present at the contracting of the marriage (nikka'). The marriage official records the amount in the marriage register in reals (1), an

[435]

1. A real was, and still is, valued at 2 guldens. The coin itself, the real, is not seen at these payments. It became too rare for that.

old species of coin which has long disappeared from /87/ circulation. The woman's kin group frequently demands that the sunrang be paid entirely in specie (rix-dollars or guldens), but usually this happens only in part. The balance is paid by giving a sawah or a buffalo. As a symbol of such a transaction, a handful of earth (from the sawah) or a nose ring (of the
[415] buffalo) is added to the specie, which is contained in a flat, round copper box (kampu), used only at a marriage. The kampu also contains various kinds of leaves and a piece of wood, whose names signify "high," "rich," "rising," and "expanding." That is what one wishes for the sunrang and, at the same time, for the woman's group of relatives, the best possible wish.

The sunrang cannot be just any amount; it is always an
[659] even figure. It is fixed by the local authorities, in this case, the Self-government of Goa. In part it is linked to a specific status (ordinary people), in part to a certain function (the adat

554 /91 cont./ The same can be said of the imam's office. The
583 Imam of Borongloe, who furnished information concerning the amount of the sunrang, explained several times that in a certain case a higher sunrang had been paid than was prescribed because the woman in question was related to him. This illustrates the
[602] advantage of kinship, for the woman was honored by the Imam with a higher sunrang than would otherwise have been possible. He would not have been able to refuse the request to record a higher sunrang without being accused of snobbery, for this would have shown that he no longer wanted to recognize his kinsmen as equals and thus no longer as kinsmen. /92/

4. The sunrang appears to be locally bound. Buginese
563 who have a regulation in their own country by which a much
583 higher sunrang is paid have to submit to the local regulations.
631 It is a public secret that actually they frequently pay their own sunrang of 44 reals but that in the registers an amount of 24 (22 or 20) reals is recorded. The marriage official knows about this and silently acquiesces. Officially there is no violation of the principle that the head of a certain territory is entitled to the highest sunrang.

5. It is necessary to be acquainted with the period when
554 the regulation was issued (1940) in order to understand how it
583 is possible that in spite of the existing regulation a higher
659 sunrang was paid for a sister of the adat community head than by the head himself. For the sister, who married in 1939 (before the new regulation came out), a sunrang of 28 reals was received, but when this head himself married fully a year later (after the new regulation), he was not allowed to pay more than 26 reals. There was no getting around the recent prescription issued by the Prince. Considering this situation, the somewhat annoyed remark of this head that in future he would take good care that no one received more than 26 reals was quite understandable.

554 6. The sunrang is not always equal even for people who
583 are kinsmen. A little leeway is possible, and it is just this
602

602 /126 cont./ kinsman or a trusted follower named as kampong
634 head. Thus, at an election for a kapala, the brother of the
662 adat community head was set up as a candidate against a member of the leading group of relatives residing there. This
[666] brother obtained a number of votes from members of the Rest group living there, but nevertheless lost the election. Only after the first ballot had been declared a test ballot, and the second produced the same result, did the adat community head give in.

634 The adat community head counteracts the formation of
661 power centers in his region. He looks with disfavor upon marriage connections between the closest kinsmen /127/ of his various Kapala, unless it is he himself who brings about such a marriage. Furthermore, he knows that an ornament which is in the hands of one of the Kapala groups always signifies a potential threat to him.

Insofar as he is concerned with affairs outside the adat
634 community, the adat community head generally endeavors
661 to establish ties either with his fellow adat community heads
643 or with his prince and his kinsmen. The prince looks with disfavor upon the former practice for it threatens to create a direct power center within his realm. He would be even more averse to a tie between one of his adat community heads and a neighboring prince. Although this need not be expected from the heads of the adat communities lying close around the center of Goa, in the marginal, mountainous regions
634 the situation is different. There it has happened that a local
643 head defected from his prince in order to follow another (1).
662

1. "Although the mountain Makassarese continued for a long time to resist a union with the maritime Makassarese, and in 1817 under Aroe Mampoe submitted to the new Prince of Goa,

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
563 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
161 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly
582 had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

426 They say that there are not many who have run up debts
465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to
499 borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
466 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at
[435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f.30 per month, and one meal costs about f.1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f.1 per day.

563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop-
443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The
472 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only
433 manufacturing center in the area.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the
● 661 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.

208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa-
668 ganda against it coming from Makassar, But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.

829 As for the ideas of the horizon of political life,
208 he said that outwardly there had been no change, and that the horizon is actually non-existent.
521 However, he suspects that much more goes on beneath the surface. He said that every man, even the lowers, knows about the Java troubles. But one never hears a word about this in public. As for outside places, they know a lot about the United States and Russia, that is, they know about the troubles involved. They know the communists have China. And they know that India is free. They know about the Pakistan-Hindustan trouble. They know a little bit about Burma. And they know that MacArthur wants to use Japan against Russia. They know the Philippines are free. They know Germany wants to fight against Russia. All of this is known in varying degrees, but in general much news goes on under cover. Most knowledge, however, centers around the United States, Russia, and China. A poor last is India.

As for colonialism, Andi said this is another jail matter. People just keep their mouths shut. But he knows, and thinks other people know, that the radjas and the Dutch are working together. I made a speech on this and he agreed. I can see that he knows quite a bit, and is probably very Republican in sympathy, which means that he and his fellows must talk quite a bit on the side.

661 As for ideas about Holland and the like, that is also taboo.
829 As for any knowledge of other countries' politics, as above it
521 centers mostly around the United States, Russia, China, and then last India. Some knowledge is shown concerning Germany
203 and Japan, and other Southeast Asian countries. They obtain this knowledge via movies; little information reaches them indirectly from radio sources (i.e., one hears a broadcast and relates the news to others), for example, from the Voice of America or the Republican radio. Some news also travels by rumor and from papers or from people who read papers. Political subjects are seldom or never discussed in public. Such discussions may go in the homes and in secret, but only in intimate circles and even then the people are quite wary. I asked the Controleur about this and he said there were two viewpoints: First, that in 1946 there was a great deal of political trouble here involving extremists, and many were killed. Thus politics seems dangerous and must be suppressed or else it will lead to trouble. The other, to which he and the Assistant Resident incline, is that if they suppress discussion of these matters to a certain degree here there will certainly be an explosion someday. He thinks it would be better if the nobles would get on a more political basis or on the political
665 bandwagon and into political parties. He said that Bone is the
668 only state in South Celebes which has no parties. This seems

to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper 665
administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there 668
are political parties but that seems to be because the adminis-
tration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an
eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad ex- 668
periences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't 663
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in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should
be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use
anyway because the replacements would probably be just as
bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution
of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the
hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala
kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating
the size of the family. For example, they will list a family
as consisting of nine members when it really has only five.
Then they will give out the ration for five members, keep-
ing the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the
Chinese.

Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that 665
if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties 521
would get much support. He also said that the relatively

C 563 Buludua which is on the side road from the main Watumpone-Makassarese highway. Later I talked with Thierens, and was astonished to have at last found the Toala. There is in the western part of Bone, on the border of Parepare and Barru, a wanua called Telu Limpoe, which is Sarasin's name for the three tribes of the Toala. They are under the Sulewatang of Telu Limpoe, a young and able lad. I must go by the poor road westward from the Watumpone-Sindjai highway, and then walk a distance. Remarkable, by checking Denzo's To Patuntung area with Thieren's Telu Limpoe area I find that they are just about the same. This is a puzzle. Are they Toala, or were they To Patuntung? If so, why no temples and stones and pinati and K. Lowe? My guess is that there are To Patuntung and To Patuntung. Those like the Toala were so remote and primitive that they lack even the Hinduist influence of the real To Patuntung. But one thing is clear. In the mountains here there must be any number of small groups of people like this. Exploration would find them and I could do it if I had the time. Now I begin to see why the Toala matter may well be just the lowest point on the scale of the non-Mohammedan remote peoples in the mountains of South Celebes.

M 793 692 622 In regard to the judicial system of Bone, Thierens explained a number of items. For questions of a religious nature, the first one to whom the people in the kampong go is the religious teacher, the guru. If nothing can be decided, the case goes to the imam of the wanua. If it is still no go, it goes to the Sjarat of Bone, on which are the various kali. If the case is still undecided, it goes to the Hadat Besar, a supreme court which handles both religious and other cases. As for civil and criminal cases, they start with the kepala kampong. If more than f.100 is involved, or the case cannot be decided (i.e., one of the parties is not satisfied), it then goes to the Hadat Ketjil, the court of the wanua, which has the kepala wanua and two of the kepala kampongs on it. If this is still ineffective, it goes to the Hadat Besar in Watumpone. And still further one can appeal 695 to the resident of Celebes, or, and some do, to Batavia. The • 661 tradition is that any man can appeal cases. And in this one 668 matter they are open and brave (berani). They will appeal. 212 In fact, Thierens said that his office dealing with civil and criminal matters is deluged with letters and every one must be answered. Also he added that when he is in the office in Makassar he gets letters too, as a man with an appeal will send copies of a letter to the local office, the state

office and even to Batavia. The trouble with Wadjo is that many letters there are left unanswered because friends of the corrupt administration are involved. But the controleur is catching them, as he gets copies in the office at Watumpone and then goes to Wadjo and asks why no answer. This is evidently the reason, or one of them, that the Wadjo folk are ready to revolt against the radja and the government. The letters are written by letter writers, who charge a fee to write them in most kampongs. M 695 661 668 212

In regard to Wadjo and Soppeng, Denzo said that the latter is pretty good and that the radja sees this is an overgangstijd [transitional period], as does his administration. Thus the situation is not so bad. But he agrees that Wadjo is awful.

Incidental: I see from the Sadang notes that the swing [During the period of rice ripening, swings are made of ratan, rope, and buffalo hide. The swings are attached to the branch of a tree. In some areas (Kesu, Sadang, and Balusu) boys and girls swing together. Swinging is done to promote the growth of the grains of rice. In some parts of the Sadang area (e.g., Rimbon), the swinging is done by women who also sing a song of gratitude for a good harvest. This custom apparently survives principally as a children's game. All references to swinging will be found in category 524. --Analyst] is used during the entire period of rice planting or rice ripening. S 524 243

I noted that the three-window front of a house, which I had thought was specifically Makassarese, is also found on Buginese houses in the mountains, for example in Soppeng. Thus all that has happened is that the Makassarese have kept it well, while the Buginese in the coastal and other areas tend to lose it. M 342 178

On the way up to Makale, I saw plenty of Toradja, including a coffin on a platform in the yard. The platform was made of bamboo. Bohn in Paloppo and my notes on van der Veen say that this is probably the Luwu group of Sadang. And Bohn corroborates that many are descendants of slaves who were brought there. They live mainly in separate kampongs from the Buginese and there are very few mixed kampongs. They have little social contact, except trading. They practically never intermarry. M 563

On the way in I noticed that the place around Rantepao is full of niche graves. Nearly every appropriate rock face has at least one, together with an ornate door. In these rather solitary ones, however, I did not notice the tautau. M 764

175 /122 cont./ When the old Prince of Sidenreng died on
643 November 7, 1831, and La Pangorisang made his appearance
669 as the new prince, a fraternal war soon broke out" (1). And

1. Eerdmans, pp. 515-516.

later:

"Through our intervention, La Pangorisang had been reinstated in 1835 in the districts taken away from him during the war. He had been reconciled with Datoe Lampoele, who was permitted to settle in Sidenreng. Quietly, however, he hoped for help from Bone in order to attain his goal sooner or later: Sidenreng's throne. Consequently, Sidenreng remained divided into two parties hostile to each other" (2).

2. Eerdmans, p. 520.

662 Signs of opposition are to be found on each level in a
557 multiplicity of forms. The system of followers strengthens
571 the position of the combatants. The striving is directed at beating a superior with the help of as many inferiors by way of followers and as many equals by way of confederates as possible. One tries constantly to become the highest among one's equals. A certain unity of territory is always maintained in the struggle; opponents and allies are found by preference among one's neighbors. In this way, the entire Makassarese-Buginese country, each kingdom, each adat community, each kampong, and even each group of relatives, as well as each family with more than one man, is potentially a theatre of battle.

/123/ In each of these groupings, several individuals strive for more power within the territorially limited opportunities existing for them. In so doing, they are always faced with the competitive efforts of their equals among each other. For if someone, in a certain situation, believes that

662 /123 cont./ he can better serve goals for himself, his kin
557 group, and possibly for his country, by not keeping to a cer-
571 tain agreement, he withdraws. One cannot count upon loyalty between equals with respect to the agreements made among them. Loyalty unto death is to be found only between high and low (1).

> 1. Here, too, there are limits. Personal loyalty of a lower toward a higher person is held in esteem. But loyalty on the part of a related group of lower people toward a higher /group/ lasts as long as the former know themselves to be dependent upon the latter, and so long as they do not have a more powerful higher /group/ to which they can turn for help and protection.

Now, if we look a little more closely at a number of opposition phenomena on various levels, it appears that a general direction can be pointed out in spite of confusing differences.

622 The kapalakampong strives to keep his kapalaship for
554 himself and his kinsmen, for the person who has authority over a non-kinsman is higher than that non-kinsman.

602 Furthermore, his kinsmen, at least those within his kampong territory, share in the higher standing which he possesses in this way. With respect to the members of his own group of relatives and with respect to that of other groups residing in his territory, the position of the kapala is different. In his own group he belongs to the prominent men. In that capacity

621 /125 cont./ by interesting a member of the high nobility in
622 the case. Their help is of importance because (although this
66 is not based upon the election regulation) sometimes they de-
clare the ballot invalid, or else report afterward that only a
test ballot had been held, in case the result did not agree with
their wishes (1).

[648]

1. The 1927 regulation of the election of headmen is therefore not applied as was intended by the European administration which introduced it. Majority of votes is, according to Makassarese feelings, not sufficient in itself to capture the kapalaship. To this end, the consent of their own head is also required. This regulation, therefore, does not preclude arbitrary actions on the part of the higher people, but it does limit them.

622 The kapala can strengthen his position by establishing
662 a link with other kapala. The proved means of doing this is
634 to contract a marriage. But this action would immediately
result in a power formation within the adat community, which
the adat community head does not like to see. To an even
greater degree this is the case if a kapala were to seek contact
with a neighboring adat community head. Such an act would
suggest a certain enmity toward the kapala's own /adat com-
munity/ head, for it is an immediate threat of defection from
177 his own head to the neighboring head. Insofar as is known,
634 the latter situation rarely occurred, because after 1905 these
648 defections were no longer left to the free interplay of

177 /125 cont./ Makassarese forces, but had to be approved by
634 the officials of the Inland Administration. This administration
648 in practice only rarely permitted boundary alterations. It preferred to hold fast to the boundaries fixed in the years after 1905.

622 The kapala can also seek to establish contact with the kin
662 group of the /126/ adat community head. A marriage between members of the two groups of relatives seems to be possible (1).

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1. In this connection one can remark that it is always a man from the adat community head's group who marries a girl of the kapala group. Some difference in standing is always considered to exist between adat community head and kampong head, and therefore between their groups of relatives. Through the marriage, the implication is avoided that a man is marrying a woman from a group of relatives with higher standing than his own. A cousin (samposikali) of the adat community head was thus joined in marriage with a daughter of the kapala of Bontoramba.

622 In the succession to the kapalaship, a clear preference for the son, at least for a close

622 /126 cont./ kinsman of the previous kapala, is demonstrable. In 7 of the 14 kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë, the kapala changed between 1939 and 1949. Three of these were succeeded by a son, one by a son-in-law, one by a younger cousin, and two by someone from another group of relatives. In the first of these cases, the old kapala was a Sajid /Sayid?/, a stranger who was forced to leave the kampong and the adat community because of woman trouble. In the last case, the new kapala was a distant kinsman of the adat community head. This man had sailed across many seas as a KPM sailor. He possessed a quiet influence over people and was elected without much opposition.

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622 602 662 It seems, therefore, that the kapala and the prominent members of his group of relatives strive to maintain themselves in their own kampong territory, to strengthen their own position if possible, and to raise their own standing outside the region by establishing ties with equal or slightly higher groups.

634 602 662 The adat community head conducts a policy which inside his region is, in the first place, directed at making his own group of relatives into as strong a unit as possible, and, in the second place, to strengthen as much as possible his influence in the kampong where he has no kinsmen living. The latter is done by establishing a marriage tie, or by trying to have a

602 /128 cont./ kinsman or a trusted follower named as kampong
634 head. Thus, at an election for a kapala, the brother of the
662 adat community head was set up as a candidate against a member of the leading group of relatives residing there. This
[666] brother obtained a number of votes from members of the Rest group living there, but nevertheless lost the election. Only after the first ballot had been declared a test ballot, and the second produced the same result, did the adat community head give in.

634 The adat community head counteracts the formation of
661 power centers in his region. He looks with disfavor upon marriage connections between the closest kinsmen /127/ of his various Kapala, unless it is he himself who brings about such a marriage. Furthermore, he knows that an ornament which is in the hands of one of the Kapala groups always signifies a potential threat to him.

634 Insofar as he is concerned with affairs outside the adat
661 community, the adat community head generally endeavors
643 to establish ties either with his fellow adat community heads or with his prince and his kinsmen. The prince looks with disfavor upon the former practice for it threatens to create a direct power center within his realm. He would be even more averse to a tie between one of his adat community heads and a neighboring prince. Although this need not be expected from the heads of the adat communities lying close around the center of Goa, in the marginal, mountainous regions
634 the situation is different. There it has happened that a local
643 head defected from his prince in order to follow another (1).
662

1. "Although the mountain Makassarese continued for a long time to resist a union with the maritime Makassarese, and in 1817 under Aroe Mampoe submitted to the new Prince of Goa,

634 /127 cont./ Karaeng Lembangparang,
643 Aroe Bakara had neverthe-
652 less obtained some following among them. This following grew gradually and made it possible for him to cause the greatest part of the Goa mountain districts to defect from their Prince."
Eerdmans, p. 398.

These heads, living along the frontiers of the realm, frequently did not so much follow the most powerful of their neighbors, but rather the one who permitted them the greatest freedom of action in their territories. After 1905 the boundaries were also fixed in this area.

In the interior the prince tries to create as powerful a unity as possible in his kingdom by working for unity in his own related group in the first place and, furthermore, by extending as much as possible his influence in the adat communities under his jurisdiction.

The Prince of Goa conducted this policy successfully during the years preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War. In a short period of time he succeeded in having one of his kinsmen appointed as adat community head in two of these adat communities.

602 These two former heads' respective groups of relatives
634 went down in standing through this action. After all, they
558 derived this standing in the very first place from the headship, and now they seemed to have been pushed back into the rank
602 of the ordinary groups of relatives. At this moment they
634 merely endeavored /128/ to surround the new adat community
662 head of karaeng blood as much as possible with their own
557 people, so that they could still remain leaders among the

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/128 cont./ other groups of relatives in their adat communities, even though in this position they merely carried out the commands of the karaëng.

The karaëng, on his part, constantly tried to break through this tie which was, as it were, placed on him, by seeking contact with the prominent members of the other groups. The latter saw in this a chance to occupy a prominent position in the adat community through the karaëng, a position which they had not enjoyed previously. On the other hand, they did not dare to place themselves too much in the foreground in relation to the kin groups of the former heads, taking into account what might happen if the Prince's influence, at present penetrating more deeply, should again diminish.

The adat community heads who had remained in power felt themselves threatened by the Prince's political successes. "We are becoming unimportant, " said one of them.

648 In a discussion of the relationship of the prince of Goa to his fellow princes, three different points must be kept in mind. First, territorially speaking we go beyond Goa in such a discussion. The entire Makassarese-Buginese region then becomes the field of investigation. Secondly, due to the fact that a number of events that took place at the courts of the princes were more or less regularly recorded during the last few centuries, we are able to use a number of historical data in this discussion which are unknown to the adat community heads and kampong heads. Thirdly, we must first indicate the position of the Netherlands East India Company and later the Government of the Dutch East Indies with respect to this opposition, which was ultimately intended to capture the hegemony of South Celebes.

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If we look at what Eerdmans reports about this, we get the impression that the conduct of the Netherlands East India Company repeatedly brought about a reversal in the power relations existing at that moment, but that this did not produce any alteration in the manner in which the princes

000 /131 cont./ circumstances the appearance of daëng Mangemba became temporarily possible in 1927. For this, see Z(entgraaff), Celebesproblemen, pp. 5 ff.

177 643 602 662 With the disappearance of these figures, however, the opposition within the circle of the prince and his closest relatives did not disappear. After all, this opposition has its basis within the family in the relationship between the brothers. What disappeared was merely the form of opposition described by Kooreman in 1883, a power within the realm under the leadership of a man of high nobility, based upon force directed against the prince.

The opposition itself remained dormant. In the years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War, it emerged principally in a number of questions concerning hereditary succession.

In 1949 it again became apparent, this time in parliamentary form. It appeared that relatives of the various princes and Self-government members had seats in the representative councils which at that time were set up both for the daërah (the South Celebes Council), as well as for a number of kingdoms (among others the Bone Council). Compared to their ruling kinsmen, these men of the nobility are progressive individuals, but in a number of cases their endeavors merely seem aimed at eliminating the ruling prince and at one of them becoming the prince himself. They conduct the traditional South Celebes policy merely under new names and in new forms.

177 648 In November, 1948, the High Hadat (Hadat Tinggi) for the entire region of the daërah of South Celebes was set up. It was intended as an administrative body in which the various princes should have a seat. Unity was thereby created which

to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper 665
administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there 668
are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an
eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad ex- 668
periences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't 663
keep their word, and although he is a conservative, he keeps 576
his word. Thus he is disgusted with politics. Nevertheless, 178
he has a great deal of influence even with those who are relatively radical. When a blazing representative of the Republic here meets the Radja he gives him sembah [homage, respectful greeting with hands placed together on the forehead]. And this is true also in Makassar. But the new and radical politicians are also still caught in the web of the rigid adat of South Celebes. As for the exiled Arumpone, the Controleur said that if the Dutch were to leave, there is a good chance for a coup d'etat here, and in other places as well. He also agreed that if in the Republic, with freedom the radjas will suffer with a resultant political upsurge. As 648
for the point that many of the people think that the Dutch and 663
the radjas are working together, I get the impression that it 178
is partly true, and the Dutch I meet constantly rationalize 565
this by saying that all would fall apart here if the traditional custom law, the adat, which depends upon the ordered,ranked universe were to be suddenly abolished. But, says the Controleur, the people do not know how much the Dutch keep the radjas from excesses both diplomatically and behind the
scenes. Still, he said that it is difficult now because the 661
Dutch are only here as helpers and can work only through the 656
radjas. In previous times if there was a bad fellow high up in the state, the Dutch could jail him. But now, for example in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use anyway because the replacements would probably be just as bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating *the size of the family. For example, they will list a family* as consisting of nine members when it really has only five. Then they will give out the ration for five members, keeping the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the Chinese.

Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that 665
if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties 521
would get much support. He also said that the relatively

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692
There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

829 As for the ideas of the horizon of political life,
208 he said that outwardly there had been no change, and that the horizon is actually non-existent.
521 However, he suspects that much more goes on beneath the surface. He said that every man, even the lowers, knows about the Java troubles. But one never hears a word about this in public. As for outside places, they know a lot about the United States and Russia, that is, they know about the troubles involved. They know the communists have China. And they know that India is free. They know about the Pakistan-Hindustan trouble. They know a little bit about Burma. And they know that MacArthur wants to use Japan against Russia. They know the Philippines are free. They know Germany wants to fight against Russia. All of this is known in varying degrees, but in general much news goes on under cover. Most knowledge, however, centers around the United States, Russia, and China. A poor last is India.

As for colonialism, Andi said this is another jail matter. People just keep their mouths shut. But he knows, and thinks other people know, that the radjas and the Dutch are working together. I made a speech on this and he agreed. I can see that he knows quite a bit, and is probably very Republican in sympathy, which means that he and his fellows must talk quite a bit on the side.

661 As for ideas about Holland and the like, that is also taboo.
829 As for any knowledge of other countries' politics, as above it
521 centers mostly around the United States, Russia, China, and then last India. Some knowledge is shown concerning Germany
203 and Japan, and other Southeast Asian countries. They obtain this knowledge via movies; little information reaches them indirectly from radio sources (i.e., one hears a broadcast and relates the news to others), for example, from the Voice of America or the Republican radio. Some news also travels by rumor and from papers or from people who read papers. Political subjects are seldom or never discussed in public. Such discussions may go in the homes and in secret, but only in intimate circles and even then the people are quite wary. I asked the Controleur about this and he said there were two viewpoints: First, that in 1946 there was a great deal of political trouble here involving extremists, and many were killed. Thus politics seems dangerous and must be suppressed or else it will lead to trouble. The other, to which he and the Assistant Resident incline, is that if they suppress discussion of these matters to a certain degree here there will certainly be an explosion someday. He thinks it would be better if the nobles would get on a more political basis or on the political
665 bandwagon and into political parties. He said that Bone is the
668 only state in South Celebes which has no parties. This seems

to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper 665
administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there 668
are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad experiences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't 668 663
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Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that 665
if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties 521
would get much support. He also said that the relatively

M conservative PNI [PartaiNasional Indonesia, i.e.,Indonesian
6065 National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the
521 more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic l life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M As for education, there appears to have been little change
871 during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements re-
178 garding this.

M There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or
582 endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within
171 the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Moham-
178 medan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside

M of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number
602 of members in various families in the kampong. Some
565 families are so large that they spread widely and relatives
212 can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds
601 of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large

M families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the
602 Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two
171 hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over

M Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare, There are not
T many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there
582 were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan.
563 As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said
771 there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

793 /124 cont./ burial, and grave visits insofar as Moslem ritual must take place there.

602 793 The gurukampong therefore deals directly with the intimate kin-group life, and for that reason people prefer a kinsman to fulfill his function. A group of kinsmen living together in one kampong territory, in addition to the Kapala group, consequently has its own guru (1). In one kampong territory one finds,

> 1. In Bontoramba, the Mangenre group (18 houses) has its own guru. A number of other Buginese residing there are also helped by this man. The others, Makassarese, in cases when they require it, ask for help from the guru of the Kapala group.

therefore, in many cases one or even two gurus working for their own kin groups, in addition to the actual gurukampong. They try to enter into direct contact with the imam. This provides them with an independent position toward the guru of the Kapala group. Sometimes (as in Bontoramba) the kapala [622] permits this. The guru of the Kapala group must then content himself with that. But the kapala and his guru, as well as the imam, can oppose this attempt.

621 622 666 /125/ Where the Kapala group is not the only one in the kampong but by far and away the largest, a struggle can frequently be observed, even though it has not yet assumed any distinct form. Wherever two almost equally large groups live next to each other in a single territory, the struggle comes more clearly to the fore. An example of this is to be found at the election of a new kapala. Election takes place, according to the election regulation of 1927, by the majority of votes of the able-bodied men. The struggle is conducted, on the one hand, through attempts to attach the kampong residents who do not belong to either of the two competing groups of relatives to one's side, and, on the other hand, by strengthening the tie with the adat community head; or, if this is possible,

621 /125 cont./ by interesting a member of the high nobility in
622 the case. Their help is of importance because (although this
66 is not based upon the election regulation) sometimes they de-
clare the ballot invalid, or else report afterward that only a
test ballot had been held, in case the result did not agree with
their wishes (1).

[648]

1. The 1927 regulation of the election of headmen is therefore not applied as was intended by the European administration which introduced it. Majority of votes is, according to Makassarese feelings, not sufficient in itself to capture the kapalaship. To this end, the consent of their own head is also required. This regulation, therefore, does not preclude arbitrary actions on the part of the higher people, but it does limit them.

622 The kapala can strengthen his position by establishing
662 a link with other kapala. The proved means of doing this is
634 to contract a marriage. But this action would immediately
result in a power formation within the adat community, which
the adat community head does not like to see. To an even
greater degree this is the case if a kapala were to seek contact
with a neighboring adat community head. Such an act would
suggest a certain enmity toward the kapala's own /adat com-
munity/ head, for it is an immediate threat of defection from
177 his own head to the neighboring head. Insofar as is known,
634 the latter situation rarely occurred, because after 1905 these
648 defections were no longer left to the free interplay of

602 /12δ cont./ kinsman or a trusted follower named as kampong
634 head. Thus, at an election for a kapala, the brother of the
662 adat community head was set up as a candidate against a member of the leading group of relatives residing there. This
[666] brother obtained a number of votes from members of the Rest group living there, but nevertheless lost the election. Only after the first ballot had been declared a test ballot, and the second produced the same result, did the adat community head give in.

634 The adat community head counteracts the formation of
661 power centers in his region. He looks with disfavor upon marriage connections between the closest kinsmen /127/ of his various Kapala, unless it is he himself who brings about such a marriage. Furthermore, he knows that an ornament which is in the hands of one of the Kapala groups always signifies a potential threat to him.

634 Insofar as he is concerned with affairs outside the adat
661 community, the adat community head generally endeavors to establish ties either with his fellow adat community heads
643 or with his prince and his kinsmen. The prince looks with disfavor upon the former practice for it threatens to create a direct power center within his realm. He would be even more averse to a tie between one of his adat community heads and a neighboring prince. Although this need not be expected from the heads of the adat communities lying close around the center of Goa, in the marginal, mountainous regions
634 the situation is different. There it has happened that a local
643 head defected from his prince in order to follow another (1).
662

1. "Although the mountain Makassarese continued for a long time to resist a union with the maritime Makassarese, and in 1817 under Aroe Mampoe submitted to the new Prince of Goa,

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaëng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
576 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
593 an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).

123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room
177 under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
● 666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaëng stands there but says nothing. Beside

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, 203
and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting 666
on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems 624
that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the 596
head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his
clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs.
Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like
Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc
splits.

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van 778
Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, 565
kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the
karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he
was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave.
As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next 574
door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and
the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people
around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a
broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-
Heekeren.

The store hasa brick underwall, and a house above. It
appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and
berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always ac-
cepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim
talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked be-
tween ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United 872
States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim 346
said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in 494
a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen 198
the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it ap- 435
peared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual
style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used
Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling,
but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth
grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further
schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong,
[i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa,
and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is
quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather
far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later.
That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I 212
asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim
said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general.
He added that there was a press in Makassar.

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/135 cont./ 1. See Chapter 3, third part.

led them to turn away from the other population groups. The separatist tendencies of the time, which here assumed a political form, have their basis here.

Expectation of Salvation

668 In South Celebes expectations of salvation display a number of characteristics which in various points agree with the phenomena described above in this chapter. That is the reason for treating them here. The general traits are the following.

[787] A man or a woman prophesies that the days of the existing rule are numbered. All princes, Dutchmen, foreign Easterners /136/ will be killed or go away. Natural disasters and eclipses of the sun are close at hand; taxes will no longer have to be paid, and feudal services will no longer have to be performed (1). The person who makes these forecasts

1. There arose "a commotion because a certain Baso Oewa Taéna, who also called himself Baso Daëng Magassieng, predicted an eclipse of the sun, during which Battara Gowa (Sangkilang) would appear and would marry his daughter to him, Baso. After streams of blood had flowed and all Europeans and foreign Easterners had been removed, a mighty

668 /136 cont./ kingdom would arise, over which he would rule as prince." Eerdmans, p. 1089.

rouses the people, telling them to prepare themselves for [751] the new era. To this end he offers dijmat /sic; "charms"/ for sale, so that the wearers will be invulnerable and will be able to face the coming disasters safely. He teaches them special signs by which they will be able to recognize each other in the future and by which they will also be recognizable to him whose arrival is foretold and who will make the prophecies come true. As a result he will also be able to make a distinction between them and the rest of the people (2). Sometimes the prophet declares that he himself will

2. "In the wanua /districts/ of Mario riawo and Pettodjo-Soppeng, a certain La Maddidi claims to be the resurrected Petta Barang (Daeng Pabarang) who within a short period of time will take over the rule of the land. All those who at this time already submit to him, that is to say, become his followers, will later not be overwhelmed with misfortune. As followers they receive a symbol (djimat), for which they must pay 2.50 guldens. This will protect them against the time when Petta Barang will become the ruler." (1948). Taken from: Bestuursrapporten /Administrative Reports/, 1949.

668 /136 cont./ become the prince. He will claim that he is a descendant of a certain well-known historical figure whom he mentions by name, or else that the spirit of a certain deceased person has been reborn within him (3). In each

3. See Z(entgraaff), Celebesproblemen. Reprint of a series of articles from the Soerabaiasch Handelsblad of February 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, and March 2 and 4, 1929, p. 51.

case the named persons are well known as people who successfully fought against a prince or against the government.

There is anticipation of a prince who will rule in a powerful realm where peace will prevail (4). The person

4. "About six months ago, a certain La Djumma, a native of the kampong Barang Barru, spread the rumor that the world would only be peaceful again when Puwang Mallinrunge (Petta Barang) became the ruler, something which would occur not too long from now. All those who were not acquainted with a certain ritual upon the arrival of Petta Barang would be killed. Those who would

668 /136 cont./ want to learn this ritual from him would have to pay him 10.25 guldens."
Taken from:
Bestuursrapporten, 1949.

who makes these forecasts /137/, may be any status or either sex (1), and does not even have to be a Makassarese (2).

1. "In the beginning of 1858, a certain Rantepatola Daeng Matene Karaeng Bontosoengoe and the daughter of the, to us, familiar Aboe Bakara Karaeng Data (son of Sangkilang) and sister of Karaeng Borong, Regent of Tanralili (northern districts) at Bontonompo (Goa), amidst an aura of mystery tried to foretell an imminent great war which was to cost the lives of many people, as well as the arrival of ships on one of which would be Karaeng Data. When she learned that the Prince of Goa was making arrangements to have her arrested, she fled to Kalongkong (Galesong southern districts), where

668/137 cont./ she continued the same performances and prophecies." Eerdmans, pp. 616-617.

2. "In September, 1919, peace was disturbed in the department of Soenggoeminasa for a short period of time by a Chinese, a certain Tjoa Tiong Leng, who also called himself Karaeng Baba and who pretended to be a descendant of Karaeng Data, son of Sangkilang, and therefore tried to get a following as a pseudo-Battara Gowa. Before this following was of any significance, the charlatan and his foremost accomplices were arrested." Eerdmans, p. 1094.

And further: "In November, 1915, the Buginese population of several kampongs in the subdepartment of Kendari were called together by a certain Hadji Abdurachman. This person claimed that he had received the order to call them together from Turkey. He advised the population to keep weapons handy because the

668 /137 cont./ Turkish Government would shortly come to replace Dutch rule, and the 'Companiya' had to be driven out of the land." Eerdmans, p. 1087.

The person who predicts the coming of salvation is the leader of the group, but he frequently lacks the noble blood and just as frequently the personal qualities which the Makassarese otherwise expect in a leader. His followers are those who purchase the djimat and who learn the prescribed ritual. They do not have the feelings of loyalty toward him either which are otherwise customary in a relationship of followers. It therefore seems better not to speak of a followers' relationship in this connection. The only tie which exists is based upon the belief in his prophecies. To proceed against such a group with armed force always brings rapid success. They practically never offer resistance. Actual overthrow of the existing government is not the prime target at which these people aim. If the forecasts are not realized soon, they wait. But once the leader has been imprisoned, the group collapses and the movement fails. [648 643] Such a movement was not only aimed against the government, but also against their own princes, when the Netherlands East Indies Company still occupied a completely unimportant position in Makassarese life. The princes at that time took just as effective countermeasures whenever such a movement was in the offing.

/138/ The expectation of salvation in South Celebes centers on the arrival of one of those strong personalities who in the history of the country played an important role by fighting successfully against the prince ruling at that time or else against Dutch rule. It is hoped that he will now succeed in his former striving, and that he will be able to drive out

668 /138 cont./ the present-day rulers, only to become the prince himself in place of those who have been driven out.

181 The ideal of Makassarese-Buginese culture which is unconsciously present in people's thinking could be described
182 as a large kingdom comprising the whole of South Celebes
668 where peace prevails under a powerful and good prince. This formulation is based upon the striving, inherent in every bilateral related group, for expansion and steadily continuing inclusion of all surrounding groups until as large a grouping as possible has been attained, whose limits for the present are those of South Celebes.

182 We mentioned earlier a strong horizontal mobility which can be explained by a conflict in personality structure
565 and at the same time by a great insecurity about the
154 individual's standing which has its source in the absence of a clearly delineated vertical articulation. Unrest and insecurity are therefore always present, even in times of peace and order.

154 The established ideal is unattainable, but the individuals content themselves with this so long as they have the
181 opportunity to continue striving for this ideal in the "ordinary"
182 ways present in the culture. But as soon as this possibility
668 no longer exists in their opinion, and when the individual, perhaps unconsciously, believes that he is unequal to the circumstances, then the otherwise usual tension between ideal and reality becomes too great. The individual then seeks to attain his ideal in an extraordinary manner, which almost every culture provides.

The expectation of salvation is a hypertension phenomenon. It is an attempt to actualize in a short period of time the distant ideal which for a number of individuals had become too unattainable, whatever the reasons for this may have been.

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

426 They say that there are not many who have run up debts
465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to
499 borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
466 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at
[435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f.30 per month, and one meal costs about f.1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f.1 per day.

563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop-
443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The
472 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only
433 manufacturing center in the area.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the
661 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.

208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa-
668 ganda against it coming from Makassar, But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.

829 As for the ideas of the horizon of political life,
208 he said that outwardly there had been no change, and that the horizon is actually non-existent.
521 However, he suspects that much more goes on beneath the surface. He said that every man, even the lowers, knows about the Java troubles. But one never hears a word about this in public. As for outside places, they know a lot about the United States and Russia, that is, they know about the troubles involved. They know the communists have China. And they know that India is free. They know about the Pakistan-Hindustan trouble. They know a little bit about Burma. And they know that MacArthur wants to use Japan against Russia. They know the Philippines are free. They know Germany wants to fight against Russia. All of this is known in varying degrees, but in general much news goes on under cover. Most knowledge, however, centers around the United States, Russia, and China. A poor last is India.

As for colonialism, Andi said this is another jail matter. People just keep their mouths shut. But he knows, and thinks other people know, that the radjas and the Dutch are working together. I made a speech on this and he agreed. I can see that he knows quite a bit, and is probably very Republican in sympathy, which means that he and his fellows must talk quite a bit on the side.

661 As for ideas about Holland and the like, that is also taboo.
829 As for any knowledge of other countries' politics, as above it
521 centers mostly around the United States, Russia, China, and then last India. Some knowledge is shown concerning Germany
203 and Japan, and other Southeast Asian countries. They obtain this knowledge via movies; little information reaches them indirectly from radio sources (i.e., one hears a broadcast and relates the news to others), for example, from the Voice of America or the Republican radio. Some news also travels by rumor and from papers or from people who read papers. Political subjects are seldom or never discussed in public. Such discussions may go in the homes and in secret, but only in intimate circles and even then the people are quite wary. I asked the Controleur about this and he said there were two viewpoints: First, that in 1946 there was a great deal of political trouble here involving extremists, and many were killed. Thus politics seems dangerous and must be suppressed or else it will lead to trouble. The other, to which he and the Assistant Resident incline, is that if they suppress discussion of these matters to a certain degree here there will certainly be an explosion someday. He thinks it would be better if the nobles would get on a more political basis or on the political
665 bandwagon and into political parties. He said that Bone is the
668 only state in South Celebes which has no parties. This seems

to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper 665
administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there 668
are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an
eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad ex- 668
periences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't 663
keep their word, and although he is a conservative, he keeps 576
his word. Thus he is disgusted with politics. Nevertheless, 178
he has a great deal of influence even with those who are relatively radical. When a blazing representative of the Republic here meets the Radja he gives him sembah [homage, respectful greeting with hands placed together on the forehead]. And this is true also in Makassar. But the new and radical politicians are also still caught in the web of the rigid adat of South Celebes. As for the exiled Arumpone, the Controleur said that if the Dutch were to leave, there is a good chance for a coup d'etat here, and in other places as well. He also agreed that if in the Republic, with freedom the radjas will suffer with a resultant political upsurge. As 648
for the point that many of the people think that the Dutch and 663
the radjas are working together, I get the impression that it 178
is partly true, and the Dutch I meet constantly rationalize 565
this by saying that all would fall apart here if the traditional custom law, the adat, which depends upon the ordered, ranked universe were to be suddenly abolished. But, says the Controleur, the people do not know how much the Dutch keep the radjas from excesses both diplomatically and behind the
scenes. Still, he said that it is difficult now because the 661
Dutch are only here as helpers and can work only through the 656
radjas. In previous times if there was a bad fellow high up in the state, the Dutch could jail him. But now, for example in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use anyway because the replacements would probably be just as bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating the size of the family. For example, they will list a family as consisting of nine members when it really has only five. Then they will give out the ration for five members, keeping the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the Chinese.

Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that 665
if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties 521
would get much support. He also said that the relatively

C 563 Buludua which is on the side road from the main Watumpone-Makassarese highway. Later I talked with Thierens, and was astonished to have at last found the Toala. There is in the western part of Bone, on the border of Parepare and Barru, a wanua called Telu Limpoe, which is Sarasin's name for the three tribes of the Toala. They are under the Sulewatang of Telu Limpoe, a young and able lad. I must go by the poor road westward from the Watumpone-Sindjai highway, and then walk a distance. Remarkable, by checking Denzo's To Patuntung area with Thieren's Telu Limpoe area I find that they are just about the same. This is a puzzle. Are they Toala, or were they To Patuntung? If so, why no temples and stones and pinati and K. Lowe? My guess is that there are To Patuntung and To Patuntung. Those like the Toala were so remote and primitive that they lack even the Hinduist influence of the real To Patuntung. But one thing is clear. In the mountains here there must be any number of small groups of people like this. Exploration would find them and I could do it if I had the time. Now I begin to see why the Toala matter may well be just the lowest point on the scale of the non-Mohammedan remote peoples in the mountains of South Celebes.

M 793 692 622 In regard to the judicial system of Bone, Thierens explained a number of items. For questions of a religious nature, the first one to whom the people in the kampong go is the religious teacher, the guru. If nothing can be decided, the case goes to the imam of the wanua. If it is still no go, it goes to the Sjarat of Bone, on which are the various kali. If the case is still undecided, it goes to the Hadat Besar, a supreme court which handles both religious and other cases. As for civil and criminal cases, they start with the kepala kampong. If more than f.100 is involved, or the case cannot be decided (i.e., one of the parties is not satisfied), it then goes to the Hadat Ketjil, the court of the wanua, which has the kepala wanua and two of the kepala kampongs on it. If this is still ineffective, it goes to the 695 Hadat Besar in Watumpone. And still further one can appeal to the resident of Celebes, or, and some do, to Batavia. The 661 tradition is that any man can appeal cases. And in this one ● 668 matter they are open and brave (berani). They will appeal. 212 In fact, Thierens said that his office dealing with civil and criminal matters is deluged with letters and every one must be answered. Also he added that when he is in the office in Makassar he gets letters too, as a man with an appeal will send copies of a letter to the local office, the state

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

office and even to Batavia. The trouble with Wadjo is that many letters there are left unanswered because friends of the corrupt administration are involved. But the controleur is catching them, as he gets copies in the office at Watumpone and then goes to Wadjo and asks why no answer. This is evidently the reason, or one of them, that the Wadjo folk are ready to revolt against the radja and the government. The letters are written by letter writers, who charge a fee to write them in most kampongs. M 695 661 668 212

In regard to Wadjo and Soppeng, Denzo said that the latter is pretty good and that the radja sees this is an overgangstijd [transitional period], as does his administration. Thus the situation is not so bad. But he agrees that Wadjo is awful.

Incidental: I see from the Sadang notes that the swing [During the period of rice ripening, swings are made of ratan, rope, and buffalo hide. The swings are attached to the branch of a tree. In some areas (Kesu, Sadang, and Balusu) boys and girls swing together. Swinging is done to promote the growth of the grains of rice. In some parts of the Sadang area (e.g., Rimbon), the swinging is done by women who also sing a song of gratitude for a good harvest. This custom apparently survives principally as a children's game. All references to swinging will be found in category 524. --Analyst] is used during the entire period of rice planting or rice ripening. S 524 243

I noted that the three-window front of a house, which I had thought was specifically Makassarese, is also found on Buginese houses in the mountains, for example in Soppeng. Thus all that has happened is that the Makassarese have kept it well, while the Buginese in the coastal and other areas tend to lose it. M 342 178

On the way up to Makale, I saw plenty of Toradja, including a coffin on a platform in the yard. The platform was made of bamboo. Bohn in Paloppo and my notes on van der Veen say that this is probably the Luwu group of Sadang. And Bohn corroborates that many are descendants of slaves who were brought there. They live mainly in separate kampongs from the Buginese and there are very few mixed kampongs. They have little social contact, except trading. They practically never intermarry. M 563

On the way in I noticed that the place around Rantepao is full of niche graves. Nearly every appropriate rock face has at least one, together with an ornate door. In these rather solitary ones, however, I did not notice the tautau. M 764

571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
764 to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

532 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
612 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had
669 carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past," he wrote in 1883 (2).

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

532 /74 cont./ After the subjection of the princes of South
778 Celebes in 1905, this period of the tomanurung had passed,
612 however. Tomanurung were thought to deceive and to disturb
669 the peace. They were no longer given an opportunity to create a federation. In spite of this, however, the belief in the tomanurung did not disappear.

It may be that the Kapala of Bontoramba counts on the possibility of a tomanurung appearing who will unite his presently well-integrated group with a number of neighboring groups into a federation. The group from which the ornament of the federation is derived will, as a matter of course, have the leadership. The Kapala is prepared for this. The image is, as it were, an ornament in statu nascendi /in the nascent state/.

The Sacred Spot of Borongloë

778 A five-minute walk from the head's house leads to a
773 grove, the so-called "Flat Rock," (batu lappara') of Borongloë (3). On it /75/ stood, according to the myth, the

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3. Many call the rock batu napara', which according to Matthes' dictionary (p. 635) means "a smooth rock with the bottom part in the water; a rock that is stretched out flat."

ancestral couple of the present-day head's group of relatives, at the moment when they made their final statements to the people prior to ascending to heaven (1).

1. Friedericy relates this myth in his own words in his dissertation. See there, pp. 506 ff.

643 669 /121 cont./ The prince is regarded as the person of purest blood and as the possessor, to the highest degree, of the personal qualities which the Makassarese expect from a leader. If a prince satisfies both these requirements, he would seem to be in a position to conduct a policy directed at increasing his territory and the number of his subjects.

If a prince does not satisfy these requirements, there frequently occurs a schism within the realm which begins in the royal family. The conflict between the person who formally is the rightful heir because he is the oldest son or because he is considered to be of the purest blood and, on the other hand, the person who possesses the best personal qualities is frequently already present at a succession to the throne. Such a schism constitutes a threat to the prince. The power that his kingdom can exert outwardly remains small. For in that case, his efforts are still merely directed at maintaining his position within his realm. A classic example of this is the fraternal war in Sidenreng in 1831 and the succeeding years.

Eerdmans (1) clearly indicates the reasons that led to the

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1. The quotation which follows here is taken from an important unpublished note concerning the history of the government of Celebes and the dependencies from the pen of the retired Assistant Resident, A. L. A. F. Eerdmans, who died shortly before the Japanese invasion. Other quotations from the same note, following below, will be indicated by "Eerdmans." It is hoped, that it will still be possible to publish the part of this work that was spared

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/121 cont./ in the war. Publication of the work had been decided upon before the war, but had not been carried out.

battle: "From the preceding it appears that La Pawawooi Mohamad Ali, Prince of Sidenreng, a very old man, had always faithfully upheld Dutch interests and had performed many and important services for the government. When his son, Petta Tjambange, married the Wadjo princess, Mapalakae Aroe Maenge, it was decreed that the son that might be born from this marriage would be successor to the throne of Sidenreng.

175 "From this union was born La Patongai, Datoe Lampoele,
643 who accordingly was presented to the administration at
669 Macassar as successor to the throne, and recognized by decree. Datoe Lampoele, however, was a restless, adventurous person, whose actions and conduct caused offense in many respects. Moreover, he was greatly attached to Bone. /122/ One thing and another led to the fact that his grandfather, the old Prince of Sidenreng, became more and more estranged from him. The latter developed an increasing affection for a son of Petta Tjambange from a second marriage to We Nomba Daroe /sic/ Pamana, called the La Pangorisang, whom he decided upon as successor to the throne. Datoe Lampoele did not want to relinquish his claims to Sidenreng's throne and began to court the support of the Princess and prominent persons inside and outside of Sidenreng even during the final years of Mohamad Ali's life. Furthermore, he was able to count definitely upon the support of his father-in-law, Datoe Mario-ri-awa, and a number of prominent people from Wadjo and Bone. On the other hand, La Pangorisang had many followers of his cause among the great of Sidenreng, the Wadjo kinsmen of his mother, Datoe Pamana. Furthermore, he received support from the Prince of Barroe (Topatarai Soemagaroeka), his later father-in-law, as well as from the Princess of Sawitto and Rappang.

175 /122 cont./ When the old Prince of Sidenreng died on
643 November 7, 1831, and La Pangorisang made his appearance
669 as the new prince, a fraternal war soon broke out" (1). And

1. Eerdmans, pp. 515-516.

later:

"Through our intervention, La Pangorisang had been reinstated in 1835 in the districts taken away from him during the war. He had been reconciled with Datoe Lampoele, who was permitted to settle in Sidenreng. Quietly, however, he hoped for help from Bone in order to attain his goal sooner or later: Sidenreng's throne. Consequently, Sidenreng remained divided into two parties hostile to each other" (2).

2. Eerdmans, p. 520.

662 Signs of opposition are to be found on each level in a
557 multiplicity of forms. The system of followers strengthens
571 the position of the combatants. The striving is directed at beating a superior with the help of as many inferiors by way of followers and as many equals by way of confederates as possible. One tries constantly to become the highest among one's equals. A certain unity of territory is always maintained in the struggle; opponents and allies are found by preference among one's neighbors. In this way, the entire Makassarese-Buginese country, each kingdom, each adat community, each kampong, and even each group of relatives, as well as each family with more than one man, is potentially a theatre of battle.

/123/ In each of these groupings, several individuals strive for more power within the territorially limited opportunities existing for them. In so doing, they are always faced with the competitive efforts of their equals among each other. For if someone, in a certain situation, believes that

175 /129 cont./ It was only then that the government very
177 gradually began to place emphasis upon other personal
643 characteristics of the prince. The qualities which up to that
648 time had been regarded as very important for him by the Makassarese now became less so. On the one hand, the government deprived a forceful personality of the chance to conduct a policy of expansionism, and, on the other hand, it supported a weak personality whenever he was threatened in his dignity by neighbors or kinsmen.

175 Only then did the opposition in the form described by
177 Kooreman disappear, as it existed between the Prince and one
643 of his most prominent relatives who, together with a large
669 number of followers, built up power within the realm without the Prince's interference. In Kooreman's description, this state of affairs seems to be a phenomenon inherent in Makassarese society. At the same time, followers are described as good fighters who have no objection against a sword fight. Lower heads -- and with them all their subjects -- are also to be found among these. The silent endurance of the kampong residents who had to suffer from /130/ this counterforce is explained by pointing to the high blood of their leader whereby only a complaint registered with someone still higher, thus the prince, could have success. This is quite aside from the direct threat which is presented by such a group.

Finally, the prince himself did not act either in numerous similar cases when complaints reached him. Rather than risk a defeat through which he could lose his entire dignity, he tolerated this power within his kingdom. The leader of such a group made his appearance everywhere. As a close kinsman of the prince he also appeared in the palace. No such power groups existed when an active and forceful prince was the ruler, one who could lead his closest kinsmen by his personal qualities and who knew how to direct their energy for conquests outside his own territory. A small local "terror" of an otherwise dedicated follower of the prince was not held too much against him.

175 /130 cont./ In the period after 1905, when complaints
177 registered with the officials of the Inland Administration were
648 acted upon, the leaders of such groups, even those of high
669 nobility, were increasingly restricted in their movements.
It became apparent that they were not safe before the administration officials if someone had registered a complaint about them. Very slowly, often unconsciously, the realization must have dawned upon them, that they had to choose between submission to the rules of the new order, which the government upheld, and resistance against this same government.

175 The activities of those who chose resistance became
648 increasingly more distinct from those of the first mentioned.
669 Those who continued to resist were forced to withdraw gradually with their followers into districts beyond easy access until they were finally taken prisoner or killed, after having been forced completely into the defensive and having been labeled bandit chieftain or gang leader. Such was the end of men like daëng Pabarang in the western part of Bone around 1910, and like Tolo (1) in Polombangkeng /131/ in 1915.

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1. "In the second quarter of the year mentioned (1915), the number of robberies increased disquietingly through the appearance of a number of notorious gang leaders in the former province of Goa. Among these leaders there belong Tolo and his dreaded lieutenants, Basareng, Baso Patjiro Daëng Mapata, (constituting part of the Goa royal family) Radjamang,

[417 cont.]

565 number of titles for the other princes and royal persons, but we
643 shall not discuss them here. The most common title for a noble
554 person who does not belong to the royal family is daëng among both peoples. This title originally indicated someone of high birth, but later it was assumed out of self-conceit and lost much of its importance. Buginese and Makassarese who have a right to this title, however, are very proud of it, and when they have risen to some office, they would rather be addressed as daëng than by their official title. Daëng is also a title for women. A native always addresses his wife and older sisters by it, unless they are of royal blood, thus are karaëng. Another noble title, although less exalted than daëng, is the Makassarese [418] kare. We have already seen how people from the common class are addressed.

643 Just as we have noted for the Javanese and Sumatran
293 sovereigns, every ruling sovereign here has his decorations, called kalompuang, or the so-called ornaments. They consist of various objects, such as long krises, guns, shields, badju rante = coat of mail, betel boxes with cuspidors, parasols, etc. Among all the objects, however, one is the most important. It is called gangkang and is generally a strange sort of thing that according to tradition was found in a mysterious way where the seat of the state was established. Thus, there is a gangkang that is a wild tuber of peculiar shape; another one is a small golden image, and in still another one can recognize an old, worn-out
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778 paintbrush. All these ornaments, and the gangkang in particular, are venerated; feasts are even given in their honor. Also, priests are appointed to take care of them.

643 The sovereign derives his authority from those ornaments.
778 For example, to remove the sovereign during a revolt, an at-
669 tempt is made to gain possession of the ornaments. If this succeeds, he has been virtually deprived of his authority.

121 /4 cont./topic. The kinship terminology served as a starting point for this purpose.

/5/ Choice of Working Area

123 The stranger who intends to carry out an "adat investigation"
631 in South Celebes -- and all ethnological investigations, those
565 concerned with adat law as well as sociological and similar investigations, are so termed by the Makassarese and the Buginese themselves -- first comes in contact with the prince of the province /Landschap/ or with the head of the adat community where he wishes to work. One may not bypass the prince and his kin group /familie/, the nobility, at least not without incurring great difficulties later on. For the consequence of failing to obtain his consent to work in a certain kampong in his domain is that one loses the much needed good will of a large part of his subjects who might otherwise become good informants. Ignoring him is more than just discourtesy; it is an action which, from the point of view of the prince, expresses hostility. A highly placed stranger -- and that, after all, includes every investigator -- is a potential center of power to whom those who might be less favorably inclined toward the prince might be drawn and thereby constitutes a danger for the latter.

123 Adat investigation among ordinary kampong people is further
565 suspect because, according to the prince and his kinsmen, the
671 little man has no adat, just as, according to the Dutch bourgeoisie of half a century ago, the people had no manners. For a man of the nobility, adat is just that which distinguishes him from the people; his adat is the real one.

123 Here at the same time the danger that threatens one who would begin an investigation with the nobility becomes apparent. He loses the opportunity to obtain an insight into the relationship between high and low, as seen from the standpoint of the latter. Only after I had expressly declared that it was precisely
[121] the adat of the common people that I wished to study, because Mr. Friedericy had already described that of the prince, was it agreed that I should live elsewhere.

627 /214 cont./ One who acts in this manner does not do so
684 in blind rage. He knows exactly whom he wants to stab. In such a case one speaks of adjallo' (1). A man whose sister

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1. See above, p. 74. It is completely incorrect to speak in such a case of "amuck"; this term covers an entirely different psychic state. Compare Professor van Wulfften Palthe, "De psychologie van de amok /The Psychology of the Amok/," Fakkel, 1941.

fled years ago and who stabbed her to death at an accidental encounter showed no remorse for his deed, but nonetheless was saddened about her death. He lamented the fact that he /215/ had encountered her. Given this encounter, however, he had been unable, as he saw it, to act in any other way unless he wanted to be regarded as a man without honor. Thus he was in a situation in which he saw no other way out than to kill.

Led before the judge, a defendant in a similar case
627 generally confesses without hesitation. In answer to the
671 question how he came to do the deed, he reports that the
682 victim -- in the most fortunate case the maltreated person --
684 made him siri', and he regards this as sufficient motivation because every Makassarese immediately understands this involves his female relatives, and, on the basis of that, sympathizes with his deed.

Once they are sentenced by the judge, the defendants
[695] rarely appeal. They accept the decision without further ado. They regard their deed as an honorable male act and not as a misdeed. Toward the judge who must sentence them they want to confess nobly, and they do not want reduced

627 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves
671 completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In
682 a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind
684 hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation. Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she

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1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often remarried very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lale).

588 A man and a woman who flee together generally get married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet "a socially recognized union between members of the opposite sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question. The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter,
[428] and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from her parents (1).

114 /252 cont./ dependent. Comparison of the figures accordingly
217 indicates little concerning the actual number of transactions
675 carried out in the respective territorial sections. A general
425 impression can be derived from this register of what is transacted in a certain region. But no conclusions can be drawn with respect to the number of transactions.

Of the 31 transactions recorded in 1948, 6 concern the transfer of a sawah; 5 the transfer of a piece of dry land; 16 the sale of buffaloes, and 2 the transfer of a sewing machine.

The number of buffalo sales probably approaches the actual number most closely, since in the case of transportation -- which is necessary in the sale to one residing outside the seller's adat community -- a buffalo pass is necessary, and some heads exercise a certain pressure for registration in the registry /253/ of the Indonesian Notary when such a pass is issued. The land transactions do not approximate the actual number by an estimated tenth part.

Misdemeanor Registers

114 In the register of misdemeanors (Rappor Kedjahatan),
217 which is also kept in the adat community office, the violations
674 and misdemeanors that are reported there are entered, and at the same time those against whom the evidence is reported. In the first six months of 1948, 15 were reported there, that is: 9 buffalo thefts, 2 maltreatments, 1 threat with the badik, 2 minor thefts, and 1 assault on a woman. Eight of the 9 buffalo
[177] thefts remained unsolved. This register was not introduced until 1948; little can as yet be said about its effect.

Registers of Legal Matters

114 The registers of legal matters which are divided into civil
217 and criminal, are kept in the adat community office of Borongloe
671 when they concern "minor" matters that come up before the

114 /253 cont./ Minor Native Law Court (Hadat Ketjil) of
217 Borongloë. The registers of "major" matters handled by the
671 Native Law Court (Hadat Besar) of Goa are to be found in the provincial office in Sungguminasa. In the civil registers are listed name and place of residence of the parties; the demand and the answer; the statements by the witnesses, the decision of the judge, and a single consideration in which is stated how the judge arrived at his decision. Relatively the same applies to criminal matters. These considerations are not directly comparable to those found in the registers of government judges.

Community-Labor Register

114 The kampong head has a register with the names of the
217 men in his kampong who are subject to government corvée,
651 nowadays community labor. This, however, does not list the total number of men able to work because a few kinsmen of the head and a few kampong functionaries are exempted from such labor, and because many heads are inclined to extend the number of exemptions according to their own judgment in order to strengthen their position in the kampong. This register is poorly kept. Old registers are not preserved.

/254/ Overnight Register

114 The kampong head keeps an overnight register (buku
217 bermalan) in which the person who spends the night in a kampong
486 is recorded by his name, his place of residence, the duration of his stay, and name of his host. Its purpose during the turbulent years of 1946 and 1947 was to exercise a certain control over strangers who came into the kampong. Now that this control is no longer so important, a name is entered only now and then so that the book will not be completely blank when a checkup is made. More than 90 per cent of overnight stays were not noted, so far as I was able to observe. The register therefore is of no use in measuring a certain horizontal mobility.

Bali OF7
Lombok OF12
Javanese OE5
Borneo OC1
Makassar OG6
Ternate OH16
Batjan OH7

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[450 cont.]

What we have said applies only to those regions where we exercise direct authority. In the lands that retained self-government, the populace continues to enjoy its own administration of justice. This is the case in Surakarta and Djokjakarta on Java, in the states on Borneo's east coast, in the Makassarese and Buginese states, in the states of Ternate, Tidore, and Bachan, on Bali, Lombok, etc. In all these lands the provisions of the adat and the prescriptions of Islam are applied throughout, not only in civil but also in criminal cases. The Netherlands Indies Government exerts influence only to the extent of opposing the application of cruel and mutilating punishments. In some courts it has even become the rule to impose only the punishments that are specified in the criminal code of law for natives. Moreover, the provision that the death penalty may not be executed without the consent of the Governor General and places of exile are to be designated by the Government is often applied. Trial by ordeal is also often prohibited. Finally, here and there a local official is authorized to attend the sessions of the court, to direct its activities, and to give advice. Although we thus see that even in the [451] lands that have retained self-government the sphere of native law has become more and more restricted by the application of European principles of justice, it is different in those regions that belong to us only in name and have remained wholly or largely outside our influence, such as in the interior of Sumatra, Borneo, and Celebes and on New Guinea, not to mention the smaller islands. In the sphere of the administration of justice the ancestral institutions are still found unchanged here, and we shall now discuss them.

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b. Law of Vengeance

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We have just used the word composition. By this is to be understood the milder form of the civil law of vengeance,

[481 cont.]

Malays

MI 671 Among the Malays, too, there are writings in which the adat has been codified. They bear the name Undang-undang. Many of them originated in the state of Malacca. There is the Undang-undang nĕgĕri Malaka, compiled by the order of Sultan Morafar Sjah (1334-1374), so that his state administrators would make no mistakes in the administration of justice. Actually, Morafar Sjah only provided a new edition, because the code itself had been prepared by Iskandar Sjah, the founder of Malacca (1249-1274). These Undang-undang contain a complete compilation of civil legislation and criminal law. They consist in large part of the original customs of the country, although they also contain provisions borrowed from Mohammedan law. Besides these there is a number of other Undang-undang that we shall not mention (1).

1. See page 201.

MK 671 We shall not discuss the law codes of the Buginese and Makassarese; something was said about them when the literature of these peoples was discussed (2). [482] [Blank page.]

2. See page 225.

[483] Chapter 21. Diseases

a. Albinism; b. Struma and Cretinism;
c. Skin diseases; d. Blood diseases;
e. Acute diseases; f. Insanity.

a. Albinism

I 142 164 We have already said something about the outward appearance of the races that inhabit the Malay Archipelago. In

595 /169 cont./ latter, after a certain period of time had elapsed,
[586] asked for a divorce on the grounds that she was no longer being supported by him. In another case, the second wife escaped with another man (1). But sometimes the man

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1. Officially this is called adultery, and the man should behave as though he were siri'. In reality he agreed to the divorce nor did he make an attempt at stabbing; nor do his relatives expect him to take the initiative which might lead to her being sentenced by the judge for adultery.

chooses the second /wife/.

595 In the majority of cases, however, the first wife accepts
578 the new state of affairs. But her relationship with her rival remains notoriously bad. Abuse, hateful remarks about the stupidity, the low blood, or about certain physical characteristics of the other woman, are common expressions of her feelings. These she airs more to her female housemates, however, than to her spouse. Older women teach her that the latter is inadvisable. In one of the old lontar of the Prince of Goa there occurs the following rule which aptly characterizes
[682] the conditions /170/: "This is the rule concerning murder.
[672] If we murder our co-wife, no matter where, and if we tell this to the people who come running to the scene, saying, 'I have killed my co-wife,' then there will be no revenge taken upon us." (1)

1. This translation was saved as part of the prewar manuscript. The lontar from

585 /178 cont./ "The medicinal plants
824 bowagang palili, parempasa',
789 and lowe are all able to
defend against evil." Palili
means: "cause to get out of
the way" (Ibid., p. 223)
Parempa' means: "to ward
off" (Ibid., p. 122). Of
"lowe," Matthes states that
it is an old name for the
"nagasari," a shrub that was
also used for fences (Ibid.,
p. 373). The word buagang
has the same meaning. When
a kampong head, after a theft,
turned to someone with the
[673] words, "If the thief is found
in your house, you yourself
will also be punished," the
reaction was: "buagang,"
that is to say, "May that
misfortune not overcome me."

the meaning of "gay" and "sweet" respectively.

585 The water used for sprinkling comes from a pot. In the pot
it has already undergone ritual treatment. At the bottom of
the pot there lie some money, a number of betel leaves folded
[824] in a special way (kalomping), and an appropriate number of
pieces of areca nut. This water has been made pure (badji',
literally, "good"). The burning /179/ incense vessel
(padupaang) has been moved around it, puffed rice (bente) has
been scattered over it, and a spell has been uttered during the
ceremony. The object of the ritual is now sprinkled with this
"good water" while a spell is uttered again.

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

[571] When she is being discussed, one of the older women, sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop
[602] at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say, they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

588 /228 cont./ during the period between nikka' and recon-
672 ciliation the "pattongko' siri'" is officially regarded as
684 tumannjala, in reality both parties do their best to avoid each other more than usual.

A description of such a wedding will follow here to
588 describe the atmosphere which is so completely different from that prevailing at an ordinary festive marriage, but especially to show also what both have in common. This is Djawi's wedding, which occurred in 1940 in Borongloë. There was no question of a festival here. The tone of the conversations was different from that at a festive wedding, and the ritual had been reduced to a few simple actions.

Djawi had fled from her parental house in a pregnant
588 condition. The man whom she had named as the father of her
848 child had denied this, and she had then been taken to the house of the adat community head to wait there until someone should come to marry her, or, as it was expressed, "to take her disgrace away from her" (angalleangi siri'na), or else, "to let her live" (antallassi). After a few days an immediate
588 uncle of Djawi came to tell her that her uncle of the seventh degree (purina sampopinruang), by the name of Rappung, a divorced man without children, wanted to marry her. The adat community head conveyed this request to her. She already knew Rappung, and therefore she did not have to see him first, and she was given ample time to think the matter over. She continued to be silent, and from this it was concluded that she agreed to the marriage. The head reported this to the Imam of Borongloë, who sent a letter to Djawi's father in which he requested his consent to the marriage of his daughter. The letter included an authorization for the Imam to take his place as wali, an authorization to which only his fingerprint had to be added.

[583] /229/ On this occasion it appeared that the sawah designated as sunrang yielded only 50 sheaves of paddy, while a sawah of 100 sheaves was regarded as customary in such a

684 834 /225 cont./ get water and not to talk." In another case a girl was washing at the well when a ball with which a group of young men were playing raga rolled close to her. She gave the ball a little kick, and the young man who came to get it laughed to her. A few days later she fled to him. Another case concerned a girl who, during one of the ceremonies preceding her wedding, broke wind. One of her cousins immediately took the blame for it: "Don't laugh, people, it slipped out of me," he said. A few days later, the nikka' had already taken place; she fled to him. As it turned out later, she did so at the urging of her aunt: "Go off, do what your siri' demands" (lampako, dongkoki siri'nu), the latter is supposed to have said. Subsequently, she married this man.

/226/ In none of these instances was the woman therefore in any direct danger. In all three of them her action [672] was completely understood, and her kin group was "not very siri'," that is to say, the reconciliation took place within half a year. Rather than remaining siri' and running the risk of being stabbed, these women resorted to flight. Rather than refusing to go with her and not being believed and thus being regarded as one who flees before a woman, the men married. The wife's kinsmen were siri' because she fled and thereby openly admitted that forbidden contact existed. But there certainly was understanding of her action and the feelings that led her to it. In the last of these three cases just described, the deserted bridegroom was also without feelings of rancor toward the second husband. He regarded the course of events as part of his lot. When etiquette had been satisfied [152] through reconciliation, there was no apparent trace of personal feelings of anger in him.

584 /227 cont./ things difficult for the people around her. There
588 always seems to be a sufficient number of unmarried men who
848 would like to get married.

848 It rarely happens that a child is born without the mother being married. This may happen by way of exception, for instance, if a woman is pregnant by her sister's husband. According to Moslem law, which in this point is strictly followed in Goa, she may not marry this man before her sister is divorced from him and the iddat period is past. Children born outside wedlock are, therefore, a rarity. At the same time they usually die soon. Only once a girl of about eight years of age was pointed out to me in Borongloe as a child who had never had a father. Figures concerning this matter [163] cannot be given because these births, or the subsequent death of the children, are not recorded in the respective registers. Makassarese fail to see what interests would be served in doing so. They prefer to forget such cases as soon as possible.

A man who marries a woman who was impregnated by
588 another man is called pattongko' siri' ("coverer of the disgrace").
672 Such a marriage is regarded entirely like a silariang marriage.
684 No further festivities take place when it occurs. The fine is paid, and the man is tumannjala with respect to his wife's kinsmen until the reconciliation, even though he only attained this status by virtue of the fact that he married her. It is usually a widower or a man of over thirty years who wants to contract such a marriage. Sometimes he is a kinsman of the woman, but in that case always a cousin of the sixth degree (sampopinruang) or further removed, for her closest kinsmen are, in the first instance, tumasiri'.

His action is appreciated. It makes the woman /228/
[848] happy, so it is said, because he saves her and her kinsmen from an even greater disgrace, giving birth to a child without being married. This appreciation is expressed, in the first place, by an early reconciliation, often as soon as a month after the marriage has been contracted. Furthermore, although

521 562 571 576 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally. They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the same time about topics which they would also discuss at an ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 673 834 The forms of social intercourse between men and women are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

These strict rules do not apply to children and older [561 858] people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small [687] dagger/, which frequently results in death.

I [126 cont.]
544 Regulations the holding of cockfights is prohibited on penalty
673 of a fine of 16-25 guilders, with the alternative of 7-12 days compulsory labor. This does not alter the fact, however, that
MK cockfights are clandestinely held everywhere and on many oc-
541 casions. Naturally, this prohibition does not apply to those areas
673 where the sovereigns have self-government, such as in the states
634 of southern Celebes.

j. Quail Fights

I The quail is called gĕmak or puju; quail fights are known
544 as ngadu gĕmak. Only females are used for quail fights, be-
525 cause they are more beautiful, stronger, and more courageous than the males. The fights take place in a cage, pĕngadon, literally, "fighting place," which is five decimeters high and 7.5 decimeters long, with very thin bars. Both quails are put in the pĕngadon at the same time and immediately begin to fight furiously, both birds trying to hit or stab each other, especially around the eyes and ears. The fight lasts until one falls back. Here, too, betting is primary (1).

1. Tijdschr. v. Ned. Ind., 1873, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff.

k. Cricket Fights

At cricket fights, ngadu-djangkrik only the males do the fighting. They are first tamed by letting them hang horizontally by means of a thread tied around their bodies for 24 hours and after that by holding them under water to make them unconscious. In this condition they are put in a small bamboo tube where they soon come to. The fights take place in a little basket, also called pĕngadon, which is divided into two parts by a sliding

622 /233 cont./ them, because then the tumasiri'-tumannjala
627 relation would have been removed for him while it would continue with respect to his other kinsmen. The upshot now was that after a short meeting the couple returned home with the man's kinsmen who had come along, taking with them the sunrang, fine, and cookies. The general opinion was that the fault lay with the gurukampong who had exerted too much pressure.

627 Arguments that are adduced to sway the wife's kin group to agree to a reconciliation state that the woman longs so much for her mother, that people who are related to each other belong together, and that the man's mistake is a small one. In the event that the woman takes refuge with a man, and, to an even greater degree, if she marries an outsider in a pregnant state, the reconciliation can usually take place very soon, that is to say, within a few months.

On the other hand, the tumasiri' frequently have reasons of their own to refuse a reconciliation, reasons which the superior on his part also understands and accepts. When a man had been stabbed to death during his flight and the woman shortly thereafter married an outsider, an attempt at reconciliation failed because it was argued that it was necessary to wait until her brother had returned from jail where he was now held for manslaughter through her fault.

For a man who fled with the niece (kamanakang) of his wife
[694 who had lived in his house as a young girl, no reconciliation
835] could be brought about. The fact that he had fled with a housemate was reason for the kinsmen to feel especially siri'. His crime in this case was considered very great.

After the flight of a man with his wife's sister, where the wife should have first received the talak because, according to Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at once, reconciliation was refused since the first wife was still "unhappy." /234/ Not until she was remarried, so it was believed, would the reconciliation be possible.

114 /252 cont./ dependent. Comparison of the figures accordingly
217 indicates little concerning the actual number of transactions
675 carried out in the respective territorial sections. A general
425 impression can be derived from this register of what is transacted in a certain region. But no conclusions can be drawn with respect to the number of transactions.

Of the 31 transactions recorded in 1948, 6 concern the transfer of a sawah; 5 the transfer of a piece of dry land; 16 the sale of buffaloes; and 2 the transfer of a sewing machine.

The number of buffalo sales probably approaches the actual number most closely, since in the case of transportation -- which is necessary in the sale to one residing outside the seller's adat community -- a buffalo pass is necessary, and some heads exercise a certain pressure for registration in the registry /253/ of the Indonesian Notary when such a pass is issued. The land transactions do not approximate the actual number by an estimated tenth part.

Misdemeanor Registers

114 In the register of misdemeanors (Rappor Kedjahatan),
217 which is also kept in the adat community office, the violations
674 and misdemeanors that are reported there are entered, and at the same time those against whom the evidence is reported. In the first six months of 1948, 15 were reported there, that is: 9 buffalo thefts, 2 maltreatments, 1 threat with the badik, 2 minor thefts, and 1 assault on a woman. Eight of the 9 buffalo
[177] thefts remained unsolved. This register was not introduced until 1948; little can as yet be said about its effect.

Registers of Legal Matters

114 The registers of legal matters which are divided into civil
217 and criminal, are kept in the adat community office of Borongloe
671 when they concern "minor" matters that come up before the

114 /102 cont./ able to describe his impressions in a clear and lively manner. The conditions he sketches can still be recognized as typical of South Celebes, but at the same time it is apparent that much has changed. His description will first be reproduced here. Then my own data will follow, /103/ and in the process we will be able to point out a number of times what has remained and what has changed.

554 "...the higher the nobility to which one belonged, the
565 more did one possess the privilege of impunity. The little
571 man almost completely lacked protection against the presumptions and vexations of the Anakaraeng. As a result he was forced to look for protection from those who caused the evil condition, namely, the nobility. The latter undertook the protection, but conditionally, that is, the Anakaraeng demanded a certain measure of subjection of his protégé. From this a relationship developed to which we refer as "being a follower," but which is described more characteristically and accurately by the Makassarese word for follower, Ana ana. (Ana signifies "child," Ana ana, "little child.") Between the Anakaraeng and his protégé there existed, therefore, the relationship of a great and powerful man and a little child.

"The follower was obliged to recognize the Anakaraeng as
571 his master (karaeng). He was forced to accompany him while
675 hunting and on his travels, to help him in various agricultural activities, to bring his small presents, and to perform services at his festivals. He was obligated to assist him if he was threatened or attacked, or if he had to avenge an insult. In a word, he had to follow his master (minawang) and carry out whatever he was enjoined to do. The Anakaraeng, on the other hand, assumed the responsibility of guarding his ana ana against any arbitrary treatment, and if they suffered alleged or actual injustice, he took their side. The relationship was so close that to insult a follower was equal to insulting his

/103 cont./ master, and the latter already felt offended if
571 one of his followers so much as received a poor reception. If
675 a follower's horse or buffalo were stolen, the master would say: 'My buffalo or my horse is stolen,' and he would leave no stone unturned to get back the stolen property and to avenge himself upon the culprit -- more accurately, the one who insulted him --, for he would not dream of handing over the thief to the authorized judge.

"The tie between Anakaraeng and ana ana was voluntary and consequently could be broken. The Karaeng rarely dismissed his followers because of bad behavior. As a rule he did so if the follower did not satisfy his far-reaching /104/ obligations or had been disobedient. The follower, on the other hand, would choose another Karaeng if he thought that he was being insufficiently protected, if his master demanded too many services of him, or if, in his opinion, another follower was more favored. Such a break in relations was rarely resorted to, however, because the follower would incur the hatred and vengeance of his former master.

"The Karaeng were also obligated to provide for the material interests of their followers. They helped them with paddy fields, with paddy, plowing, cattle, and sometimes with money, for instance in cases of marriages and deaths. Not all Karaeng, however, fulfilled this obligation; many were more intent upon their own interests than upon that of their ana ana.

"The higher the social standing of an Anakaraeng, the
554 more followers he had. Conversely, the more followers he
565 had, the greater was his standing and influence, and the
571 anakaraeng /sic/ who had the most followers was at the same time the most prominent and the most influential.

"Followers consisted of distant blood relatives, people
571 who from generation to generation had been the followers of
[602] one single kin group, and people, frequently foreigners, who

178 /105 cont./ followers manifested itself have changed. The
571 general characteristics to be met with today are the following:

The higher person is connected with a number of lower ones, his people. The latter work his sawahs in the broadest sense of the word, that is to say, from the first tilling to the delivery of sheaves at his house. They take care of his maize gardens and guard his langsap trees when they bear fruit. They run errands for him in the pasars; they carry wood and water for daily use, do repairs on the house, manufacture the common utensils from bamboo or wood, and finally assist at a festival held by their master by performing the innumerable little tasks. On the other hand, those inferiors who are unmarried and live with their master have their food and clothing provided for them, and there is the chance that their master will let them marry and provide their wedding feast. Once they are married, the couple is provided with a dwelling and has a number of sheaves delivered to its house after the harvest. This lower person then lives apart with his family but remains in daily contact with his master by way of the tasks which he has to perform. Since he remains closely connected with his master, he is permitted to participate in the festivals that break up the monotonous kampong existence, and he shares in the social standing which is displayed on these occasions.

There is never a question of a firm agreement at the be-
[675] ginning of the relationship. The tie may be broken at any moment. Such a rupture, however, always takes place only gradually. An abrupt break is avoided, /106/ because this indicates quarreling and because it is thought to be better if one leaves before the conflict breaks out.

178 The tie between a higher person and his people is
557 advantageous to both parties in their striving to rise. To lose
558 a follower implies a diminution of social standing for the
571 higher person. Here his generosity to his people is of importance. The superior who has a reputation for making his

114 217 423 651 /251 cont./ The land-tax registers make a distinction between lands in Indonesian possession and lands that have been taken in pawn. In a calculation of the averages of the sawah areas, these two types of land must be added together. The land-tax registers are in excellent condition.

The Indonesian Notary

114 217 675 425 The so-called Inland Notary, kept in the adat community office, which before the war began to assume an increasingly important task, was still not up to prewar /252/ standards in mid-1949. In 1940, 318 transactions were registered in Borongloë, in 1946 and 1947, 36 and 56 respectively.

The purpose of this institution is to further legal certainty. Parties which enter into a transaction, can report this to the head concerned, and the latter is then obligated to enter this transaction in the register, and at the same time to give to both parties a summary of what was recorded by him.

In the columns are recorded in order: name and place of residence of the purchaser; name and place of residence of the seller; a description of the article; then its boundaries are indicated if it is land, and its characteristics if it concerns a buffalo; the sum that is paid or -- in case of an exchange -- the article with a similar description; and finally, the further agreements that are made subsequent to this transfer.

The adat community head makes an entry of the transaction if the local well-informed head of the kampong where the land is situated or from which the buffalo comes tells him that he has heard no objections against the transaction. The institution was popular because the native courts of law especially attached much value to the summaries produced by purchasers or pawnees at their sessions.

The personal care and interest for this institution on the part of the local heads varies greatly, and it is upon this that the number of transactions recorded appears to be directly

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Javanese OE5
Makassar OG6
Land Dyak OC8
Buru ON8

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J
MK
N
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[459 cont.]

in it but make a complaint, the complaint is rejected if the game were a forbidden one because the deceased met his death as a direct consequence of his unlawful action. In the opposite case it would be accepted.

The amount of the wergild varies among the various peoples in the archipelago and is governed by various circumstances, primarily the rank and sex of the slain person. Among the Makassarese, the sapu for a male slave is 20 reals and for a female slave 30 reals; for a free man 30 reals and for a free woman 40 reals; for a noble person 80 reals. Among the Redjang the amount of the bangun is given as follows: for a pembarab and for a proatin, two classes of chiefs, 500 and 250 dollars, respectively; for the wife of a pembarab 250 dollars; for a man from the common class 80 dollars and for a woman from it 150 dollars. Similar provisions apply among the people of Pasemah and in some areas of Benkulen. We must point out a peculiar way of determining the wergild among some peoples. As is known, in the German common law, each part of the body, including fingers and toes, was given a certain monetary value, and the compensation for murder and bodily injury was calculated accordingly. [460] Something similar formerly existed among the Javanese and still does among some other peoples. For instance, the Dajak of the western division of Borneo divide the human body into 12 parts, the head, the eyes, the ears, the voice, the trunk, the belly, the pudenda, the hands, the blood, the heart, the skin, and the hair. Each of these parts represents a fixed amount in goods, for example: the eyes, a set of golden earrings at five to six reals; the voice, a tawa-tawa, or gong, at 12 reals; the hands, a gun at six reals, etc. The total number of objects have a value of 86 reals. This is the amount of the wergild. Another example of similar evaluation of the human body is found among the Alfoer of Buru. Here there is the belief that one can cause the death of another through certain evil spirits. Thus, when someone dies, an investigation is started at once to fix the blame.

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2: Wilken--515 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Minangkabau	OD10	Malays	AN5
Redjang-Lampong	OD12	Javanese	OE5
Timor	OF20	Makassar	OG6
Nias	OD11	Bali	OFT
		Batak	OD5

[464 cont.]

I 681 674

h. Punishments

From the above, we see that the punishments among the peoples of the Malay Archipelago are:

1. forfeiture of property,
2. death penalty or other corporal punishment,
3. forfeiture of liberty.

The first type consists of fines or compensations, primarily for crimes against individuals; the second is imposed for political crimes and offences against good morals, also as an alternative for crimes against individuals, and the third, consisting of slavery and bondage, is primarily an alternative for crimes against individuals. We wish to consider these last two categories for a moment, first a few details concerning the death penalty and other corporal punishments.

Mn Bt Bl MK J Ml 681

[465] Among the peoples of the Malay Archipelago the death penalty is executed in various ways. In the first place, especially among the Malays, Javanese, Makassarese and Buginese, Balinese, and Batak, the appointed executioner kills the culprit by inserting a kris or pike under the scapula and piercing the heart. We find this punishment applied by the Javanese for political crimes and among the Minangkabau Malays as an alternative when the bangun is not paid and the family of the person slain does not want to put the murderer to death themselves and the execution is handled by the public authorities. Decapitation occurs among the Buginese, Lampong, Timorese, and Niassans. Among the last, it is done by putting the condemned person prone on the ground and then severing the head from the body over the trunk of a tree with a single blow. A third way of executing the death sentence is strangulation. This occurs principally in the Buginese countries and is known as riwasse-ase and nibasse-pare, both expressions literally meaning "rice being tied in bundles," because for strangulation the same kind of knot as the one for tying rice is used. The noose is tightened by two men seated on the ground on either side of the victim

681 N Tm RL MK 681 MK 681

Redjang-Lampong OD22 Makassar OG6
Atjehnese OD4 Nias OD21
Javanese OE5 Lombok OF12
Batak OD5 Ngadju OC9
Bali OF7

MK 681 [465 cont.]

N [681 684] each holding an end in his hand. Strangulation also occurs among the Niassans and is done as primitively as among the Makassarese and Buginese. The punishment of drowning is

MK BI L R-L Ng 681 684 found more commonly. It is applied primarily for incest and as an alternative for adultery if the fine is not paid. Such is the case among the Makassarese and Buginese, the Balinese, the Sasak, the Lampong and the Dajak, at least among the Olo Ngadju, who inhabit the southeastern division. The execution is done simply by tying a stone around the culprit's neck, as among the Buginese, by sewing him into a sack half-filled with stones and rice as among the Balinese and Sasak, or by putting him into a basket weighted with stones, as among the Dajak,

MK N A 681 and throwing it in the sea or river. [466] Drowning also occurs among the Niassans, and on Atjeh thieves are done away with in this manner. Besides drowning, we should mention another type of punishment, whereby the condemned is put on a raft of areca trunks and put to sea so as to drift away. This is done by the Buginese, who call it ripali, and by the Atjehnese.

BI L 681 Among the Balinese there is also burning alive, which is sometimes applied for incest. Other death penalties are tearing the offender apart, known on Bali and Lombok as mapèntang, letting him starve to death, and burying him alive. We must

BI 681 266 point out still another peculiar way of executing the death sentence among the Batak; in some cases, for example, for adultery, it is coupled with eating the body of the culprit.

Among the corporal punishments there is first of all the

J 681 meting out of blows with a stick or cane. This punishment has a prominent place in the Jayanese law codes in particular and it is most commonly applied as an alternative for nonpayment of fines or for adultery. Mutilating punishments, too,

BI 681 such as chopping off one or another part of the body, are not rare. In former times on Bali the princes had the custom of cutting off the hand, putting out the eyes, etc., of a person

I 681 from whom nothing much could be collected. But enough.

Timor OF20
Moluccas OH1
Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Minangkabau OD10
Malays AN5
Tagalog OA36

Ml [558 cont.]
MK sleepers. These spirits bear various names. Among the Malays
MK of Sumatra they are called palasib or, according to Minangkabau
I pronunciation, pălăsiëq; among the Batak, palasik; and elsewhere
BR in Malayan lands, penanggalan. Among the Dajak in particular
774 the belief in these spirits plays an important role. They are
754 called hantuen, and in nearly every region of the southeastern
753 division there are persons who are suspected of being hantuen.
761 Naturally, there is great abhorrence of marriage with such a person. It is said, however, that such marriages sometimes occur, because one does not always know. If it is regarded as proved that someone is a hantuen, then he is put to death with the greatest tortures. Among the Buginese these spirits are called paeppo,
MK among the Makassarese popokang. Among these peoples, they
[562 are exclusively women. If a woman is thought to be such at the
681] court, she is immediately reduced to slavery and sentenced to pounding kemiri nuts all day long every day, which is a means of preventing her nightly wanderings.

T The belief in these beings also exists in the eastern part of
MD the archipelago, in the Moluccas and on Timor. They are called
Tm suwangi or swangi here. Especially when a ruler dies, a swangi
754 is often blamed for it. The person accused of being the swangi
761 [559] is put to death and his relatives are made slaves. Among
753 the Tagalog on Luzon, who believe in these spirits, they are
774 called magtatankal.

g. Pontianak

MD Another spirit that is generally feared is the pontianak, the
I name of the spirits of women who died before delivery. Every
755 woman who dies in childbed becomes a pontianak. They gen-
[845] erally show themselves in the form of a bird and are therefore flying ghosts. These pontianak who could not enjoy motherhood
MD before their confinement, begrudge that of their sisters and al-
I ways try to harm pregnant women. It is not pregnant women
[843]

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

and where they have come from. For example, they tell 565
people that they were nobles where they came from. Here 567
is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power 178
of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there 696
were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. 681
If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They 567
became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they
have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is 626
a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember
it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any
event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would [684]
be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or [588]
a woman who married or had something to do with a man of
lower status.

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social 557
sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale 565
by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. 556
The social classes are set. 554

As for economic [illegible]ity, there is plenty, or perhaps it 531
would be better t[illegible]at there is some. There are many
cases where low m[illegible]en slaves, make money and are able
to use some of th[illegible] of uppers. For example, they
may take to usin[illegible] decorative symbols on houses which
were previously ta[illegible] Andi said that they often have more
wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is
practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all
the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman
and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are
numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes,
terms of address, and manners.

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable 178
flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for 554
an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted 342
only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and 565
nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly 531
use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present.
As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the
"real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide
and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one
except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved
wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used
illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so
used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in
house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was
once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I 517
got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The 181
Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amuse-
ments of New York City to Andi he said that he would die
there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old
Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for
example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big
attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did 167
not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if 186
he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens
said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc.
If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world,
and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is 178
general and there is not much to say. The death punishment 681
is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the
common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even 796
included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric 805
systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and
Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are
birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation,
marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They
knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts [241]
that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for
the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways,
there is said to be little concern.(In Makassar I did find
some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is
no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead any-
way.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: 574
I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and 852
two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kam-
pong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of
the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three
buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of
women were working at the preparation of different kinds of
food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said
the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any de-
mand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of [562]
men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear
part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much 176
new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus 874
chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third 401
grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from 403
bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25
and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing
he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

595 /169 cont./ latter, after a certain period of time had elapsed,
[586] asked for a divorce on the grounds that she was no longer being supported by him. In another case, the second wife escaped with another man (1). But sometimes the man

[684]

1. Officially this is called adultery, and the man should behave as though he were siri'. In reality he agreed to the divorce nor did he make an attempt at stabbing; nor do his relatives expect him to take the initiative which might lead to her being sentenced by the judge for adultery.

chooses the second /wife/.

595 In the majority of cases, however, the first wife accepts
578 the new state of affairs. But her relationship with her rival remains notoriously bad. Abuse, hateful remarks about the stupidity, the low blood, or about certain physical characteristics of the other woman, are common expressions of her feelings. These she airs more to her female housemates, however, than to her spouse. Older women teach her that the latter is inadvisable. In one of the old lontar of the Prince of Goa there occurs the following rule which aptly characterizes
[682 the conditions /170/: "This is the rule concerning murder.
678] If we murder our co-wife, no matter where, and if we tell this to the people who come running to the scene, saying, 'I have killed my co-wife,' then there will be no revenge taken upon us." (1)

1. This translation was saved as part of the prewar manuscript. The lontar from

627 /214 cont./ One who acts in this manner does not do so
684 in blind rage. He knows exactly whom he wants to stab. In such a case one speaks of adjallo' (1). A man whose sister

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1. See above, p. 74. It is completely incorrect to speak in such a case of "amuck"; this term covers an entirely different psychic state. Compare Professor van Wulfften Palthe, "De psychologie van de amok /The Psychology of the Amok/," Fakkel, 1941.

fled years ago and who stabbed her to death at an accidental encounter showed no remorse for his deed, but nonetheless was saddened about her death. He lamented the fact that he /215/ had encountered her. Given this encounter, however, he had been unable, as he saw it, to act in any other way unless he wanted to be regarded as a man without honor. Thus he was in a situation in which he saw no other way out than to kill.

Led before the judge, a defendant in a similar case
627 generally confesses without hesitation. In answer to the
671 question how he came to do the deed, he reports that the
682 victim -- in the most fortunate case the maltreated person --
684 made him siri', and he regards this as sufficient motivation because every Makassarese immediately understands this involves his female relatives, and, on the basis of that, sympathizes with his deed.

Once they are sentenced by the judge, the defendants
[695] rarely appeal. They accept the decision without further ado. They regard their deed as an honorable male act and not as a misdeed. Toward the judge who must sentence them they want to confess nobly, and they do not want reduced

627 671 682 684 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation. Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she [626]

1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often remarried very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lale).

588 A man and a woman who flee together generally get married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet "a socially recognized union between members of the opposite sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question. The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter, [498] and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from her parents (1).

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

When she is being discussed, one of the older women,
[571] sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say,
[602] they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

S I 672 626 [457 cont.]
his dusun or marga are no longer willing to be responsible for his acts, then they give the pasirah (the marga chief) one buffalo and ten Spanish piasters [matten]. The Spanish piasters are divided among the pasirah of the division, and the buffalo is slaughtered and eaten. The pasirah then hand out a document saying that the above person is buwang surat = outlawed. If he should then commit crime elsewhere, his relatives, duson, or marga are no longer responsible. If such a person is killed somewhere or suffers some other ill-treatment, no one troubles himself about it. Before he becomes buwang surat, however, his family, duson, or marga is obliged to pay his old debts and to settle the cases against him.

MK N S J I

f. Wergild

We shall now briefly discuss the principal crimes.

682 First, there is homicide. This requires the payment of blood money, the wergild of the ancient Germans. On Java the expression used for this is dijat, the Arabic dijat, the same designation for the same thing. Among other peoples, however, original native names are found. For instance, on Sumatra the blood price is generally called bangun, a word that actually means "rise, stand up." Among the Dajak of the southeastern division the fine for murder is called bali, the Malayan bĕli, the radical word of mĕmbĕli = to buy. The Makassarese use the words sapu and tokkong for wergild, although the latter is also used for the compensation in money or value for things, for example, in the case of theft. There is a noteworthy similarity [458] between tokkong and the Malayan bangun in that this likewise means "rise, stand up." The idea is for the slain to rise again by a payment as compensation for him. "To cause to rise" and "to compensate" are thus synonymous concepts in this case, and from this comes the designation bangun for wergild.

I 681 682 What has already been noted about all fines, namely, that they are regarded less as punishment than as compensation,

Nias OB11
Minangkabau OB10
Redjang-Lampong OB12
Makassar OB6
Batak OB5

N 682 Mn I [682 567] [461 cont.] on the third day, then the death penalty is executed. This execution is not done by the victim's relatives, but is handled by the public authorities. Among other peoples, too, it is the rule to put the culprit to death if the wergild is not paid in full. Where this is not desired, he is made a slave or bondman of the chief or of the person in whose favor the sentence was pronounced, as is the case, as we have seen, among the Malays, for example.

Mn I 682 651 It is self-evident that the wergild reverts to the relatives of the murdered person. It is a rule among some peoples, however, that part of it is granted to the chiefs who passed the sentence. We find an example of this among the Minangkabau Malays. Where this rule does not exist, an extra fine is not infrequently imposed on the culprit on behalf of the chiefs. We find this mentioned for the Redjang and the people of Pasemah. RL Mn 682 651 Also, in various regions of Benkulen, homicide is punished, not only by the bangun, but also by a fine to [462] the council of chiefs. Of the peoples outside Sumatra, we want to call attention only to the Makassarese and the Buginese. When the party MK 682 guilty of homicide is sentenced to pay the sapu or tokkong, the wergild, a fine is also imposed, which is as large as the wergild and is called tonra. This word, at least in Buginese, actually means "to draw on, to drag on"; the fine is called this because it is dragged on by the sapu or tokkong, that is, it follows the sapu or tokkong. I Mn

683 Mn RL N We can be brief about bodily injuries. As in the case of homicide, this, too, requires the payment of some compensation, called pampas among the Minangkabau Malays. The amount depends primarily on the nature of the injuries inflicted.

MK I BL 685 There are two more crimes to be noted, theft and adultery. As we have seen above, the law of vengeance is still generally applied upon discovery in the act. If this law is not applied, then among some peoples the punishment for this crime is simply the return of what was stolen or its value in compensation, and if the thief cannot do this, then to serve the owner as slave or bondman. Among a few peoples, besides the return of what was

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

2162 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other
513 for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
● 682 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

833 /174 cont./ Such a person is kept isolated from attempts
789 which are applied to make the marriage a success nonetheless.
683 In view of the fact, however, that one can never be sure that a certain individual has not uttered a spell against the prospering of the marriage partners, one never hears of stronger reactions, such as the meting out of punishment.

Even though it is accepted of a man or woman that he
833 (she) does not want to have any sexual intercourse with his
832 (her) spouse, one does not simply rest satisfied with this situation. After the actual wedding feast is /175/ over, one searches for ritual in order even yet to bring about the desired result.

In addition to many well-known and easily observable traits, the ritual generally has details which differ with every individual who performs it. These details need not be apparent. What makes the ritual a success in a certain case may be present precisely in the nonobservable details. It is never possible to know beforehand which detail it is that will bring success.

Different people accordingly test their powers in a case where the marriage partners are not good together. The ex-Imam of Borongloë was successful a number of times, after others had failed, when a few years after the marriage was concluded, he repeated the Moslem rite. This is called "marrying anew" (nikka' poleang). This ritual was unknown in a number of regions in South Celebes. Personal initiative in clearly observable ritual matters is to be found here.

585 The wedding festival consists of a multiple ritual of which the subordinate elements are performed over a period of time from 3 to 14 days and in a more or less fixed sequence.

Several actions that are forbidden in everyday life are here performed for the first time, surrounded as they are by ritual. As such we should mention the first touch of the woman by the man, the first meal together, being bathed together, and wearing a single sarong together. The older

835 /34 cont./ frequently than those between members of the same family. Such relationships are sometimes also regarded as incest (salimara'). Irrespective of kinship relationship /sic/ these /sexual/ relationships are always considered especially reprehensible.

[583 588] In a case where a man fled with his wife's niece (kamanakang), this was the reason that the reconciliation, otherwise customary after a flight, could not be brought about (1).

1. Compare Chapter III, third part. See pp. ff.

582 835 A marriage between children of the first marriage of a widower and a widow who later married so that their children came to belong to one household was forbidden in rural areas. In Macassar such a marriage was contracted. The person performing the marriage ceremony took the point of view that no objections were to be found against such a marriage under Moslem law.

835 Relations of a man with his brother's daughter or sister's daughter, or with his father's sister or mother's sister, is regarded as salimara'. The native courts punish these cases [684] with banishment for the same number of years as was cited above with respect to relations between a father and daughter. The first mentioned, that between a man with a woman of a lower generation, occurs much more frequently than the last named, that with a woman of a higher generation. The reason for this difference in frequency is said to be /35/ that a young girl has greater difficulty in resisting her uncle than a woman with regard to her nephew. From this it may again be concluded that the common opinion is that the evil initiative toward sexual contact proceeds from the man. [538] Myths or other stories concerning such relationships are unknown to me. According to rumors, such relationships did

835 /35 cont./ occur at the courts of princes without being further discussed in public, even though they led to pregnancy.

In the same manner the court of justice handled a case
684 of a man's relations with his stepdaughter, and that of a man
835 with his stepgranddaughter. The court of justice declared
593 that although no blood relationship existed between the accused,
608 these two young women were nevertheless regarded as daughter and granddaughter respectively, because they had lived with their stepfather and stepgrandfather from childhood on and had been reared by them. Here there exists a certain doubt, therefore, whether the case can be regarded as salimara'.[1]
608 Cases of sexual relation between a woman and her stepson
835 were not registered. This does not mean that these do not occur. At the most it may mean that these cases occur less frequently than those in which the man belongs to the higher generation (1).

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1. The idea exists that when a widower remarries, his second wife treats her stepchildren with less kindness than her own. No heart-rending examples of this could be noted, however. In
[754] one case the hostile attitude originated with the two girls who suspected their stepmother of having killed their own mother by means of a formula (pangassengang), in order to be able to marry their father.

The relationship of a man
[578] with his stepson is a tense one. Quarrels occur that lead to physical violence and fights such as are unknown between a man and his own son.

1[i.e. incest. - Ann'st]

587 /35 cont./ In several cases a man married the younger
835 sister of his deceased wife. One likes to see sisters "succeeding each other on the pillow" because it is believed that the children from the first marriage will be better taken care of by someone who already knows them well than by a stranger, and also because by such a marriage existing ties in the family are continued. At the same time, several cases were
[837] registered in which a man made his wife's sister pregnant.

Such a relationship generally is not regarded as salimara'. /36/ It does, however, cause a great deal of commotion because, according to the decrees of Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at one and the same time. In such a case the man must first oust his wife, therefore, and only after the iddat period has elapsed, may he marry her sister. During the entire period, he, like the pregnant woman, is tumannjala (1) with respect to her brothers and other male

1. See Chapter III, third part.

relatives.

[578] It is said that this man has made two women unhappy at once. Reconciliation takes place less readily, and the commotion is greater than in the case of an "ordinary"
[684] marriage by flight. In a verdict handed down by the Sawitto Native Court, a couple was sentenced for salimara' in such a case. In his opinion on this verdict, Dr. A. A. Cense called this interpretation incorrect. He thought that only after the decrees of Moslem law became known did the notion arise that this relationship should also be regarded as salimara'. I cannot declare myself in entire agreement with him on this point. The interpretation does show, however, that, just as in the cases of sexual contact between a man and his stepdaughter, here, too, a doubt exists as to whether or not this

838 /152 cont./ become apparent that it is not altogether correct to translate the term kawe kawe by homosexual. Lack of a better one led me to use this translation for the time being.

The distinction connotes that homosexuality is accepted as abnormal, but nonetheless as an existing phenomenon just like an albino or a deaf-mute. In 1949 there were no men living in the kampong Bontoramba who were regarded as kawe kawe. In all of Borongloë (around 14, 000 inhabitants), there may have been five. Compared with other adat communities, this number will probably /153/ seem small. The reason for
[684 this is that the adat community head to whom, as a believing
634] Moslem, these kawe kawe were already a thorn in the side anyway had threatened to cut off the hair of each one (some of them wore their hair down to their shoulders) because one of them had made a young girl pregnant. As a result many of the kawe kawe left Borongloë. Only a few stayed. I was repeatedly able to observe one of them. Here follows a brief description of his outward appearance and behavior. His name was Taking.

Taking was thirty-five years old and lived with a married brother. They were a poor household, but only when it was completely necessary did Taking work in the sawah. Usually and by preference he would spend his time in the back part of the house with the women. In his manner of sitting and speaking and in clothing he was scarcely distinguishedable from them. At the kin-group festivals in the house of the adat community head, he worked hard in the kitchen, helping with preparations. On such occasions he frequently did the unpleasant work of keeping the strongly smoking fire going, work which generally is performed by lower women. At the ritual at the climax of the festival, however, he was, along with a number of older women, relatives of the head, the one who participated in its arrangement. Both the kitchen work
[554 and the conduct of the ritual were in the hands of women at

545 [586] /169 cont./ latter, after a certain period of time had elapsed, asked for a divorce on the grounds that she was no longer being supported by him. In another case, the second wife escaped with another man (1). But sometimes the man

[684]

1. Officially this is called adultery, and the man should behave as though he were siri'. In reality he agreed to the divorce nor did he make an attempt at stabbing; nor do his relatives expect him to take the initiative which might lead to her being sentenced by the judge for adultery.

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545 578 In the majority of cases, however, the first wife accepts the new state of affairs. But her relationship with her rival remains notoriously bad. Abuse, hateful remarks about the stupidity, the low blood, or about certain physical characteristics of the other woman, are common expressions of her feelings. These she airs more to her female housemates, however, than to her spouse. Older women teach her that the latter is inadvisable. In one of the old lontar of the Prince of Goa there occurs the following rule which aptly characterizes the conditions /170/: "This is the rule concerning murder. [682 672] If we murder our co-wife, no matter where, and if we tell this to the people who come running to the scene, saying, 'I have killed my co-wife,' then there will be no revenge taken upon us." (1)

1. This translation was saved as part of the prewar manuscript. The lontar from

582 /208 cont./ In case of a marriage which is regarded as
585 unfavorable, extra ritual is performed in order to assure a favorable outcome nonetheless. /209/

Selection of Marriage Partners according to Status (Hypergamy)

554 Marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden.
582 It is simply regarded as impossible. "It cannot be" (tena nakulle) is the reaction to such a suggestion.

835 Any contact of a man with a higher woman is also strictly
554 prohibited. This is indicated by the same term (salimara'), used to denote a sexual relationship between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ which is known as incest.

It is believed that if salimara' takes place the country will be overcome with misfortune. It is said that the paddy will no longer grow and that no more children will be born in
[731] such a case. In the case of crop failure or an epidemic, one accordingly looks for people suspected of having committed salimara'.

684 The guilty couple must be punished by death. In the old lontar one reads that the blood of these people may not touch the earth; they must be drowned. The hadat (native court of
[692] law) punished this offense during the last decades with the banishment of the couple for a few years to different places outside the realm. After the period set by the court of law had elapsed, these people did not return to their kampongs; the danger of being stabbed to death in spite of the judge's sentence still seemed to be too great (1).

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1. This is a direct consequence of the fact that under the influence of the administration these offenses were always very lightly

684 /209 cont./ 692

punished by the native courts of law. Incest and, a fortiori, the contact situation of a man with a higher woman is not entered as an offense in the Penal Code. As a result, persons guilty of incest cannot, on the whole, be punished through government jurisdiction. In these districts the administration gives them protection in the form of a very brief punishment pronounced by the magistrate's court (elsewhere the district court, old style), coupled with the advice not to return to the kampong. This applies equally to violation of rules concerning contact between a man and a higher woman.

554 582 Prohibition of hypergamy is a well-known phenomenon in many cultures. In South Celebes the sharp reaction to transgression is the only striking thing. An explanation of this circumstance therefore will only be attempted.

554 A Makassarese occupies toward his equals and near equals a position of constant opposition. A fixed vertical articulation has not come about. His female relatives, and primarily his sister, constitute for him the point of departure in his striving to /210/ rise. They are a fixed point for him in this respect.

554 /210 cont./ A woman "may not go down." Impairment of
[558] her social standing constitutes for her male relatives, and especially for her brother, an affront to their striving to rise. They are injured in one of the very few fixed points which they possess.

565 A Makassarese stands in a relationship of cooperation to a superior or an inferior. High and low have common interests. Together they are best able to realize their own aspirations to rise. The lack of an opposition element lends their mutual relationship an emotional security which is absent elsewhere.

An expression of competition between an inferior and a superior entails an impairment of existing relationships between high and low. The reaction to such an impairment is generally
554 a sharp repudiation. The superior tries to maintain existing
565 relationships because these give him emotional security which he lacks elsewhere, because his attempts to rise can only be successful through his tie with inferiors, and finally because his rights and duties towards inferiors provide him with advantages that he does not like to be without.

684 Violation of contact prohibitions between a man and a
554 higher woman also signifies for a Makassarese an impairment
565 of an important, fixed point of comparison in his striving for high /status/, and an impairment of the existing relation between high and low. Thus it means the impairment of two elements that are of essential importance to him in his culture. He faces a situation with which he feels himself unable to cope, and in his opinion there remains nothing else to do than to kill the person who has done this to him (adjallo').

That a violation of the contact prohibition between a man and a higher woman is indicated by the same term as that between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ probably means only that it is regarded as equally serious.

554 Such violation is therefore more serious than if contact
684 prohibitions are violated between equals or near equals. In the

554 /210 cont./ latter case, a marriage may still take place.
684 Then there arises a relationship between "the people who feel siri'" and "the fleers," a relationship which opens up the /211/ possibility of circumventing the killing that is also prescribed in this case. Ultimately, though only after years, a reconciliation can come about. This entire complex will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

Third Part

The Siri' Phenomenon

554 Vertical mobility occurs by means of opposition relation-
571 ships. Men between fifteen and forty years, and especially the younger ones among them, must face each other in a lasting relationship of challenge and outdoing. Each challenge and outdoing demands a reaction. The person who does not react, that is to say, the one who does not participate in what is regarded as important in this culture, has little social standing. The feeling of someone who is outdone is indicated by siri' (1). Someone is siri' when his social standing is

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1. Matthes (Woordenboek, p. 583) translates the word siri' by "ashamed, diffident, shy, shame, sense of honor, disgrace." But to a Makassarese, siri' has an entirely different meaning than these words have for a Dutchman. The meaning fits equally little that of the

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an
558 attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number
689 of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise, in social standing is touched at the core through impairment of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

558 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women, and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the silariang complex. A number of its aspects will now be discussed.

● 684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings about siri', is always held against both man and woman. Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger. For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house, and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which [583] therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated in the literature by "siliariang" marriage.

684 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for
627 contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only
588 be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who caused siri' in this way must be killed, because only in this way can the challenge be answered and the siri' feeling of the challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

554 /213 cont. / On this occasion there is always a superior,
588 functionary or someone of higher blood present, because only
627 then does an inferior control his siri' /214/ feelings. It would
684 be a great discourtesy to act according to one's own opinions against the wishes of a superior and on top of that in the superior's presence. In a conflict of impulses to kill or not to kill, the presence of the superior makes not killing acceptable.

A superior, however, cannot without further ado impose his will upon inferiors. More clearly than elsewhere there appear here the limits of power that a superior has over an inferior. Coercion on the part of the superior to bring about a reconciliation has as a consequence not only the fact that no reconciliation is brought about, but it even intensifies existing difficulties. Below, we shall see examples of this.

588 After reconciliation there is no more question of siri';
607 relationships are again normal. But during the entire period,
684 from the moment of the flight to the reconciliation, the relationships between the fleers, tumannjala ("people who have made a mistake"), and the wife's male kinsmen, the tumasiri' ("people who are siri'"), is bound to various rules. In practice there are many generally accepted ways of meeting the difficulties that have arisen through these siri' feelings, which will be described below. One repeatedly comes upon situations, or hears opinions defended by those involved, which are comprehensible only on the basis of ideas concerning challenging and killing. This does not mean that each silariang marriage is intended in the first place as a challenge, but it is regarded as such. Subsequent conduct is in accordance with it.

627 A man who has been made siri' by a violation of sexual
684 prohibitions is therefore expected to kill the one who has transgressed. But it is not a matter of indifference how this killing takes place. By preference, it must be done in a manner worthy of a man, that is to say, by a stab with a knife (badi') in the open.

627 /214 cont./ One who acts in this manner does not do so
684 in blind rage. He knows exactly whom he wants to stab. In such a case one speaks of adjallo' (1). A man whose sister

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1. See above, p. 74. It is completely incorrect to speak in such a case of "amuck"; this term covers an entirely different psychic state. Compare Professor van Wulfften Palthe, "De psychologie van de amok /The Psychology of the Amok/," Fakkel, 1941.

fled years ago and who stabbed her to death at an accidental encounter showed no remorse for his deed, but nonetheless was saddened about her death. He lamented the fact that he /215/ had encountered her. Given this encounter, however, he had been unable, as he saw it, to act in any other way unless he wanted to be regarded as a man without honor. Thus he was in a situation in which he saw no other way out than to kill.

Led before the judge, a defendant in a similar case
627 generally confesses without hesitation. In answer to the
671 question how he came to do the deed, he reports that the
682 victim -- in the most fortunate case the maltreated person --
684 made him siri', and he regards this as sufficient motivation because every Makassarese immediately understands this involves his female relatives, and, on the basis of that, sympathizes with his deed.

Once they are sentenced by the judge, the defendants
[695] rarely appeal. They accept the decision without further ado. They regard their deed as an honorable male act and not as a misdeed. Toward the judge who must sentence them they want to confess nobly, and they do not want reduced

627 671 682 684 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation. Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she [626]

1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often remarried very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lale).

588 A man and a woman who flee together generally get married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet "a socially recognized union between members of the opposite sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question. The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter, [428] and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from her parents (1).

428 /216 cont./ 1. The religious judge
588 (sjarat) acknowledges the share of the inheritance which is due her, but in the case of an "ordinary" division, that is to say, a division which takes place without the religious judge, her existence is officially ignored. At the most this relationship is used as a pretext, without being expressly stated as such, to leave the estate entirely or partially undivided.

593 The first person eligible to act when a woman has taken
684 part in a contact situation is her brother. A little poem
627 illustrates this:

[539]

Sari'battangadji todjeng,	Only the brother is the true,
iadji kalli' madjarre';	he alone is the strong fence,
pindu' tjikali	where cousins
naempoi ranggasela.	of the sixth and fourth degree waver.

There is no mention here of the girl's father. He is the one who must give the official consent to the marriage and later to the reconciliation, but if his son does not agree, he [602] gets into difficulties. Officially, all male kinsmen of the woman are siri' when she has fled, but those who take an active part in such a case are, in the first place, her brother and sometimes also a cousin of the fourth degree, or a follower (2) of her father. The boundaries cannot be sharply

2. "His siri' is that of his master," it is said.

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602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
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3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/," Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri', /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
114 great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status, nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

588 /217 cont./ 1. The suggestion I made
684 in 1938 to the effect that a
[114] deeper knowledge of the Makassarese marriage arrangement would clarify the reasons that lead to a silariang marriage has therefore proved incorrect. See /Ibid./ Vol. 149, p. 334.

Silariang is inevitably preceded by a violation of rules concerning social intercourse between the sexes, regardless of whether this was intentional or not. Only when one continues to search for the reasons leading to the transgression of these social rules, does one find the desire on the part of the individuals whose marriage is prevented by social or economic factors and who therefore resort to silariang.

521 Even if nobody else knows of this transgression but the
684 man and the woman, the latter can still not be sure that he will not boast of it in order to appear as a "ladies' man" among his companions. Boasting of success with women is typical of young men (tau rungka). They like to suggest extensive successes, even though actually little more has happened than that a number of significant glances were exchanged, and a few remarks of a general nature but, in his opinion, cleverly stated were made in her presence. At the same time, a young man has a valid reason for remaining vague when he makes such boasts, for if he were to be too explicit, so that another could understand to whom he is referring, his bragging immediately imperils the girl. Then
[626] her brother might hear of it. The fact that people "talk about her" is one of the worst things that can happen to a young woman. In that case she must certainly flee because
[558] her brother or cousin can do nothing but stab unless he wants

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

[571] When she is being discussed, one of the older women, sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 672] moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say,
[602] they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to
[562] see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him
[626 siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
558] without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

588 /220/ In the case of a silariang marriage, the man must
684 pay a fine (kasalaang). The person performing the marriage ceremony records this payment in the marriage register. The money is kept and offered to the wife's father during the reconciliation. The latter does not want to accept the fine directly during the performance of the marriage because in so doing he would again recognize a tie with his daughter that he does not want. He therefore often asks the imam, the man who has performed the wedding ceremony, to accept this money as a "good gift" (sidakka'). That is the practice in Borongloë. Elsewhere, the marriage official hands this fine over to the wife's father directly after the marriage has been performed.

177 A few observations can be made concerning the origin
627 of this local difference. This fine formerly used to be called,
684 "cutting off what is pointed," or "making blunt what is sharp"; this meant that after the receipt of the fine no reason for stabbing was thought to exist any more (1). The fine was

1. Cf. C. T. Bertling, "Huwelijk en huwelijksrecht in Zuid-Celebes /Marriage and Marriage Law in South Celebes/," /Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht,/ Vol. 147, p. 203. /Batavia, 1938./

regarded as an element of the reconciliation, and for that reason was not paid until that occasion. Makassarese feelings linked the receipt of the fine to the end of the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship.

177 Shortly after the South Celebes expedition of 1905, the
627 number of stabbings based upon a silariang affair seems to
648 have been very large. At that time the administration looked
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177 /220 cont./ for means to limit this number. In 1906,
627 Governor Kroese issued a circular letter in which he made the
648 suggestion designed to cause the fine to be paid directly at
684 the nikka' and to be accepted by the wife's wali, in cases of silariang marriage. He hoped that the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship would be directly removed in this way.

However carefully the suggestion may have been handled, the pressure that was exerted was nonetheless too strong. Since that date the fine has in fact been paid at the nikka' in a great many districts, but the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship nonetheless has remained in existence. Only when we keep in mind these historical facts can we understand why, in a certain region where the wife's father accepts the fine at the nikka' but the sunrang not until the reconciliation, 'making blunt what is sharp' now indicates this sunrang.

684 /221/ According to Moslem law, the wife's wali may
582 refuse his consent to a marriage on the basis of the fact that the woman is of a higher status than the man. In an ordinary case such a difference is reason for refusing a marriage request, even if a different reason is given: "It is not seeming that they should marry" (taena nasiratang), is the usual
[588] expression. If the wali in a case of silariang refuses to give his consent on these grounds, the imam separates them, unless the couple desires to carry through the marriage. In that case the affair goes before the judge. If the decision states that the woman is higher than the man, they are separated. Rather than seeing her married to a man of lower blood, the kinsmen will take her back again though she made them siri'.

684 After such a separation by authority of the imam or judge,
695 there no longer exists any tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship. The functionary concerned reports to the tumasiri' that the

684 /221 cont. / affair is herewith ended and that neither man
695 nor woman may be subjected to any more difficulties. In practice, however, the man, at least initially, does not show his face in a kampong where many of the woman's kinsmen reside. For safety's sake he does not do so until, for instance, she is married to another man, and feelings with regard to him have quieted down somewhat.

626 The feelings with respect to the woman who has been
684 taken back home by her own kin group have not yet completely calmed down either. She has committed a mistake which lies more in the area of the salimara' than that of silariang. She is familiar with the danger connected with it and therefore takes care to conduct herself as inconspicuously as possible, so that her male kinsmen will be reminded as little as possible of her existence. In the few cases that such a separation took place, the woman was practically always married off shortly thereafter. In a single case where this did not happen, she
[588] fled three years later with another man likewise lower. This time the wali nonetheless had to give his consent for the marriage under pressure from the imam, who pointed out that he had taken poor care of this woman's siri' by not finding a man for her.

684 As a reason for having fled with a man, a girl sometimes
834 states that he forced her to do so and that he threatened to kill her if she did not go with him. The jurist who /222/ would accept "forcible abduction," in all such cases would make a mistake. It could not be expected of a girl to confess, even as a sworn witness before the judge, that she went with her "abductor" of her own volition. This would be a sign that she desired him, and this cannot be expected from any woman who is brought up in the idea that the display of this desire (lale) is greatly reprehensible (1).

1. In such a case one might consider not swearing in the abducted woman, of whom it

684 /222 cont./ cannot be expected that
834 she would speak the truth
on this point.

Nor does a man need to use force if he wants to coerce a woman to flee with him. By making her siri', he leaves her no choice. It would then be too dangerous for her to remain at home. Her brother would be able to do little else than stab her. Occasionally a man may purposely make a woman siri' and thereby force her to flee with him because he wants to marry her while she does not desire him for a husband. But [626] more frequently the reason is that his kinsmen desired this union, and their request for it was turned down. For the young man, a remark such as: "Why are we refused?" is then tantamount to a command to respond to the insult of such a refusal. And he can do this in no better way than by forcing a flight.

177 Under modern circumstances in Macassar, conditions are
834 frequently somewhat different. If girls continue to attend school after they have become marriageable, their contact with young men is quite different from those under the conditions previously described. In such a situation her fear of contact with a young man is less, because now there are subjects about which she can talk to him without danger. At the same time the attitude of the young men changes. They no longer regard themselves as siri' if their sister talks to one of their school friends.

177 It is possible that the number of silariang marriages in this
588 younger generation is larger than in the country because, on the one hand, the opportunity for the young people to carry out their own choice against that of their parents is much greater, and, on the other hand, the danger of being stabbed in these circles is decreasing rather /223/ than increasing. Figures are not available. At the same time there are arguments which explain why the number is not much larger

177 /223 cont./ already. This is connected with the fact that
588 silariang is regarded as bad (kodi) and a festive wedding as good (badji'). A young man who likes a girl may ask her whether she wants to flee, but he will immediately accept her refusal when she says that she does not want to make her mother unhappy, or that she does not want to do "the bad," that is to say, silariang.

177 A modern young woman who associated very freely with
588 young men -- she went alone to run errands in the toko /stores/
834 and conversed with her male colleagues in the normal school when she met them on the street -- met with considerable
[626] criticism from her aunts and older sisters. They called her a street broom and assured her repeatedly that she would come to an evil end. She received many requests to flee, and most of these were made not so much through a lust for adventure, but rather as a consequence of the fact that many young Makassarese men from a good house find it pleasant to marry a modern young woman who can get along in company. Silariang was therefore a means for them to carry out their wishes against those of their parents. But this young woman steadfastly refused; "I want to show that I can be modern in a good way" (eroki kupappatjinikang kamoderengangku), she would say, and the young men would be content with that. She indicated that prohibited contact in and by itself did not need to have bad consequences in the form of a marriage by flight.

Erangkale

588 One speaks of "silariang" when a man and woman flee
684 together, and of "erangkale" (literally, "to bring one's self") when the woman runs away from home alone to the man who has made her siri'. Reasons for these two forms of silariang are not different either in principle or in consequences. Frequently, it depends upon an accident whether a woman

588 /223 cont./ leaves alone or with the man. I call it an
684 accident, for instance, whether she succeeds in arranging a rendezvous for the flight through an intermediary. The fear that upon (unintentional) forbidden contact, the reaction will be a /224/ stab with the knife is always one of the motives for her flight.

588 When a woman flees to a man, the latter can do nothing
626 but go with her. He would be no "man," not even in the
558 opinion of his own kin group, if he did not do so. Rather than letting it be said of him that he "flees from a woman," he goes with her to the village or religious functionary, marries, and in so doing invites all the difficulties which a silariang marriage brings with it. Then he behaves as beseems a man.

588 It is assumed as a matter of course that a woman who
626 takes refuge with a man has reason for this. The man who
684 refuses marriage in such a case can be sure that he will no longer be an acceptable guest to many people. It is regarded as very reprehensible to make a girl siri' and then not to marry her. I was able to record only two instances of this.

684 When a girl of approximately thirteen years of age had taken refuge with a man of about twenty-six, the latter denied that he had given cause for this. He had known her a long time, so he said, and his feelings toward her had
[626] merely been those of a brother. He lamented what she had done because now they were both siri' in his opinion, she, because she fled, and he because many would be unwilling to accept his refusal and would therefore be loath to receive him in their houses. It is noteworthy about this statement that this man placed the siri' feeling of the woman beside his own. Thus, he ascribes to her siri' feelings which normally only men are supposed to possess, feelings which arise when an attempt, made in public, to attain something fails.

In the other example, the man admitted that he did have some fun with the woman who fled to him (bandjulu',

684 /224 cont./ here used in the sense of "make little verbal jokes"), but he refused to go with her. At the request of her father she was then returned to her kin group by authority of the judge. "We have enough kinsmen who can marry her," was the explanation for this request, and so it happened. In these two instances, the determined attitude of the man was accepted, while at the same time he was not regarded as tumannjala. The explanation for this may be the character /225/ of the girl, who in both cases was known not to possess the modesty and timidity which girls really should have.

588 626 684 A number of times a woman fled to a stranger in the belief that he made her siri', while in his own mind he had done something quite ordinary. Thus, a Christian Sangirese who was appointed as foreman over a number of Makassarese turned in public to the sister of one of them to ask where her brother was. A few days later she fled to him. After having been instructed by friends, he reacted according to Makassarese expectations. He paid the sunrang and the fine and behaved as beseems a good tumannjala until the reconciliation had taken place according to Makassarese custom. Only the Moslem marriage ceremony did not take place.

689 609 When an Indochinese in such a situation refused to marry, the imam took the girl back to her kin group. The latter regarded neither him nor her as tumannjala. "He does not know our adat," they said, and that was a sufficient explanation for them.

834 684 There are countless reasons which make a woman siri' and lead her to take refuge with a certain man. In each case forbidden contact with this man can be demonstrated. Frequently this contact is accidental. The girl who was addressed by the Sangirese just mentioned was at that moment engaged in drawing water. She did not answer, which was perfectly natural from the Makassarese point of view, but her father had observed the situation and said: "I sent you to the well to

684 834 /225 cont./ get water and not to talk." In another case a girl was washing at the well when a ball with which a group of young men were playing raga rolled close to her. She gave the ball a little kick, and the young man who came to get it laughed to her. A few days later she fled to him. Another case concerned a girl who, during one of the ceremonies preceding her wedding, broke wind. One of her cousins immediately took the blame for it: "Don't laugh, people, it slipped out of me," he said. A few days later, the nikka' had already taken place; she fled to him. As it turned out later, she did so at the urging of her aunt: "Go off, do what your siri' demands" (lampako, dongkoki siri'nu), the latter is supposed to have said. Subsequently, she married this man.

/226/ In none of these instances was the woman therefore in any direct danger. In all three of them her action [672] was completely understood, and her kin group was "not very siri'," that is to say, the reconciliation took place within half a year. Rather than remaining siri' and running the risk of being stabbed, these women resorted to flight. Rather than refusing to go with her and not being believed and thus being regarded as one who flees before a woman, the men married. The wife's kinsmen were siri' because she fled and thereby openly admitted that forbidden contact existed. But there certainly was understanding of her action and the feelings that led her to it. In the last of these three cases just described, the deserted bridegroom was also without feelings of rancor toward the second husband. He regarded the course of events as part of his lot. When etiquette had been satisfied [152] through reconciliation, there was no apparent trace of personal feelings of anger in him.

584 /227 cont./ things difficult for the people around her. There
588 always seems to be a sufficient number of unmarried men who
848 would like to get married.

It rarely happens that a child is born without the mother
848 being married. This may happen by way of exception, for instance, if a woman is pregnant by her sister's husband. According to Moslem law, which in this point is strictly followed in Goa, she may not marry this man before her sister is divorced from him and the iddat period is past. Children born outside wedlock are, therefore, a rarity. At the same time they usually die soon. Only once a girl of about eight years of age was pointed out to me in Borongloë as a child who had never had a father. Figures concerning this matter
[163] cannot be given because these births, or the subsequent death of the children, are not recorded in the respective registers. Makassarese fail to see what interests would be served in doing so. They prefer to forget such cases as soon as possible.

A man who marries a woman who was impregnated by
588 another man is called pattongko' siri' ("coverer of the disgrace").
672 Such a marriage is regarded entirely like a silariang marriage.
● 684 No further festivities take place when it occurs. The fine is paid, and the man is tumannjala with respect to his wife's kinsmen until the reconciliation, even though he only attained this status by virtue of the fact that he married her. It is usually a widower or a man of over thirty years who wants to contract such a marriage. Sometimes he is a kinsman of the woman, but in that case always a cousin of the sixth degree (sampopinruang) or further removed, for her closest kinsmen are, in the first instance, tumasiri'.

His action is appreciated. It makes the woman /228/
[848] happy, so it is said, because he saves her and her kinsmen from an even greater disgrace, giving birth to a child without being married. This appreciation is expressed, in the first place, by an early reconciliation, often as soon as a month after the marriage has been contracted. Furthermore, although

588 /228 cont./ during the period between nikka' and recon-
672 ciliation the "pattongko' siri'" is officially regarded as
684 tumannjala, in reality both parties do their best to avoid each other more than usual.

A description of such a wedding will follow here to
588 describe the atmosphere which is so completely different from that prevailing at an ordinary festive marriage, but especially to show also what both have in common. This is Djawi's wedding, which occurred in 1940 in Borongloë. There was no question of a festival here. The tone of the conversations was different from that at a festive wedding, and the ritual had been reduced to a few simple actions.

Djawi had fled from her parental house in a pregnant
588 condition. The man whom she had named as the father of her
848 child had denied this, and she had then been taken to the house of the adat community head to wait there until someone should come to marry her, or, as it was expressed, "to take her disgrace away from her" (angalleangi siri'na), or else, "to let her live" (antallassi). After a few days an immediate
588 uncle of Djawi came to tell her that her uncle of the seventh degree (purina sampopinruang), by the name of Rappung, a divorced man without children, wanted to marry her. The adat community head conveyed this request to her. She already knew Rappung, and therefore she did not have to see him first, and she was given ample time to think the matter over. She continued to be silent, and from this it was concluded that she agreed to the marriage. The head reported this to the Imam of Borongloë, who sent a letter to Djawi's father in which he requested his consent to the marriage of his daughter. The letter included an authorization for the Imam to take his place as wali, an authorization to which only his fingerprint had to be added.

[583] /229/ On this occasion it appeared that the sawah designated as sunrang yielded only 50 sheaves of paddy, while a sawah of 100 sheaves was regarded as customary in such a

602 /234 cont./ with the tumannjala. The acceptance of the
627 cookies is therefore the overt sign that one is in accord with the reconciliation.

The limits of the kin group -- in the first chapter it was described in detail -- are vague. It is therefore impossible to include all those who must receive cookies /235/. At best, therefore, one sees to it that these cookies are offered to the houses of the prominent kinsmen and especially to those of leading men. But the individual who is not content with the reconciliation can easily avoid the cookies. The distribution of the cookies is an outward form which has little significance for the actual relationship. Nor does it seem that it had more significance formerly and that we are therefore dealing here with a so-called "outworn adat."

The same applies to the statement that a tamannjala being pursued is safe from a stab by the tumasiri' pursuing him, if he throws his cap inside the fence of the yard belonging to a kampong head or other functionary. People like to tell of this custom and add that this was formerly the case and that it should really be this way. Recent instances are unknown, however. It always remains a moot question whether, and if so to what extent, the pursuer adhered to this custom even in former times.

Cap and cookies adats are instances of forms which arise where strong feelings demand formalization. For the actual course of events they are of little importance.

684 It is impossible for a woman who has fled and has been
593 left alone, for instance because her husband has died, to
588 bring about a reconciliation with her kinsmen. One other means is nonetheless available to her. She can surrender herself to the mercies of her kin group. Thus a crying woman unexpectedly entered the house of her parents from which she had fled about six years earlier. "Kill me if you wish, here I am," were her words. She gave as the reason for her return the fact that she longed desperately for her mother. Her

684 /235 cont./ arrival aroused a great commotion, but the
593 situation that had thus arisen was accepted, and she was
588 henceforth not regarded as tumannjala. However, such cases remain a rarity.

Even married women resort to this method, though very rarely, if a reconciliation in the customary manner seems impossible. This was done by a woman, for instance, whose husband had taken a second wife and who was now receiving insufficient means of support from him. The same was also done by a childless woman. The action is regarded as a deed
[627] of desperation. In performing it the woman runs the risk of being killed, for in so doing she delivers herself to her brothers who would stab her to death, or at least /236/ would have to make an attempt at doing so in case of an accidental meeting in public. However, her act of desperation has as a consequence that the latter no longer feel the urge to stab. She who originally made them siri' now shows herself lesser than they.

Declaration of Death

There is also a way for the tumasiri' to escape the need to behave as tumasiri'. This is the "declaration of death." "I no longer have a child, neither in this world nor in the hereafter" (1), are the customary words. It is also said that

1. Tenamo anakku rilino nariahereka.

the child is "declared dead" (2) by the one who has spoken

2. Nimateangi.

these words, that he has cast it out (3), that it is no longer

3. Natallaki ana'na.

684 /236 cont./ recognized by him as his child (4). This
593
588

4. Nisassali rimanggena.

declaration sometimes takes place in the mosque in the presence of the imam and other prominent men of the adat community. This simply adds more force to the words. The declaration can also be made at home without any intentional witnesses.

The utterance of the words may, in the first instance, be coupled with some ritual in the form of offering psang. On that occasion the religious official recites the initial words of the Koran. It is said that thereby the Prophet is regarded as another witness to the utterance of the declaration (5).

5. Nipappisa'biangi rina'bia.

Modern Islamites repudiate this ritual. They speak contemptuously of "the pisang reading" (amattja unti).

The consequence of this declaration of death, which is closer to the Islamic than the ancestral world, is not that a child is thereby regarded as disinherited. The religious judge (sjarat) took no account of it in regulating the personal estate of a man who had declared his daughter dead.

In practice it seems to be principally the father of the
593 fled woman who at present makes use of such a declaration.
588 Her brothers do not do so; they do not regard themselves bound
684 by their father's declaration. They consider themselves free,
627 both in their attempts to kill her, as well as in giving their assent to the reconciliation. /237/ Repeatedly, a tacit recall takes place as the father later also gives his consent to the reconciliation. But it also has happened that a reconciliation came about with all the tumasiri' except the woman's parents.

593 /237 cont./ In yet another case the brothers and cousins of
588 the woman tacitly agreed with the declaration uttered by
684 their father. In this case she had fled to a lower man, and
627 therefore the tumasiri', as they asserted, could not act as is otherwise customary after silariang.

Frequently, a special reason can be given for the deposition of such a declaration of death. The fact that a man regularly walked past the house of his wife's father in an insolent manner before the reconciliation, when he should have kept himself outside the view of his tumasiri' as much as possible was a reason for the latter to feel extra siri'.
593 Another man whose daughter had gone to live with a distant kinsman at the pasar of Borongloë and who was there receiving
684 various men saw in this a reason to repudiate her.

The declaration of death seems to be a new institution.
684 It relieves the tumasiri' of their duty to stab. On the other
627 hand, it makes a reconciliation difficult. The fact that
[177] existing ties are considered to be completely broken diminishes both the chance of stabbing as well as of reconciliation.

If siri' feelings, which in affairs concerning women can only be reconciled by death, could in future increasingly be satisfied by a declaration of death, we would have here an opportunity of solving the conflict in a manner less harmful to the many men who at present now realize that the honor of their related group is too dearly paid for by a jail sentence of an average of eight years. /238/

SUMMARY

105 In Makassarese culture four different forms of grouping can be distinguished, each with its own function.

554/241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely de-
612 limited group and that the standing of relatives among each
684 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
689 found -- with one single exception: the karaëng and the
[562] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.

I [451 cont.]
671 whereby vengeance can be bought off with money or goods.
681 The criminal law of the Malay Archipelago is already largely at this stage of development. Everywhere here we see that the law of vengeance has been limited to a system of fines, whereby each crime, in all its variations, is valued at a definite sum for which it is fined. Only where it is exercised in continenti is the law of vengeance still permitted without restriction. In
Mn 684 the first place this applies to adultery. We find it reported for the Minangkabau Malays, for example, that if anyone catches his wife in the act of committing adultery and kills her and her accomplice on the spot, this is recognized as a righteous punishment for the crime. If, however, someone other than the husband detects the adulterers and this is properly proved, or if the deceived husband does not make use of his right of vengeance, then the culprits are fined. According to Marsden,
RL 684 the same provision exists among the Redjang. Concerning the Pasemah people, we read that if someone enters the house of another with the intention of committing adultery with the wife, the husband has the right to kill him if he catches him in the act. If the culprit is caught outside the house, however, then he may not be killed, but is fined from four to twenty Spanish piasters [Spaansche matten].

Bl 684 Also among the Balinese, it is a rule that the deceived husband [452] may apply the law of vengeance. If the matter has been reported to the sovereign, however, this right is withdrawn.

MK J ● 684 A like provision was formerly applied among the Javanese and still is among the Makassarese. Thus it is said, "If someone tells another that a woman is committing adultery he may do nothing, even though the informant is a reliable person. If he catches his wife in coitus, however, then he may kill her. If she hastily flees to court, then she may not be killed, and after the matter has been legally investigated, the culprit is punished with a fine."

N 684 On Nias, too, the injured spouse may kill both culprits if he

2: Wilken--516 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Redjang-Lampong OD22 Makasser OG6
Atjehnese OD4 Nias OD11
Javanese OE5 Lombok OF12
Batak OD5 Ngadju OC9
Bali OF7

MK 681 [465 cont.]

N each holding an end in his hand. Strangulation also occurs
[681 among the Niassans and is done as primitively as among the
684] Makassarese and Buginese. The punishment of drowning is
MK found more commonly. It is applied primarily for incest and
Bl as an alternative for adultery if the fine is not paid. Such is
L
R-L the case among the Makassarese and Buginese, the Balinese,
Ng the Sasak, the Lampong and the Dajak, at least among the Olo
681 Ngadju, who inhabit the southeastern division. The execution
684 is done simply by tying a stone around the culprit's neck, as
among the Buginese, by sewing him into a sack half-filled with
stones and rice as among the Balinese and Sasak, or by putting
him into a basket weighted with stones, as among the Dajak,
MK and throwing it in the sea or river. [466] Drowning also occurs
N among the Niassans, and on Atjeh thieves are done away with
A
681 in this manner. Besides drowning, we should mention another
type of punishment, whereby the condemned is put on a raft
of areca trunks and put to sea so as to drift away. This is done
by the Buginese, who call it ripali, and by the Atjehnese.
Bl Among the Balinese there is also burning alive, which is some-
L times applied for incest. Other death penalties are tearing the
681 offender apart, known on Bali and Lombok as mapèntang,
letting him starve to death, and burying him alive. We must
point out still another peculiar way of executing the death
Bt sentence among the Batak; in some cases, for example, for
681 adultery, it is coupled with eating the body of the culprit.
266

Among the corporal punishments there is first of all the
J meting out of blows with a stick or cane. This punishment
681 has a prominent place in the Javanese law codes in particular
and it is most commonly applied as an alternative for nonpay-
ment of fines or for adultery. Mutilating punishments, too,
Bl such as chopping off one or another part of the body, are not
681 rare. In former times on Bali the princes had the custom of
cutting off the hand, putting out the eyes, etc., of a person
I from whom nothing much could be collected. But enough.
681

I 681 [466 cont.]
I refer those who wish to learn more about such atrocities to my essay on criminal law among the peoples of the Malayan race.

Among the punishments involving forfeiture of liberty, mentioned third, there are slavery and bondage, which have Bl already been mentioned, and exile, which we discussed in I 681 connection with the joint liability system. Finally, there is imprisonment, which, however, is little known in the Malay Archipelago. Only among the Balinese do we find mention of a kind of prison, pankèng or krankèng, a sturdy wooden pen in which the prisoner is forced to remain in a recumbent position during his imprisonment. If this imprisonment lasts a long time the condemned man not infrequently perishes in his own filth, because he has to eat his food and take care of his natural functions within this small space, [467] without its ever being cleaned. Besides imprisonment, the Balinese also have punishment in chains. The general practice, however, is confinement in stocks, in which the condemned man often stays so long that he becomes completely rigid and stiff. We have learned of three categories of punishments; there is still another one, however, which has not been mentioned by us, Bt that of humiliation or scorn. They are applied principally for 681 684 theft and adultery. Thus, not infrequently an adulterous woman is shorn bald. This is the case among the Batak, but she can I be exempted by a payment from her father to the injured hus- G 684 band. Punishment by humiliation for the same offense also existed among the Alfoer of the Minahasa. The guilty woman was led around the village amidst the beating of cymbals and drums, while the accompanying crowd gaily sang of her offense. In some places this custom included blackening the MK 684 culprit's face. Among the Buginese and Makassarese it is the custom to chase an adulterous female slave while beating her with a cane. Minor punishments by scorn occur more gen- Mn 685 erally among the Minangkabau Malays, where theft is punished by leading the thief around the village for seven days with the loot tied around his neck. Finally, we must point to the N 685 Niassans. Anyone who steals one or more chickens for the

Again I had several men at the house, including a fairly high turunan radja. We went through about one half of the notes. I asked about the high percentage of unmarried women here and told them that the census reported that this was caused by the high prices. Saleh said no, the price was only f.88 for upper classes and f.20 for a slave. But I noted that he couldn't go to normal school because of the f.65. But, he said, there are ways of getting around this price. For example, one might give a rice field or something in kind rather than money. He said the trouble was mainly in the higher class, as it was hard to find suitable mates. But if it is too difficult one can move down a peg for a mate, but the result then is that the children are of lower status or class. The upper class man said that Fredericy's [i.e., H.J. Friedericy, De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren--Analyst] estimate of 40 pure ana' patola in Goa was rather high. He said that now there is only one, a woman. I think he said that she is not married, but I am not sure. Saleh agreed that it is also possible to run off and thus have a lower price. He also said that there is no real marriage unless the price is paid. All the fussy details apply mainly to the upper classes. And there again I see the fault in the Dutch material. They write of the uppers mostly. There is an absolute rule, a taboo, on a lower man marrying an upper woman [hypergamy]. Punishment for this was formerly death, by drowning. They agreed that this was looked upon as incest and as being sufficient cause of disaster for all. Such results as failure of the rice crop and so forth, might be expected. They put it that the mountains would refuse to send the rain. They laughed when I read from the notes that there was little divorce here because it was so hard to replace a wife. They seemed to agree that there was very little divorce. They said there was relatively little polygamy too, but the old sea captain has two wives now and has had many more. The two never lived together in polygamy now, he said, because they fight. Formerly, they could live in the same house. The present Radja of Goa has two wives.

583 565 435 114 [684] 586 595

Literacy: Saleh said to be careful regarding percentage figures on literacy. He said that everybody learns to read (or at least most people) Makassarese, and many learn to write it. It is taught in school, and also in the homes. Thus he might teach his wife if she were illiterate. He said that in the kampong 70 per cent of the people can read Makassarese and 30 per cent can write it. The figures are lower for Arabic and Roman letters. He has some figures in the material he gave me. He said that school children learn Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic.

212

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes. i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
563 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thou-
755 sands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

M T 582 563 771
M 582 178 585
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M 562 883 178
M 588 565 684
M 575 562

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
[588] must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

and where they have come from. For example, they tell 565
people that they were nobles where they came from. Here 567
is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power 178
of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there 696
were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. 681
If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They 567
became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they 626
have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is
a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember
it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any
event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would [684] [588]
be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or
a woman who married or had something to do with a man of
lower status.

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social 557
sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale 565
by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. 556
The social classes are set.

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it 554
would be better to say that there is some. There are many 531
cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able
to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they
may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which
were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more
wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is
practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all
the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman
and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are
numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes,
terms of address, and manners.

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable 178
flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for 554
an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted 342
only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and 565
nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly 531
use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present.
As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the
"real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide
and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one
except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved
wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used
illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so
used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in
house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was
once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

554 /211 cont./ Indonesian word malu. An attempt at definition will be made below. For the sake of clarity, however, I have left the term untranslated in a number of cases.
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[114
196]

impaired and when another person knows this.

A man is inclined to regard immediately as outdoing any accidental event at an encounter, or a lucky word on his part, by which he raises himself above the other person, at least in his own eyes. The other, when he hears this, is also siri'.

The reaction may consist of a counterchallenge, a returned insult, by which the original challenger in his turn becomes siri'. It is never possible to determine precisely who "began." The mutual opposition is sometimes explained by an event from the past that is regarded as of great importance, for instance, a murder. But with that the question concerning the origin of the mutual opposition is merely put off.

There exists the possibility that the outdone person will [578] respond by stabbing. The consequence of outdoing can therefore never be foreseen. It remains charged with real danger. Many stabbing brawls in South Celebes are proof of that.

/212/ One of the most spectacular challenges is the theft 554 of cattle, horses, or buffalo. Its purpose is, in the first instance, 571 to show one's courage (kaporeanna); only in a few cases are ● 685 economic motives at the bottom of this. Sometimes a warning is uttered beforehand: "I am coming" (that is to say, "to [578] steal your buffalo"). Stealing cattle is done to find a reason for a brawl. A successful buffalo theft is considered a triumph and at the same time a challenge. A cattle theft at the expense of the prince is therefore a great insult.

155 /240 cont./ 1. For the ideas followed
867 here, see A. Kardiner, The Individual and His Society, fourth edition, New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.
571 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same
578 descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle,
[685] and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

Batak OD5
Minangkabau OD10
Portuguese Timor OF4

Nias OD11
Halmahera OH12
Javanese OE5
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7

N [452 cont.]
684 catches them in the act, and even calls for assistance if he believes that the adulterer is too strong. Finally, we should also
H mention the Alfoer of Halmahera; adultery is usually followed
684 by murder, which is not punishable provided it is done in continenti. No less than for adultery, the law of vengeance is applicable for theft, but again only immediately following the deed. This was formerly the rule on Java. As the law stood
J on Java before the supposed arrival of Adji Sâkâ, it was lawful
685 to take the life of a thief who was caught flagrante delicto.
MK The Makassarese rapang also awards this right to the victim,
Bl and the provision in the law code Dewa danda of the Balinese
Bt is no less clear in this respect. Of the peoples of Sumatra,
685 the Batak should be mentioned first. It is permissible to kill immediately a thief who is caught in the act, but once he is held, his life must be honored. This is to be compared with the custom that existed among the Minangkabau Malays of
Mb central Sumatra before the establishment of our authority;
685 upon the discovery of a theft while a market was being held, everyone there had the right to give the detected thief a blow with the fist. Since there was generally a multitude of persons at such places, it very rarely happened that the offender survived; usually he lost his life. Among the Pasemah people, too, we find the provision that [453] anyone is free to kill someone attempting a burglary. This is also the case
N among the Niassans and on Portuguese Timor. We therefore
DT see that the law of vengeance is still applied for adultery and
684 theft, as long as it is exercised in continenti. This is also the
685 case for some other offenses. For example, the laws of Adji
MK Sâkâ state that if someone kills another during a dispute and
I is caught in the act, the relatives have the right to kill him.
685 If he can escape and reach the village chief, then, if a man, he is fined five tahil, if a woman three and a half tahil. The Makassarese rapang also grants this right, papuli, to the relatives of the slain.

N [461 cont.]
682 on the third day, then the death penalty is executed. This exe-
Mn I cution is not done by the victim's relatives, but is handled by
[682 the public authorities. Among other peoples, too, it is the rule
567] to put the culprit to death if the wergild is not paid in full.
Where this is not desired, he is made a slave or bondman of the
chief or of the person in whose favor the sentence was pronounced,
Mn as is the case, as we have seen, among the Malays, for example.
I It is self-evident that the wergild reverts to the relatives of
682 the murdered person. It is a rule among some peoples, how-
651 ever, that part of it is granted to the chiefs who passed the
sentence. We find an example of this among the Minangkabau
Malays. Where this rule does not exist, an extra fine is not
infrequently imposed on the culprit on behalf of the chiefs. We
RL find this mentioned for the Redjang and the people of Pasemah.
Mn Also, in various regions of Benkulen, homicide is punished, not
682 only by the bangun, but also by a fine to [462] the council of
651 chiefs. Of the peoples outside Sumatra, we want to call atten-
MK tion only to the Makassarese and the Buginese. When the party
682 guilty of homicide is sentenced to pay the sapu or tokkong, the
wergild, a fine is also imposed, which is as large as the wergild
and is called tonra. This word, at least in Buginese, actually
means "to draw on, to drag on"; the fine is called this because
it is dragged on by the sapu or tokkong, that is, it follows the
I sapu or tokkong.
Mn We can be brief about bodily injuries. As in the case of
683 homicide, this, too, requires the payment of some compensation,
Mn called pampas among the Minangkabau Malays. The amount de-
RL pends primarily on the nature of the injuries inflicted.
N There are two more crimes to be noted, theft and adultery.
MK As we have seen above, the law of vengeance is still generally
I applied upon discovery in the act. If this law is not applied,
BC then among some peoples the punishment for this crime is simply
685 the return of what was stolen or its value in compensation, and
if the thief cannot do this, then to serve the owner as slave or
bondman. Among a few peoples, besides the return of what was

RL [462 cont.]
Mm stolen or compensation for it, generally double its value, there
N is also a fine, for example, among the Makassarese and Bugi-
MK nese, the Niassans, the Redjang, the people of Pasemah, the
Bt Minangkabau Malays, and the Batak.
I
685 As we have already noted, just as for theft, the law of ven-
I geance is also generally applied for adultery upon discovery in
684 the act. In all other cases, the culprits are simply fined. If the fine is not paid, they are made slaves or bondmen or sometimes put to death. Among some peoples, the adulterer is obliged to marry the adulterous woman and to refund to the injured spouse the bride price for which she was originally purchased.

RL In the case of the wergild, as well as the compensation for
I other crimes, as we have already [463] noted and as is clearly
681 shown by the information, the civil-law character of the punish-
671 ment stands in the foreground. The crime is not regarded as having been committed against the community, against society, but against specific persons. On the other hand, the notion that the crime has injured public feeling, that the peace of the people has been disturbed, and that a fine should be paid for it is not wholly foreign to a few peoples. Therefore an appeasement payment, a peace payment, is imposed on the culprit. We find this mentioned principally among the tribes of South Sumatra,
RL the Redjang, the people of Pasemah, and the Lampong. For ex-
682 ample, among them homicide is punished not only by the bangun
683 and the fine on behalf of the judges, but with the so-called
684 tĕpung bumi, or more precisely tĕpung tawar bumi. This consists of a feast in which the general populace, or at least the chiefs, participate. The meaning is shown by the name itself; tĕpung tawar bumi signifies "means by which the earth is cleansed," that is, of all evils which might follow from the crime. It is thus an appeasement and peace payment. Besides homicide, this fine is required for other crimes, especially for bodily injuries and adultery.

The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that Andi could also work for me. Thus it goes. The Kepala kampong is a fat fellow with a yellow turban. He is called "Mado" which is the Buginese term for Kepala kampong, or rather, Mado Bukaka. His house is not bad, with a ramp on the side structure, but stairs going up into the main part of it. He is no noble, nor are there any bangsawan [titled nobles] in the village. When Sulewatang Udjung ordered, he called together the kali, guru [teachers], and notables (the Sulewatang later told me that family heads are also important). They are a motley crew. They came in and sat around on chairs. The Sulewatang, Andi, the magistrates, and I sat around a table. Coffee and cookies were served. They all listened well and the guru, a good looking young man, seemed especially intelligent. The Sulewatang gave an opening address and I joined in with more and more comments regarding the United States and the need for knowledge of South Celebes. They were quite silent, but one or two nodded and smiled continuously. I got the idea that they will do what they are told. They too were fascinated by my camera. Also, as usual, they plaintively asked (as asked by the Sulewatang) why things are so expensive and hard to get in Celebes, when there is obviously so much of everything in the United States. They are greatly interested in this matter. I tried to explain the fact that the dollar is high and the rupiah low, and also about the foreign exchange currency control. They got the main point. We then went over my notes (I had gone over the Friedericy notes with the Sulewatang the night before). They got the idea and it seems that they want to appear as both modern and as good Mohammedans, as they always shied away at questions regarding such things as spirit belief, old type feasts, and offerings. This was especially true of the Sulewatang, who always said that formerly such and such a practice may have been observed here and perhaps at present is still observed in the mountains, but in this place and at the present time it does not exist. I was told that such practices were mere legends now, but they admitted that in most cases the people still knew about them. 124 342 622 624 565

The next day I talked with the controleur. He showed me the perkara [legal case] records of the office here. In Wadjo, Bone and Soppeng combined there are over one thousand legal cases per year. Many of these pertain to horse and cattle stealing, which is an old custom here. I saw one decision: six months in jail. 691 685

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

/47 cont./

539 773

3. Naandjo taua ammantangi ri birinna agang lompoa.

This man lived along the large road.

4. Naandjo aganga, punna nia' tau ammalo na'bongong iareka nammake pajung, andjo taua balalo mate karampasang.

Now, whenever there were people who came along the way with their sarong over their head or with a pajong /parasol/, these people soon died (1).

[554 576 689]

1. A lower person who appears before a higher one with a sarong over his head or with a pajong, or who simply walks past his house, in so doing shows little respect for him. He can always expect punishment.

5. Nasiapa are sallona andjo taua appakamma naniareng tommo tau tabesse-besse panggaukanna;

And thereupon this man who had that on his conscience was called an evil man in place of a courageous one.

6. Sanggenna andjo taua appasang angkana:

Finally, the following statement was issued to this man:

7. Punna salllang tenama' anrinni (sajanga') punna eroko assarea', nia' antu batu ritangngana pa'rasanganga, andjoremmako sarea';

If in future I will no longer be here (if I will have risen up to heaven) and if you want to give me something, there is a stone there, situated in the middle of the land, there you must then give that to me.

521 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally.
562 They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the
571 same time about topics which they would also discuss at an
576 ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 The forms of social intercourse between men and women
673 are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized
834 by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

These strict rules do not apply to children and older
[561 people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls
858]

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small
[688] dagger/, which frequently results in death.

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

Young women and men often evade each other
571 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
626 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
834 of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
177 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
834 new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

554 /212 cont./ The idea that the person whose social
571 standing is attacked must react, because whoever does not
177 react is low in standing, has led at present to the relative popularity of various modern sports. The English idea in sports that one should be a "good loser" in everything is foreign to the Makassarese. To lose demands a reaction. One does not like to take part in a sport where everyone can directly see by the outcome who has won. In soccer matches standing is already harmed by the first opposing goal. The desire to score with a countering point thereby becomes so excessively great that both individual achievements as well as team play suffer from it. A trailing score is therefore difficult to equalize. Soccer circles in Macassar use this fact to point out that Makassarese have poor morale in competitive situations.

554 In the previous chapter we explained that a woman
558 may not lose any standing. Her position is a fixed point for
689 the men who are constantly outdoing each other. An impair-
627 ment of her standing immediately calls for the most violent reaction, namely, the death of the challenger. Whoever does not react is "matesiri', " that is to say, "socially dead." This is expressed by saying that such a person is no longer "of use, " or that he is generally despised. Killing is used because what has happened is felt to be so bad that no other reaction is considered possible.

However, there are many reasons why a man in such a case prefers not to kill. Fear of the long prison sentence that awaits him or personal feelings of sympathy for the person who committed the transgression are among them. The tendencies to kill and not to kill are both present. And now their relationship is so much off balance that a man is not expected to go and find the person who made him siri' /213/ with the purpose of killing him, but to make a clearly observable attempt to do so in case of an encounter.

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an
558 attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number
of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the
● 689 duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best
be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise,
in social standing is touched at the core through impairment
of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

558 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women,
and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the
silariang complex. A number of its aspects will now be dis-
cussed.

684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between
the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings
about siri', is always held against both man and woman.
Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of
them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment
it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger.
For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house,
and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with
whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which
[583] therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated
in the literature by "siliariang" marriage.

684 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for
contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only
625 be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who
588 caused siri' in this way must be killed, because only in this
way can the challenge be answered and the siri' feeling of the
challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not
the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge
can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about
between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a
certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

684 /224 cont./ here used in the sense of "make little verbal jokes"), but he refused to go with her. At the request of her father she was then returned to her kin group by authority of the judge. "We have enough kinsmen who can marry her," was the explanation for this request, and so it happened. In these two instances, the determined attitude of the man was accepted, while at the same time he was not regarded as tumannjala. The explanation for this may be the character /225/ of the girl, who in both cases was known not to possess the modesty and timidity which girls really should have.

588 626 684 A number of times a woman fled to a stranger in the belief that he made her siri', while in his own mind he had done something quite ordinary. Thus, a Christian Sangirese who was appointed as foreman over a number of Makassarese turned in public to the sister of one of them to ask where her brother was. A few days later she fled to him. After having been instructed by friends, he reacted according to Makassarese expectations. He paid the sunrang and the fine and behaved as beseems a good tumannjala until the reconciliation had taken place according to Makassarese custom. Only the Moslem marriage ceremony did not take place.

689 609 When an Indochinese in such a situation refused to marry, the imam took the girl back to her kin group. The latter regarded neither him nor her as tumannjala. "He does not know our adat," they said, and that was a sufficient explanation for them.

834 684 There are countless reasons which make a woman siri' and lead her to take refuge with a certain man. In each case forbidden contact with this man can be demonstrated. Frequently this contact is accidental. The girl who was addressed by the Sangirese just mentioned was at that moment engaged in drawing water. She did not answer, which was perfectly natural from the Makassarese point of view, but her father had observed the situation and said: "I sent you to the well to

554/241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely de-
612 limited group and that the standing of relatives among each
684 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
688 found -- with one single exception: the karaëng and the
[563] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.

Batak OD5
Celebes OC1
Moluccas OH1
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7

[119 cont.]

Bt 534 Finally, we should include a description of the Batak orchestra to the extent it differs from a Javanese orchestra. We have chosen the Batak orchestra in particular because it is assembled according to fixed rules. A complete orchestra consists of: 1. four gongs, ogung, of various sizes, played by two men; 2. nine gordang, which are beaten with sticks by two men; 3. two odup (tambourines, each played by one person with the hand); 4. the sarune, the flute; and 5. a hawar-hawar, cymbals, played by one person. The whole orchestra consists of eight persons, from which comes its name Si-radja na-uwalu. Such fixed rules are not found among all peoples, however; among most of them, only those instruments that happen to be Mo C 534 available are assembled. When there is a bonang, it is the central feature, for example, in northern Celebes and in the Moluccas. One would look in vain for regularity in their music; it is only a boring ting-tang or an ear-deafening drumming.

Song and Dance

Mo MK Bl I 535 Song and dance are linked with music on the Outer Possessions, too. As a rule dancing is not a profession for women, although there are exceptions, such as among the Makassarese and Buginese, in Palembang, and on Bali. In Palembang they are called pelandok = chevrotain, and they MK [292] wear a [120] peculiar costume, while among the Buginese and Makassarese they are called padjoge. Every native has the right to dance with the padjoge for a payment of 10, 30, or 60 pennies and is then called pangibing. The adat prohibits one MK from walking amidst such persons when they are dancing. If 689 535 a native commits such an outrage, the pangibing will stab him with a kris; if a Hollander should do it, then people shrug their shoulders at such ignorance (1).

2: Wilken--153 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Malays	AN5	Makassar	OG6
Gorontolo	OG4	Sumatra	OG1
Buru	OH8	Moluccas	OH1
Lampong-Redjang	OD12	Batak	OD5

[120 cont.]

MK 689 535 1. Matthes, Bijdrage tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes, p. 127.

I 533 535 Dancing and singing are a part of all festivities and gatherings, but they are done then by the celebrants themselves. Dancing is not always coupled with singing, however, and among the various dances there are the principal kinds: dances with singing, and dances without song. The first is represented S 535 in the so-called mĕnari, which is found primarily on Sumatra. The dancers line up for a kind of row or round dance. The former takes place without singing, the latter with it. The mĕnari corresponds chiefly with the dances of the ronggĕng on Java and therefore consists of artifieial contortions and movements of hands, fingers, and hips (2). The women generally re-

2. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 120. Engelhard, "Het eiland Saleyer," Bijdr. t. d. T. L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 263 ff. The reading of this article is especially recommended on account of the lively style of the author.

Mo Bt 535 main standing in one place while moving the body imperceptibly up and down. The men bend backward and then forward over the women. The mĕnari is also performed among the Batak and in the Moluccas.

Bu B L-R M1 533 538 883 As we have said, there is also the dance without song. At the same time there is the custom of young people of both sexes assembling in the evening in order to address each other in song or to dance. This is the custom, for example, among the Malays, the Lampong, the Redjang, the Alfoer of the Minahasa, the Alfoer of Buru, etc. The little songs that the young people sing to one another on such occasions are called pantun, little verses of four lines of which the first two lines [121] usually have no meaning and only serve to give the terminal rhymes. There are people, however, who assert that

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau ODID Toradja OB11
Bali OF7 Makassar OB6
Borneo OC1
215

the individual body, health and the rules of magic in life, the possession of goods, the relationship to offspring and to married couples, belong practically everywhere to the life-circle of persons, which is protected against encroachment.

B. INDONESIAN TERMINOLOGIES

The various injuries have their own names—sometimes original names, in the case of a closely related group of actions, such as all sorts of theft, although the native names for delicts are very elastic in their meanings, such as "dago dagi" (Minangkabau), meaning disobedience toward those in adat authority, and "kagau gau" (Buginese), meaning to do something bad.

The fines for delicts are established in a specific relation to the offense, which cannot be further explained; for example, three plates for an ordinary insult, three plates and a pig for a serious insult, ten plates for insulting a chief (among the Lawangan Dyaks). This is one sample of the relation between the delict and fine taken at random from thousands of others, all as inexplicable as this.

The fines for delicts frequently show their magic character in their insistence in naming the goods which are owed by the delinquent (so many buffaloes, so many slaves, for instance) and then, without objection, allowing these goods actually to be replaced by objects of small monetary value or by a sum of money.

The fines for delicts have their specific designation in various law-areas, for example: "bosi sebelas kepala tajau" (West Borneo), a pot of the value of ten heads (kepala—head, in Malay) and twelve detached heads, which is the fine not for one sort of delict but for a group of various delicts (probably equal in degree). The Toraja distinguish between offenses committed with the mouth, for which the fine is based on payment in chickens; offenses committed with the hand, for which the fine is based on the value of goats; offenses committed with the whole body, where the fine is based on payment of buffaloes. According to the seriousness of the offense, the actual fine for delict consists, for instance, of a chicken with three things in addition, or of a buffalo with five things added to it, etc. In the Balinese desa, many offenses are punished by a money fine. Thus each law-area has its specific delict and reaction pattern. It seems to be a general characteristic that in cases of theft (and other offenses against property) the fine consists of a payment of twice or several times the value of the stolen property.

The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that Andi could also work for me. Thus it goes. The Kepala kampong is a fat fellow with a yellow turban. He is called "Mado" which is the Buginese term for Kepala kampong, or rather, Mado Bukaka. His house is not bad, with a ramp on the side structure, but stairs going up into the main part of it. He is no noble, nor are there any bangsawan [titled nobles] in the village. When Sulewatang Udjung ordered, he called together the kali guru [teachers], and notables (the Sulewatang later told me that family heads are also important). They are a motley crew. They came in and sat around on chairs. The Sulewatang, Andi, the magistrates, and I sat around a table. Coffee and cookies were served. They all listened well and the guru, a good looking young man, seemed especially intelligent. The Sulewatang gave an opening address and I joined in with more and more comments regarding the United States and the need for knowledge of South Celebes. They were quite silent, but one or two nodded and smiled continuously. I got the idea that they will do what they are told. They too were fascinated by my camera. Also, as usual, they plaintively asked (as asked by the Sulewatang) why things are so expensive and hard to get in Celebes, when there is obviously so much of everything in the United States. They are greatly interested in this matter. I tried to explain the fact that the dollar is high and the rupiah low, and also about the foreign exchange currency control. They got the main point. We then went over my notes (I had gone over the Friedericy notes with the Sulewatang the night before). They got the idea and it seems that they want to appear as both modern and as good Mohammedans, as they always shied away at questions regarding such things as spirit belief, old type feasts, and offerings. This was especially true of the Sulewatang, who always said that formerly such and such a practice may have been observed here and perhaps at present is still observed in the mountains, but in this place and at the present time it does not exist. I was told that such practices were mere legends now, but they admitted that in most cases the people still knew about them.

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The next day I talked with the controleur. He showed me the perkara [legal case] records of the office here. In Wadjo, Bone and Soppeng combined there are over one thousand legal cases per year. Many of these pertain to horse and cattle stealing, which is an old custom here. I saw one decision: six months in jail.

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582 /208 cont./ In case of a marriage which is regarded as
585 unfavorable, extra ritual is performed in order to assure a favorable outcome nonetheless. /209/

Selection of Marriage Partners according to Status (Hypergamy)

554 Marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden.
582 It is simply regarded as impossible. "It cannot be" (tena nakulle) is the reaction to such a suggestion.

835 Any contact of a man with a higher woman is also strictly
554 prohibited. This is indicated by the same term (salimara'), used to denote a sexual relationship between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ which is known as incest.

It is believed that if salimara' takes place the country will be overcome with misfortune. It is said that the paddy will no longer grow and that no more children will be born in
[731] such a case. In the case of crop failure or an epidemic, one accordingly looks for people suspected of having committed salimara'.

The guilty couple must be punished by death. In the old
684 lontar one reads that the blood of these people may not touch the earth; they must be drowned. The hadat (native court of
[692] law) punished this offense during the last decades with the banishment of the couple for a few years to different places outside the realm. After the period set by the court of law had elapsed, these people did not return to their kampongs; the danger of being stabbed to death in spite of the judge's sentence still seemed to be too great (1).

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1. This is a direct consequence of the fact that under the influence of the administration these offenses were always very lightly

684 /209 cont./ 692

punished by the native courts of law. Incest and, a fortiori, the contact situation of a man with a higher woman is not entered as an offense in the Penal Code. As a result, persons guilty of incest cannot, on the whole, be punished through government jurisdiction. In these districts the administration gives them protection in the form of a very brief punishment pronounced by the magistrate's court (elsewhere the district court, old style), coupled with the advice not to return to the kampong. This applies equally to violation of rules concerning contact between a man and a higher woman.

554 582 Prohibition of hypergamy is a well-known phenomenon in many cultures. In South Celebes the sharp reaction to transgression is the only striking thing. An explanation of this circumstance therefore will only be attempted.

554 A Makassarese occupies toward his equals and near equals a position of constant opposition. A fixed vertical articulation has not come about. His female relatives, and primarily his sister, constitute for him the point of departure in his striving to /210/ rise. They are a fixed point for him in this respect.

Now regarding the kampong itself: the name of the kampong is Bukaka and it is located in the wanua Tanette Riattang, which is under the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang. The Sulewatang Tanette Riattang lives in Watampone. He is different from the Aru Tanette Riattang, who has no wanua, but who is one of the central seven princes. The head of the kampong has the title Mado Bukaka. He is a fine fellow and seems like a better character than most of the bangsawan. His father and his father's father and so on back have headed the kampong for countless generations. He is not a noble, says the Sulewatang. The Sulewatang also says that his ramp is not "genuine". Council is held in neither kampong nor wanua. If there are legal proceedings in the kampong the Kepala kampong may call in a notable or two to help. If there is a legal case in the wanua, the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang will call in maybe three or four (never all) Kepala kampongs to help. If there is really a big legal case, it goes to the Hadat Tinggi in Watampone. There are fifteen Kepala kampongs in the wanua. In most of the kampongs there are several smaller kampongs (two, three, or more), somewhat like hamlets. The Sulewatang used the term lingkongan [circle]. 361 622 632 623 632 692● 621 632

The next day we got down to the work involving a rough map and a ground plan. The kampong abuts on Watampone, indeed it is actually a continuation of it. Thus one side of the market street is Watampone and the other is the kampong. There are several stores on the kampong side. I asked if the Chinese there would say that they were living in the kampong. The answer was no, but that they would say they lived in Watampone. Thus it is a kind of false border. Also, the big, beautiful, new mosque of Watampone is within the kampong borders. But the kampong is evidently not too important and Watampone is in the same wanua, that is, in wanua Tanette Riattang. The kampong itself is the western-most of the kampongs in this wanua, and the western border goes along with the eastern border of wanua Palaka (kampong Tjabalu). On the north is wanua Awampone (kampong Tjelapa). On the east is another kampong, Ta, of wanua Tanette Riattang. And, of course, Watampone is to the south. As one enters the kampong of Bukaka coming from the main center of Watampone, one goes along the main street for four kilometers from south to north, from the Watampone border to Tjelapa. On entering Bukaka one sees the great mosque and the large house of an Arab, both structures being white and blue, an ironic combination. It is a great misfortune that Mohammedanism got in here. From the main road (the Kepala kampong's house is not far from the Watampone border) to 126 621 632 101 131 102

Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imam of the latter is the 368
father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in
later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong [623]
council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone.

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in 622
legal cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after 692
the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he
couldn't the case went to the karaëng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village 623
is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of 203
an election when a great drum is beaten.

In addition to mosques, there are many surau, that is [346]
prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaëng is 565
not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is 368
only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaëng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank.

We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of 632
Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [run- 565
ning east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the terri- 114
tory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangan. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallarang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e.,literally, electoral college--Analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaëng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan.

Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred 175
years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. 565
(See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

C 563 Buludua which is on the side road from the main Watumpone-Makassarese highway. Later I talked with Thierens, and was astonished to have at last found the Toala. There is in the western part of Bone, on the border of Parepare and Barru, a wanua called Telu Limpoe, which is Sarasin's name for the three tribes of the Toala. They are under the Sulewatang of Telu Limpoe, a young and able lad. I must go by the poor road westward from the Watumpone-Sindjai highway, and then walk a distance. Remarkable, by checking Denzo's To Patuntung area with Thieren's Telu Limpoe area I find that they are just about the same. This is a puzzle. Are they Toala, or were they To Patuntung? If so, why no temples and stones and pinati and K. Lowe? My guess is that there are To Patuntung and To Patuntung. Those like the Toala were so remote and primitive that they lack even the Hinduist influence of the real To Patuntung. But one thing is clear. In the mountains here there must be any number of small groups of people like this. Exploration would find them and I could do it if I had the time. Now I begin to see why the Toala matter may well be just the lowest point on the scale of the non-Mohammedan remote peoples in the mountains of South Celebes.

M 793 692 622 In regard to the judicial system of Bone, Thierens explained a number of items. For questions of a religious nature, the first one to whom the people in the kampong go is the religious teacher, the guru. If nothing can be decided, the case goes to the imam of the wanua. If it is still no go, it goes to the Sjarat of Bone, on which are the various kali. If the case is still undecided, it goes to the Hadat Besar, a supreme court which handles both religious and other cases. As for civil and criminal cases, they start with the kepala kampong. If more than f.100 is involved, or the case cannot be decided (i.e., one of the parties is not satisfied), it then goes to the Hadat Ketjil, the court of the wanua, which has the kepala wanua and two of the kepala kampongs on it. If this is still ineffective, it goes to the Hadat Besar in Watumpone. And still further one can appeal 695 to the resident of Celebes, or, and some do, to Batavia. The 661 tradition is that any man can appeal cases. And in this one 668 matter they are open and brave (berani). They will appeal. 212 In fact, Thierens said that his office dealing with civil and criminal matters is deluged with letters and every one must be answered. Also he added that when he is in the office in Makassar he gets letters too, as a man with an appeal will send copies of a letter to the local office, the state

627 /214 cont./ One who acts in this manner does not do so
684 in blind rage. He knows exactly whom he wants to stab. In such a case one speaks of adjallo' (1). A man whose sister

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1. See above, p. 74. It is completely incorrect to speak in such a case of "amuck"; this term covers an entirely different psychic state. Compare Professor van Wulfften Palthe, "De psychologie van de amok /The Psychology of the Amok/," Fakkel, 1941.

fled years ago and who stabbed her to death at an accidental encounter showed no remorse for his deed, but nonetheless was saddened about her death. He lamented the fact that he /215/ had encountered her. Given this encounter, however, he had been unable, as he saw it, to act in any other way unless he wanted to be regarded as a man without honor. Thus he was in a situation in which he saw no other way out than to kill.

Led before the judge, a defendant in a similar case
627 generally confesses without hesitation. In answer to the
671 question how he came to do the deed, he reports that the
682 victim -- in the most fortunate case the maltreated person --
684 made him siri', and he regards this as sufficient motivation because every Makassarese immediately understands this involves his female relatives, and, on the basis of that, sympathizes with his deed.

Once they are sentenced by the judge, the defendants
[695] rarely appeal. They accept the decision without further ado. They regard their deed as an honorable male act and not as a misdeed. Toward the judge who must sentence them they want to confess nobly, and they do not want reduced

177 /220 cont./ for means to limit this number. In 1906,
627 Governor Kroese issued a circular letter in which he made the
648 suggestion designed to cause the fine to be paid directly at
684 the nikka' and to be accepted by the wife's wali, in cases of silariang marriage. He hoped that the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship would be directly removed in this way.

However carefully the suggestion may have been handled, the pressure that was exerted was nonetheless too strong. Since that date the fine has in fact been paid at the nikka' in a great many districts, but the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship nonetheless has remained in existence. Only when we keep in mind these historical facts can we understand why, in a certain region where the wife's father accepts the fine at the nikka' but the sunrang not until the reconciliation, 'making blunt what is sharp' now indicates this sunrang.

684 /221/ According to Moslem law, the wife's wali may
582 refuse his consent to a marriage on the basis of the fact that the woman is of a higher status than the man. In an ordinary case such a difference is reason for refusing a marriage request, even if a different reason is given: "It is not seeming that they should marry" (taena nasiratang), is the usual
[588] expression. If the wali in a case of silariang refuses to give his consent on these grounds, the imam separates them, unless the couple desires to carry through the marriage. In that case the affair goes before the judge. If the decision states that the woman is higher than the man, they are separated. Rather than seeing her married to a man of lower blood, the kinsmen will take her back again though she made them siri'.

684 After such a separation by authority of the imam or judge,
695 there no longer exists any tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship. The functionary concerned reports to the tumasiri' that the

684 /221 cont./ affair is herewith ended and that neither man
695 nor woman may be subjected to any more difficulties. In practice, however, the man, at least initially, does not show his face in a kampong where many of the woman's kinsmen reside. For safety's sake he does not do so until, for instance, she is married to another man, and feelings with regard to him have quieted down somewhat.

626 The feelings with respect to the woman who has been
684 taken back home by her own kin group have not yet completely calmed down either. She has committed a mistake which lies more in the area of the salimara' than that of silariang. She is familiar with the danger connected with it and therefore takes care to conduct herself as inconspicuously as possible, so that her male kinsmen will be reminded as little as possible of her existence. In the few cases that such a separation took place, the woman was practically always married off shortly thereafter. In a single case where this did not happen, she
[588] fled three years later with another man likewise lower. This time the wali nonetheless had to give his consent for the marriage under pressure from the imam, who pointed out that he had taken poor care of this woman's siri' by not finding a man for her.

684 As a reason for having fled with a man, a girl sometimes
834 states that he forced her to do so and that he threatened to kill her if she did not go with him. The jurist who /222/ would accept "forcible abduction," in all such cases would make a mistake. It could not be expected of a girl to confess, even as a sworn witness before the judge, that she went with her "abductor" of her own volition. This would be a sign that she desired him, and this cannot be expected from any woman who is brought up in the idea that the display of this desire (iale) is greatly reprehensible (1).

1. In such a case one might consider not swearing in the abducted woman, of whom it

/226 cont./
Extramarital Pregnancy

848 Pregnancy is naturally a reason for flight for an unmarried woman. For the first few months the male relatives need not notice anything so she can safely remain at home. Her mother or sister is sometimes taken into her confidence, but both will always deny this. If, under these circumstances, a woman does not suceed in persuading the father of her child to flee and marry her, she finally flees by herself and names [588] him to the religious official concerned. Summoned by the imam, the majority of men confess. Thereupon the marriage is carried out, and the couple is henceforth simply regarded and treated as tumannjala.

A man who continues to deny being the father of the child is taken to the Kali of Goa. If he maintains his denial [695] there, he receives the opportunity to swear solemnly in the great mosque of Goa that he did not make this woman pregnant. Once he has performed this oath, he is free. In reality, however, he is still in danger. He will do well not to enter the kampong where the woman used to live. The general opinion is that a woman does not lie under such circumstances. A man who denies being the father of her child, even though he has fortified his denial by an oath, must always take care [627] that one of her /227/ kinsmen will not try to kill him all the same. Only when she has subsequently married another man is he safe.

584 After the man has made his oath, the woman remains in the imam's house until someone comes who wants to marry 588 her. This usually happens after a few days. First an emissary 848 from this man has a talk with the imam, who then conveys the marriage request to the woman. If she is not yet acquainted with her marriage partner-to-be, she is given an opportunity to see him, and she can then decide for herself. If she remains seated silently with bowed head, this is tantamount to her consent. But her expression "tea'" (I don't want to) is accepted. A woman who refuses several candidates one after another will at most be told that she is making

Bali OF7
Makassar OG6
Redjang-Lampong OD12
Batak OD5

Bl [471 cont.]
695 in which the most severe curses are pronounced on the perjurer, is written on a lontar leaf, which is torn into strips and the strips are put in a pot filled with water consecrated by a priest. The person who is to take the oath is given a little of this water to drink, after which the pot, which can only be used once for this purpose, is smashed to pieces. We must also call attention to
Mk the Makassarese and Buginese. When an oath of loyalty to the
695 government is taken, even today, a glass of water is brought to the person taking the oath. After he has dipped his kris into it, he drinks the water, thereby signifying, "May I perish by this same steel that I have just dipped into this water, if I am ever untrue to my oath." This way of taking the oath is also found sporadically in the western part of the archipelago. According
R-L to Marsden, [472] the Redjang swear by certain objects, which,
695 as sacred heirlooms or pusaka, are thought to have supernatural power. Also, in the state of Lingga a similar way of swearing an oath is found. Among the state regalia, there is a piece of old, rusty iron, called besi kawi, with supernatural power. When an oath is to be taken by one of the sultan's subjects, this iron is put in water for some time and the person taking the oath must drink some of the water. Anyone who swears falsely
R-L will be struck by grave misfortune, and if it were a chief, mis-
[789] fortune will strike the whole clan. Furthermore, we find mention here of a sumpah minum ajer keris, an oath involving the drinking of water in which a kris has been dipped, just as among the Makassarese and Buginese. Finally, we must mention the taking of oaths among the Karo-Karo, a Batak tribe that in-
Bt habits the interior of Deli in the East Coast Residency of
695 Sumatra. After some uncooked, unhusked rice, some salt, a little piece of curcuma, some black pepper, some water, and some palm wine have been mixed together in a cup, it is handed to the person who is to swear the oath. He must consume it while pronouncing the curse that, if he has spoken untruthfully, the rice, salt, curcuma, pepper, water, and palm wine may cause his death.

2: Wilken--528 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Redjang-Lampong OD12 Ngadju OC9
Makassar OG4
Batak OD5
Nias OD11
Borneo OC1

Ng [478]
695 The one who pulls out the scoured coin will be awarded a decision
[436] in his favor. Another test among the Dajak is a kind of footrace
in which two equally long and parallel tracks must be run by the
two combatants, and the one who touches the lance stuck into the
Bt ground at the end is the winner. A peculiarity among the Makassarese
M is the so-called kanre ase, an ordeal that is applied when several
695 persons are suspected of the same crime. Each of the suspects
has to put a large ball of cooked, but cold and very dry rice into
his mouth and try to eat it without taking a drink. The one who
does not succeed in doing this or does so only with great difficulty
is the guilty one. Rice-swallowing also occurs as an ordeal among
the Batak. The ordeals whereby disputes are settled by the
RL flounderings of a slaughtered chicken are generally widespread.
Ni
695 Among the Niassans the disputants are placed side by side, and
the loser is the one against whose legs the animal flops. Among
the Lampong the plaintiff and defendant are put opposite each
other and a line is drawn between them; the one declared guilty
is the one sitting on the side of the line where the chicken, after
Bt its flounderings, draws its last breath. The Batak, too, have an
695 ordeal, called tampul manuk, whereby the result of a case de-
pends on whether the slaughtered chicken lies with its right side
up or its left side up at the end of its flounderings. Among the
Br Dajak this test is done somewhat differently. Both parties
695 slaughter a chicken. The one whose chicken shows signs of life
the longest by its convulsions is the winner.

[479] Appendix

j. Codes of Law

Java

I
671 As far as the most civilized peoples are concerned, the
criminal law of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago can be
learned from the existing codes of law. In conclusion, we
shall briefly discuss them.

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● 695 661 668 212

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

office and even to Batavia. The trouble with Wadjo is that many letters there are left unanswered because friends of the corrupt administration are involved. But the controleur is catching them, as he gets copies in the office at Watumpone and then goes to Wadjo and asks why no answer. This is evidently the reason, or one of them, that the Wadjo folk are ready to revolt against the radja and the government. The letters are written by letter writers, who charge a fee to write them in most kampongs. M 695 661 668 212

In regard to Wadjo and Soppeng, Denzo said that the latter is pretty good and that the radja sees this is an overgangstijd [transitional period], as does his administration. Thus the situation is not so bad. But he agrees that Wadjo is awful.

Incidental: I see from the Sadang notes that the swing [During the period of rice ripening, swings are made of ratan, rope, and buffalo hide. The swings are attached to the branch of a tree. In some areas (Kesu, Sadang, and Balusu) boys and girls swing together. Swinging is done to promote the growth of the grains of rice. In some parts of the Sadang area (e.g., Rimbon), the swinging is done by women who also sing a song of gratitude for a good harvest. This custom apparently survives principally as a children's game. All references to swinging will be found in category 524. --Analyst] is used during the entire period of rice planting or rice ripening. S 524 243

I noted that the three-window front of a house, which I had thought was specifically Makassarese, is also found on Buginese houses in the mountains, for example in Soppeng. Thus all that has happened is that the Makassarese have kept it well, while the Buginese in the coastal and other areas tend to lose it. M 342 178

On the way up to Makale, I saw plenty of Toradja, including a coffin on a platform in the yard. The platform was made of bamboo. Bohn in Paloppo and my notes on van der Veen say that this is probably the Luwu group of Sadang. And Bohn corroborates that many are descendants of slaves who were brought there. They live mainly in separate kampongs from the Buginese and there are very few mixed kampongs. They have little social contact, except trading. They practically never intermarry. M 563

On the way in I noticed that the place around Rantepao is full of niche graves. Nearly every appropriate rock face has at least one, together with an ornate door. In these rather solitary ones, however, I did not notice the tautau. M 764

and where they have come from. For example, they tell 565
people that they were nobles where they came from. Here 567
is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power 178
of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there 696
were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. 681
If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They 567
became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they 626
have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is
a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember
it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any
event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would [684 588]
be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or
a woman who married or had something to do with a man of
lower status.

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social 557
sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale 565
by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. 556
The social classes are set.

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it 554
would be better to say that there is some. There are many 531
cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able
to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they
may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which
were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more
wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is
practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all
the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman
and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are
numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes,
terms of address, and manners.

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable 178
flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for 554
an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted 342
only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and 565
nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly 531
use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present.
As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the
"real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide
and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one
except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved
wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used
illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so
used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in
house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was
once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

176 with ingenious gears, and two spools. It also has a circular
401 shutter in front, and is fantastically clever. The Sulewatang
403 and Andi both said it was a great pity that he had no training.
874 He is a fine lad. He had three rolls of old newsreels and travel pictures and showed them after someone lent him a few batteries. One of the films was broken. Evidently he is called upon to show the same old films quite often and as a result they are wearing out. I was quite impressed with the Sulewatang's and Andi's strong statement regarding the lack of schools for such men here. Later I told Thierens, and he said he would see if he could not send the lad to Makassar for training. His machine really works well. He even has a wheel for a string arrangement if he gets a small motor. It reminded me of the old man in Balombaru who had made a match head cap pistol for his son and also a model Makassarese prau, with a propeller, with an auxiliary motor rigged up from an alarm clock. It could run over a hundred meters. There is certainly technical skill here that could be developed.

565 We left the party and the Sulewatang came with us to stay
574 at the local Sulewatang's house (Kepala wanua Tumurun,
431 which he was formerly). This lad, a young and quite bright
156 fellow, is his nephew. He was going to visit the Aru Tau in Watumpone, where his wife had recently given birth to a child. They evidently visit around with fellow nobles a lot, and this takes up much of their time. I tried to bring the Kepala kampong into the conversation at the Sulewatang Tumurun's house, where he was sitting to one side. However, the two uppers would not let me. They were uninterested in the Kepala kampong. This peculiar disregard for any human qualities in preference to rank is a pain to me. The old Sulewatang asked me to show him United States currency. I was sure he would want some for a souvenir. He asked me to get him a nylon shirt from the United States. I think it is because he has always been used to asking for what he could get for nothing from the poor people here. These nobles have only to ask for things from the masses and the latter dare not refuse (honor?).

● 696 Incidental: The Sulewatang said that the kampong where the feast is being held was not a former fugitive kampong, as Andi had told me. But at any rate they evidently had such kampongs at one time as both of them knew about the matter.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it
was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough
was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine
case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this
operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal
of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pang-
kadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were
interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard
of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here.
They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of
coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was
carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they
added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his
trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners,
but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently
this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of
land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Neverthe-
less, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited
by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

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[287]
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/120 cont./

At the time when the people in this area still made their clothes out of foeja /beaten tree bark/, they fetched from this hill the stones from which were made the little hammers (ike) with which the tree bark was flattened. The headman under whose leadership the move had taken place bore the name of Samba-langi, "covering the sky." The village was strong because it was surrounded by three earthen walls. Samba-langi continued to be invoked for a long time by people from Wotoe who brought buffaloes to Lake Poso: "Samba-langi, give us health, and do not let the buffaloes die on the way."

Now the story goes that the son of Samba-langi, once when he was bathing in the Kalaena, saw maize leaves and other refuse floating in it. This convinced him that there must be people living upstream. He followed the river upstream and came to the country now known as Saloe-maoge. There he saw a bamboo container hanging on a sugar palm, in which palm wine was collected. The people of Lampenai drank some of the liquid and then placed salt and sugar at the foot of the tree as the price for the enjoyment. After that they returned home.

When Samba-langi learned of the vicissitudes of his son, he ordered him to go back to the land upstream and to try to contact the inhabitants of Saloe-maoge. After they had again placed salt and sugar at the foot of a tree, they hid in the bushes in order to see who came to get these delicacies. Before long there appeared a man who was totally naked and who fled immediately when the coastal inhabitants showed themselves. Nevertheless eventually they managed to establish contact with the man and his fellow tribesmen. Coastal and mountain inhabitants made friends with each other. When the question came up as to who was the younger (inferior) and who the older (superior), the mountain people said to the people from the coast: "Of course you are our superiors, and we shall show you honor, because you wear trousers and a jacket, while we wear only a loincloth."

Ngadju OC9
Malays AN5
Javanese OE6
Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1

I 411 [98 cont.]

These are the old linstock rifles. When the Europeans came to the archipelago, they used such rifles exclusively; hence, these firearms were the first the Malays became acquainted with and imitated. The characteristic feature of this rifle is the sharply curved, but small butt which is not suitable for being put against the shoulder, and to fire it a support must be used or the shot fired from the loose hand (3). As the European rifles were improved,

3. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 29.

the natives, too, wanted better firearms so that flintlock, percussion, and even breech-loading guns [99] are not rarities among them nowadays (1). Percussion rifles have the general

1. Tijdschr. v. h. Ned. Aard. Gen., Vol. II, p. 296 and especially p. 371.

name sĕnapang, a corruption of the Dutch snaphaan [matchlock].

Cannon are not unknown among the natives; small cannon are called marijam and lila. They are usually imported from Singapore, but in some places are manufactured by the natives
Ng 411 themselves, for example, by the Dajak of Negara. The natives also often make gunpowder. Even the Batak know how to do this. As a rule, however, their product is of inferior quality and the grain is very coarse.

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Defensive Weapons

Having dealt generally with the offensive weapons, we will now discuss some of the principal defensive weapons. Among these, the shield comes first and is used by many peoples of the
I 714 archipelago (Mal. taming, Jav. tameng, Mak. and Bug. lengóa, Daj. talawang). As for the form, there are round

2: Wilken--132 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Nias OD11 Javanese OE5
Ma Kassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Gorontalo OG4
Moluccas OH1

I 714 [99 cont.]

J NK Br G Ml 714 and oblong four-cornered shields. The Javanese use a small, round shield, as do the Buginese and Makassarese, although all three of these peoples know the oblong shield. The more uncivilized, however, such as the Dajak, the Alfoer of north Celebes and the Moluccas, etc., have oblong shields that are often very large. Generally, they are made of hard wood and cut from a single piece. In order to give an idea of such a shield, we shall describe the one the Dajak use. It consists of two congruent trapeziums which are joined along the longest side at a 60 degree angle. At first sight, one would think that the shield consisted of two pieces joined to each other, but it is cut from a single piece. The height is more than a meter, the width half a meter, the thickness 0.01 meter. In the center of the inside, there is a stout handle; it is often painted on the outside and sometimes even decorated with hair (2).

2. Veth, Borneo's Westerafdeeling, Vol. II, pp. 286-287.

MK N Br I 714 [100] Apart from the shield, many tribes of the archipelago use a kind of coat of mail as a means of defense. In its most primitive form, it is merely a piece of animal skin, for example, among some Dajak tribes and on Nias. Among other peoples, it is covered with little copper disks, for example, among the Buginese and Makassarese. Such a coat of mail is called lamena (1).

1. Matthes, Atlas Mak. Wrdb., 2nd edition, Pl. 7, Fig. 23.

Br 714 The Dajak of the west coast of Borneo make their coat of mail from tree bark or padded material which has little white button-shaped shell disks sewed on the outside. They sometimes also use fish skins or the skin of a manis or of an anteater MK 714 (tanggiling). Moreover, the Buginese and Makassarese have a

MK [100 cont.]
714 kind of coat of mail plaited with wire, called badju rantê Mak. and wadju rante Bug.

N 714 Finally, we should mention the helmets, which usually are of foreign manufacture. Those worn by the Niassans are characteristic and are called tagula tafau (2).

2. Van Rosenberg, Verh. Bat. Gen. v. K. en Wet., Vol. XXX, p. 96. Note.

[101]

Chapter 5. Drama, Music, Dance, Games and Amusements

a. Wajang [wayang]; b. Topeng; c. Gamelang; d. Song and dance; e. Music and Dance on the Outer Possessions; f. War dances; g. Tournaments; h. Tiger fights; i. Cock fights; j. Quail fights; k. Cricket fights; l. Children's games.

a. Wajang

J 536 We shall begin with the games and amusements of the Javanese because they are the most important, and first of all with the theatrical productions.

There are two kinds of theatrical performances. In one the actors are puppets; in the other the actors are actual persons, who, except when performing before the sovereign, are always masked.

B [537] The oldest theatrical production is the one in which the actors are puppets; it is called wajang [wayang] on Java as well as on Bali. The wajang goes back to ancient times, but has lost none of its popularity among the people. The word wajang itself means shadow or shade, because the spectators

Batak OD5
Timor OF2
Makassar OG6
Land Dyak OC8

BC [390 cont.]
721 rope by which the letter hangs another piece of wood in the shape
628 of a knife, a lance, a half-charred piece of wood, and the like are fastened as symbols of arson and murder. The letter contains an ultimatum, a dun to meet the demands within a certain period; murder and arson are threatened for failure to meet them. Such a letter is generally not phrased very delicately, the adversary being called all kinds of ugly names. Although incredible, it nevertheless happened that in 1877 the independent Batak around Lake Toba formally declared war on the Netherlands Government by such a pulas. The declaration of war was addressed personally to the district officer, who had been charged with a political mission in the territory of Silindoeng. In the letter the district officer and his following were called chaff, refuse of rice and worthless dogs.

The other way of declaring war is the so-called sampak-aek (sampak = to throw out something, aek = water, euphemistic), whereby someone stands in the vicinity of the village against which war is to be declared and shouts out his grievances while firing a few gunshots (1) [footnote 1 is not referred to in the text].

1. Van Hoëvell, Iets over het oorlogvoeren der Bataks [Warfare among the Batak], p. 18. Wilken, Bijdragen, K. Inst., 1884, pp. 178 ff.

T [391] The Timorese also declare war in a symbolic man-
721 ner. The champions of the offended party, hence, the challengers, lead a black dog to enemy territory, where they chop its head, fill it with consecrated roots while firing gunshots, and put it in the vicinity of an inhabited place with loud shouting. The
MK Buginese declare war by letter. The one who carries it takes the
721 letter between the thumb and middle finger of the right hand, with the index finger extended over it. The messenger delivers
LD it like this, without saying a word and barely extending it,
721 haughtily and with disdain, as it were (1). The Dajak [Dyak] of

the others did not. They said that relatively few, except 203
school children (they are always mentioned as exceptions) 186
could draw a map of Celebes, Indonesia, and the world. But 829
some of them have seen maps in the schools.

As for the population of Indonesia, the Kepala kampong could tell me nothing, but Andi and the teacher knew something about this. This was also true with most of the others, except for a few school children; that is, they do not know even approximate figures for Indonesia at large. As for the population of the world no one had any ideas. However, Andi knew that China was largest, and India next largest. They were impressed that Indonesia is the seventh largest country in population in the world. Later I found out that the Sulewatang has quite an extensive knowledge of international relations and of the world. And Andi knew the capitols of Ireland, Finland and other countries. As for local patriotism, Andi said there was no real 186
pride in Bone. They are not sombong [arrogant, conceited, 181
presumptuous], but have hormat [honor, respect, distinction]. And adat is everything. I asked about the big speeches of loyalty formerly made by chiefs going to war. I also asked, in this connection, about the jumping and kris waving. Andi said that this was just adat. He keeps on saying that there is nothing here except adat and that the people are backward. He seems disgusted at times. He said they simply do not progress, and seems to doubt that they ever will. As for rela- 578
tions with other villages and neighborhoods or areas, there is 721
exceedingly little. Formerly something along this line could be said about friendly or warlike relationships with Wadjo, Goa, and so forth. Nothing, however, is left of this. As for war, they can not carry on their former practices because the Dutch took their weapons.

Bukaka, September 8, 1949. Second day: The people here 157
know very little even about local historical events. This re- 114
minds me of Abdul Radjab, the Minangkabau, who is gathering local tales in Makale for Balai Pustaka. He was here once and said that he thought that he could get plenty of material in Wadjo, but after long talks with the important people who said it would be all right, he did not succeed in getting even one story. In the Toradja country, he got plenty, and even in Paloppo (but it is a part of Toradja). It is his idea, that the Buginese are helpless and hopeless. He said that a psychologist should study them. They are so bound up with fear and backwardness that there seems to be nothing here. He later took a bus for Tanette but it stopped at Balannipa which is twenty-five kilometers short. The driver said "all out", even though he and the others objected. However, the driver

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
794 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the daërah.

778 /69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other
612 ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament.
634 For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community
[726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

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/69 cont./ subordination, the weapons of the men of Borongloë were ritually painted with blood near that ornament, in preparation for the battle.

The history of this related group and its ornament has not become clear (1).

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1. Oral traditions are always fragmentary. Each group of relatives counts only a few men or women who know anything about the history of their kin group; Their knowledge is limited, however, to a few events, and these at the same time are only those which prove the greatness of the group. A regular narrative can never be obtained. Only in a concrete difficult situation does one of the most important members of the group tell how formerly in a similar situation the solution was found, and how, in his opinion, the conditions at present should be viewed and the difficulties solved. The narrator in so doing chooses his words so casually and easily that it is clear that he does not regard himself as tied to a certain text or even to details. On the contrary, one receives the impression

Malays AN5
Javanese OE5
Sumba OF17
Makassar OG6

J [91 cont.]
M1 from twine and widens to a diamond shape in the middle in order
H11 to hold a stone. Because of the loud report that is made when the stone is released, it is often used to drive game from the tilled fields. The sling was still used as a weapon on Java at the beginning of this [nineteenth] century. For instance, Raffles mentions that during various riots in 1812 the Javanese were still making use of slings (2). It should also be noted that slings are

J [579]

2. Anniversary Number, Bijdragen t.d. T.-L.-en Vk. v. Ned.-Indië, 1883, p. 47.

not unknown in Polynesia and Micronesia.

d. Javelins and Lances

I Javelins, which do not serve the same purpose as lances
411 because they are not as strong, are found among only a few peoples of the Malay Archipelago. Before we start discussing the lances, we shall briefly indicate where the javelin still occurs.

In the first place it is among peoples who still live in trees. In the dwellings, as a rule, a few bundles of slender bamboo with the ends simply sharpened to a point [92] stand beside the entrance to be thrown at an enemy should he dare to climb the tree. Furthermore, the horse-riding peoples still use javelins, and formerly they were often used by the sea rovers (1). Among

1. Tijdschrift v. Ned. Indië, 7th year, Vol. I, p. 412.

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411 the Sumbanese the sowar, as this projectile is called, is even
726 a national weapon, which they know how to handle with great skill (2). Until recently, the same could be said about the

MK S 411 726 [92 cont.]

2. Roos, Verh. Bat. Gen. v. K. en W., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 17 and 18. Although Prof. W. made a note that the javelin would be dealt with at this point, a description of it was lacking. In order to avoid a hiatus, I decided to insert this information here. As is known, javelins, which are thrown with a werphont [spear-thrower?], occur primarily in Australia and on German New Guinea, and furthermore on New Caledonia, where a noose is used instead of a throwing-stick.

I [171]

Buginese and Makassarese. An eye-witness who participated in the Boni expedition told me how these peoples handle the weapon. During a cavalry attack on a company in square formation, he noticed that all the onrushing Makassarese carried a short lance on the toes of the right foot, which was gripped with the right hand and attached to the pommel with a very loosely coiled rattan rope. On a given signal, the right foot was brought up as swift as an arrow so that the lance resting on it was thrust into the air with great force and, after describing a high arc, came down with the point aimed into the square. The horsemen who had made a hit turned their horses and galloped away at great speed, dragging the speared enemy who was held by the rope. Those whose throw was less accurate hauled in the rope, and thus the lance, to prepare for another attack.

MK 411 726

Originally, the points of the throwing lances and thrust-lances were of stone, wood, or bone. When the Hindus came, however, and with them knowledge of ironworking, the wooden points were replaced by iron, so that today, at least among the somewhat more developed peoples, iron points on weapons are found everywhere. Lances [93] are found in all possible shapes and sizes; it should be remembered that even the blowguns of

I 411 174

Br 411

Bahau OC5
Makassar OG6
Batak OD5
Bali OF7

[426 cont.]

567 masters if he can find someone who is willing to pay his debt to his master. This is more or less a brighter side of bondage, because a bondman can, if he has a bad master, at least try to improve his lot. Apart from this difference, bondage and slavery are very much alike. Many people look down on bondmen with as much disdain as on slaves.

MK 567 426 727 In Celebes, more specifically among the Buginese and Makassarese, persons become slaves through debts. It can happen that a person has many debts, his own or inherited ones, which he cannot pay himself and which the family refuses to pay. If the creditor agrees that the person may work for him until the debt has been paid, then he becomes a bondman, but if the creditor is not satisfied with that and neither the sovereign nor the hadat (state council) loans the money, then the debtor is sold (1)

1. Niemann, "De Latowa," Bijdr. T., L. en Vlk, v. Ned. Ind., 4th series, Vol. VIII, p. 227.

and becomes the slave of whomever buys him. Furthermore, one becomes a slave by selling himself, by being sold as a prisoner of war, or as punishment for wrongdoing against the state council or the sovereign.

MK Bt 81 567 764 The slaves may be declared free if the behave well or if they buy their freedom.

[427] A special instance when slaves are declared free is at funerals. We mentioned this earlier for Bali; here we want to point to the Batak and Buginese, among whom the same custom exists (1).

1. Van der Tuuk, Bat. Wrdb., see mangalopas (lopasan). Neumann, Tijdschrift Ned. Aard. Gen., Vol. IV, p. 40.

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. 000
During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the
old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today.
The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general
the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones
tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have
been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in
pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know
that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and [439]
import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is
hardly worth speaking of.

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. For- 436
merly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C. [pro- 178
bably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East
India Company)--Analyst]coins and also kepeng. Now they
still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was
some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me.

As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including 177
four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were 489
three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. 493
There is much travel by bus today.

As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic 428
and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main 562
thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance 591
it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that 611
the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one.
But the girls generally get the house. This is important be-
cause the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though
there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more proper-
ty than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Never-
theless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's
house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his
kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal
state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he [578]
might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not
right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the
thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really ex-
cited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would
fight, and even knife him.

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
565 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba, and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over. This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English. Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre-Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong. He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

541 728 642 634 [562] [793 838]

The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of his status.

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631 carries the villages," answers for them. Before the tribute
648 came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe, it was first brought to a chief
T who bore the title of Ampoe lemba, literally "tribal chief,"
648 the equivalent of mayor of Wotoe. From him the people went to the Paramata, after that to the Matoa-bintoe'a, and then they came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe. To the question which we posed repeatedly, whether the tribute that was left with the Matoa-bawa-lipoe actually reached the Datoe at Palopo, the answer was always: "We do not know that" (3).

3. There were also other Chiefs at Wotoe, whose function has not been clearly described. Thus there was the Topalatoea, a worthy of whom nothing was known but that he would have to die when a daughter was born to him. Another respected man was Palemba-ragi, a high chief of the Toradja tribes, recognized by Loewoe'.

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648 Exceptions to the above rule were the tribes of the To Lage
631 and To Onda'e, who had to bring a slave to Loewoe' every nine
T years. The To Lage brought the slave to Lamoesa, whereupon
648 Lamoesa accompanied the Lage envoys to Wotoe, where they
567 paid their respects to the Chiefs named. The To Onda'e, however, needed no intermediary, but brought their slave directly to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe at Wotoe and from there to Palopo. This manner of bringing tribute (mepoee) is called monangoe boeadja, "to swim like a crocodile (straight to the goal)."

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173 The following tradition is connected with the mepoee of the
648 To Onda'e. The To Onda'e had risen up against the Datoe. The
• 728 war that resulted from this threatened to end with the downfall
T of the To Onda'e. Then an old man stood up and addressed the
173 assembled Chiefs as follows: "Brothers, the only way by which
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we can escape destruction is that some of us go directly to the Datoe without stopping anywhere, just as a crocodile swims straight to his goal /124/ (monangoe boeadja). They must offer a slave to the Datoe and surrender themselves to him for life or death." This advice was followed. The Chiefs Tamoina, Jamoenta, and Roemampoe set out; the slave Moloeëdi was taken along as a gift. From Boeraoe on, Ambe Kando accompanied them to Palopo. The Datoe of Palopo received the envoys favorably on condition that the To Onda'e should provide a slave as tribute every nine years (4).

4. According to another version, Roemampoe took with him: a chicken, a basket (kapipi) of rice, a packet of pinang nuts, a packet of sirih fruits, a bamboo container of palm wine, and a piece of beaten tree bark. Having arrived at Palopo, he offered all this to the Datoe and surrendered himself for his mercy or displeasure. Mercy was granted to the To Onda'e under the above-named condition. Roemampoe took along from Palopo: a bata manoeroe, "the flag descended from the sky," which the ruler of Loewoe' planted near a village that he wished to punish with sickness; a taripa djandji, a mango tree which appears only in stories; and two types of yellow bamboo.

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11. The sphere of influence of Waiboenta.

It was the Toradja tribes that lived in the so-called Poso depression (the basin of the Poso) who recognized the Datoe of Loewoe' as lord and used the Chief of Wotoe as intermediary. In this latter respect two small tribes were an exception, the To Bantjea and the To Palande, the first on the west shore of the

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Lake, the second on the east shore. These two tribes rendered honor to the Datoe of Palopo through the ruler, Makole, of Waiboenta. People were not able to explain to us the reason for this: it had always been thus. The traditions, however, point to circumstances that are connected with the departure of the ruler of Pamona to Waiboenta (I, 18, 27).

The story goes that the Toradja ruler and his entourage, after their departure from Pamona, stayed for some time in Bantjea, and that, when they moved on, a member of the kin group (an aunt?) of the ruler stayed in Bantjea with her party. Thus the tribe of the To Bantjea did not yet exist when Wotoe already ruled over the Toradja. Palande must have been populated from Bantjea; To Bantjea must in any case have mixed with the To Palande. This circumstance would then explain satisfactorily why these two small tribes brought their homage to the Datoe by way of Waiboenta. That this always annoyed Wotoe appears from the fact that the Wotoeërs, whenever they stayed at the Lake, were always eager to mulct and oppress (motengkoe batoe) the people of Bantjea.

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In a war that Waiboenta fought with Bada', in which it was completely beaten by these mountain Toradja (see West-toradjas, I, p. 308), Waiboenta offered its subjects in Bantjea, Palande, and Rato as war tribute to Bada'. After this time the To Bada' came to Lake Poso continually and exacted tribute from the small tribes named and oppressed them in all sorts of ways; they treated them completely as their slaves. /125/ The Lake dwellers now decided to buy themselves free of their new masters. The To Bantjea and To Palande gave nine slaves, and inhabitants of Rato and sago-washing basket (jîksi) with locally forged chopping knives. A man of Bantjea, named Lae-bagi or Ngkai-djanggo, who had married in Bada', led the negotiations on this occasion. This must have taken place in the first quarter of the last century.

582 /208 cont./ In case of a marriage which is regarded as
585 unfavorable, extra ritual is performed in order to assure a favorable outcome nonetheless. /209/

Selection of Marriage Partners according to Status (Hypergamy)

554 Marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden.
582 It is simply regarded as impossible. "It cannot be" (tena nakulle) is the reaction to such a suggestion.

835 Any contact of a man with a higher woman is also strictly
554 prohibited. This is indicated by the same term (salimara'), used to denote a sexual relationship between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ which is known as incest.

It is believed that if salimara' takes place the country will be overcome with misfortune. It is said that the paddy will no longer grow and that no more children will be born in
[731] such a case. In the case of crop failure or an epidemic, one accordingly looks for people suspected of having committed salimara'.

The guilty couple must be punished by death. In the old
684 lontar one reads that the blood of these people may not touch the earth; they must be drowned. The hadat (native court of
[692] law) punished this offense during the last decades with the banishment of the couple for a few years to different places outside the realm. After the period set by the court of law had elapsed, these people did not return to their kampongs; the danger of being stabbed to death in spite of the judge's sentence still seemed to be too great (1).

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1. This is a direct consequence of the fact that under the influence of the administration these offenses were always very lightly

589 /160 cont./ The total number of men in kampong Bontoramba
[162] at that time amounted to 382, as against 405 women. Therefore, the total number of "unmarried people" amounts to 5 per cent of the total population, and the percentage of "unmarried" women is a little higher than that of the men. This fact requires an explanation. A number of general remarks will precede this.

589 Among the 15 men there were four deaf-mutes unsuited
732 for normal work. Among the 24 women there were three deaf-mutes (1) in addition to one blind and one albino woman.

1. The large number of deaf-mutes, seven in all, is too striking to pass without comment. The nose-, throat-, and ear-doctor at Macassar, J.C. Engelen, had the kindness to examine these individuals at my request. He reported that all suffered from a form of perception deafness, a kind of nervous deafness, and that the affliction must have begun at an early age or else must have been congenital. He regarded an infectious disease suffered in childhood (mumps or measles) as a possible cause if the affliction could be supposed to have begun at a youthful age. He

589 /160 cont./ believed that a connection
732 with the system of endogamous marriage need not be excluded, but that data were lacking to pronounce an opinion about this. These deaf-mutes are all approximately between forty-five and fifty-five years of age. Therefore they belong, as it were, to the same generation. They stem from three different pairs of parents (two brothers, a brother and sister, and a brother with two sisters). They also have brothers and sisters who are normal. They all belong to the "Kapala group."

Eleven men and 19 women seemed to be physically and psychically normal.

589 Lolo bangko (old maid) (2) is the customary but unflattering

2. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 147.

term applied to an older, unmarried woman. These women perform the ordinary feminine tasks in the house. The men with whom one talks about them maintain that these women would find it unpleasant if they had to marry, and that they would cry if their marriage were announced to them. These

S Then I remembered a night in Makale hearing Karaeng
691 Djongala (whom I met again, remarkably, on a trip in Makale,
683 and found to be not a bad fellow at all, and now speaking
578 Dutch) and de Boer comparing notes regarding legal cases.
828 De Boer said eighty cases a month was not at all uncommon, while the Karaeng said that in his place in Makale there were perhaps twenty, mainly knifings.

A police fellow and the Controleur said that there was much irrational knifing here too. The pattern seems to run something like this. First people become panas hati [literally, hot livered, i.e., hot tempered--Analyst], then they kill someone, and finally become all right. They consider themselves not to be criminals, but victims of unbearable emotion, and thus not really criminals.

M Regarding literacy, Andi said that the percentage of
212 literates here now is about 27 per cent, and this is used by
871 him as a reason for not taking over democracy for a long
556 time. This in turn might enable them to maintain control just as the Dutch did. However, they are setting up schools rapidly, and so are slitting their own throats. Maybe they are sincere, but I look for trouble. As for schools I asked a number of questions today (my last day in Bone this trip). There are village schools for the first three years. Then students may go on to a continuing school in town, in Bukaka which is not far away. Or they may enter the sekolah agama [(Islamic) religious school], in which religion and Arabic are taught. The sekolah agama is located in the village. I got the feeling that these religious schools are losing out in competition with town schools. Only the rich can afford to go beyond the second year high school level, as it is necessary to go to Makassar. I asked about the poor and they said there were no scholarships, so they were usually only able to attend the desa schools. Beyond that they might possibly go to the sekolah agama. In Watampone the breakdown is something like this. There are six years of primary schooling offered followed by four years of middle instruction. After these ten years, if a further education is desired, students must go to Makassar. There is a normal school in Watampone for desa school teachers, but for higher normal training one must go to Makassar. Thus there seems to be the same problem as in the United States. There is a need for schools in every town and at all levels because the poor cannot pay room and
M board in big towns away from home. This leads on to the
556 question of the poor again (I always stress the factor of social
465 mobility in America). The village folks said there were
651 many poor people. They usually live with richer (though none
735 are really rich) people in the houses of the latter and work for
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food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua. M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads. M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over" M 471 443 563 M 461 463 C 647 563 152 829

166 /54 cont./ located in another kampong emigrated there.
591 In two cases a marriage by flight was the reason for a family
592 migration, and in two others the fact that the house became severely damaged and run down. In one case a quarrel was given as the reason, but this concerns two families in one house who were not related to each other. In another case a married couple from a neighboring adat community came to live in Bontoramba in order to work for an employer. In the remaining five cases, the motives did not become apparent (2).

> 2. The small number of children (35) in these 22 families is due to the fact that some of these are young families who moved into a house of their own for the first time. Two recently married silariang couples likewise had (as yet) only a few children.

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While 79 persons migrated as a family unit, 66 individuals moved to other houses. The reasons given for these changes vary a great deal. An old widower lives alternately with one of his children. An orphan goes from one uncle and aunt to the other. An old deaf-mute man lives in turn with his many -- and distant -- nephews and nieces, who prefer to see him go rather than come. The contracting of a marriage, the committing of silariang, are further reasons for changing houses. A Javanese and a poverty-stricken orphan who came to live and work with people in Bontoramba raised the number of immigrants. A sickly little boy goes to stay with his grandfather for a few weeks or months./55/ The grandfather's house, incidentally, is one minute's walk away from the boy's

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

764 Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photograph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photograph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
782 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
412 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers, etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This belonged to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map)
● 743 [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss
758 Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows. These dwelling places are much better than native houses. There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the children especially get leprosy, and that when children are born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

generally agree in this matter. She said that there could not 164
have been a law compelling colonization as there is not enough 743
room to care for all the lepers here, who number in the thou- 758
sands (though India and Africa are worse off). So, many
lepers are still at large. Generally, those who enter are those [753]
who either fear infection spreading to their relatives, or those
whose relatives won't have them around, or those whom the
kampong compels to leave their local community. But they
have a happy life in a way, and this impresses the native mind,
because they get free and good food, good houses, etc. The [461]
nurse said that there is some trouble in getting them to work
as they will not do so unless they have to. Nevertheless, they
do all the work needed and the place is well cared for, in fact,
spotless. She said that psychologically there was little trouble
with the native lepers but that Europeans almost went crazy.
I saw only one Eurasian little girl. They weave their own [286]
clothes. I saw a backbar loom here [in the leper asylum at
Bolombaru--Analyst] and another in the old man's house. All
girls can weave, and practically all sarongs are homemade. I
saw some beauties. And now I know how the weaving is done.
The colors are really amazing. They weave a long narrow
strip, perhaps thirty inches, and cut and sew to make a sarong.
This takes from three to seven days. One military doctor
comes here three times a week. The rest of the work is done
entirely by the patients. The nurse said she liked her work and
seemed to be in excellent spirits. I told her that I would give
them old detective books. An old man [a patient in the leper 159
asylum, Balombaru--Analyst] (photograph) said that he had
formerly been captain of a prau. He had made a fine model of
one like his for his son, and was quite proud to show it off. He
said that he had sailed wherever there was trade, and that
formerly he might be away from three to four years. He said
that he had gone to Surabaja, Cheribon, Semarang, Batavia,
Padang, Singapore, Siam, Penang, and even China. He had
once had a chance to go to the United States (how?) but did not
go. He showed me a picture of himself when he was in Java in
the old days. It showed him, his former wife, and another
couple. All were wearing horn rimmed glasses (property
of the photographer?). He was dressed in a dark coat,
wide "slicker" pants of the twenties and a necktie. He was
not at all hesitant about talking of his former wife. He
said that this one was still in Java with one child. He said
he had only one male child by his present wife, but that he
had many other children by others. He even seems un-
certain as to how many wives, exactly, he has had. There

000 Mission, Timor. He said that the Catholics have a great organization, and that they do not force Christianity. They do not try to change the habits and clothing of the people. They tell the natives to do as they wish, and change as they please. But the Protestants force changes in clothing, tell them that they are damned if they do not change, etc. On Flores, west of Endeh, the Jesuits have worked far up into the mountains. They had a printing press in Endeh. They also have model farms, including a dairy. They train and educate the young, for example, they have trained the best agricultural man in Timor. He is a native priest who was sent to Wageningen, and then on his return was put into the governmental service. He pays rich returns because he is in the intimate councils of the government and knows all about the radjas, etc. Thus, by clever work, the Catholics have gained much control. Timor is not so good, as it is more influenced by the Protestants. This, of course, is the opinion of van der Wetering (whose views I do not always trust, but he may have something here). He said the system of the Jesuits is that when they start a mission they get money for five years. After that it must be self-supporting. And according to him it usually is.

565 567 Balombaru: Classes existed (exist?) within the slave group too, and it is not the usual hereditary as against new slave idea, but rather that a slave of a noble feels superior to a slave of a commoner, and all grades in between. Thus, as I suppose is the case with servants in England, if you are a maid of a duchess you feel superior to the maid of a baroness. Thus the class idea ramifies, and pangkat is the essence of the whole social functioning.

175 743 Balombaru: September 3, 1949. Fourth day: First I went to the leprosarium to give my books to the nurse. She told me about some awful Javan atrocities after the Japanese defeat in Surabaja. They even shot into the hospital from trees. The idea seemed to her to be to kill all white people. 181 621 743 She [i.e., the head nurse at the Balombaru leper asylum--Analyst] said that the natives have no initiative, though there is more evidence of some form of initiative here than in Java. She divided the colony into three kampongs. Each with an elected kepala kampong. They come to her only if they cannot settle cases.

668 /136 cont./ kingdom would arise, over which he would rule as prince." Eerdmans, p. 1089.

rouses the people, telling them to prepare themselves for [751] the new era. To this end he offers dijmat /sic; "charms"/ for sale, so that the wearers will be invulnerable and will be able to face the coming disasters safely. He teaches them special signs by which they will be able to recognize each other in the future and by which they will also be recognizable to him whose arrival is foretold and who will make the prophecies come true. As a result he will also be able to make a distinction between them and the rest of the people (2). Sometimes the prophet declares that he himself will

2. "In the wanua /districts/ of Mario riawo and Pettodjo-Soppeng, a certain La Maddidi claims to be the resurrected Petta Barang (Daeng Pabarang) who within a short period of time will take over the rule of the land. All those who at this time already submit to him, that is to say, become his followers, will later not be overwhelmed with misfortune. As followers they receive a symbol (djimat), for which they must pay 2.50 guldens. This will protect them against the time when Petta Barang will become the ruler." (1948). Taken from: Bestuursrapporten /Administrative Reports/, 1949.

114 /249 cont./ There is no punishment for failure to register.
163 The reason that people do not like to register a child that has
217 just been born is the belief that this would bring about misfortune
because it is conceived as an expression of arrogance or pride.
[777 For the same reason a newborn child is wrapped in old rags.
751] There is no certainty that the births recorded in a year represent
the correct number.

A woman by preference has her first child in the house of her
[844] parents, especially if she herself was also born there. Many
children are therefore registered in a kampong where their parents
no longer live and from which it again "moves" a few months
after birth.

A child does not receive a name directly at birth for the
[553] same reason that a child's birth is not directly reported. All boys
are referred to as Baso or Batjo, all girls as Basse or Batje. In
this semianonymity the child is considered safe. Only years
later does it receive a name of its own, which, however, is not
recorded in the register. A certificate of birth is not submitted.

Death Registers

114
217 In the death registers that are likewise maintained by the
165 imam for the entire adat community (around 14, 000 inhabitants),
the following data are found reported in parallel columns: the
[793] name of the deceased, his sex, his age; the kampong in which
he died, whether he died during the night or during the day, the
date of his death, the final illness, and sometimes a few remarks
concerning heirs and estate.

The reasons indicated for the death are very much those of
[961] a layman; the imam bases them upon complaints uttered during
the final illness; stomach-ache, coughing, sometimes old age,
are found recorded in this category. /250/

Thus, these registers must also be handled with care.
Neither age nor reason for death can be regarded as reliable.

342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
●751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouthwash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

behind where there were many houses for his many slaves. That house had horns on the gables. The sunat feast lasted six days and five buffaloes had been killed for food as well as many fowls. Many fancy cakes were served which had been left over from the feast. I saw the boy who had been cut and he is said to be thirteen, although he looked much younger. I asked about the repeated cutting, up to seven times, and Saleh said that this is usual. He looked wise at this moment, and sizing up the boy, said, "I think it isn't finished with this fellow and that he will have to be cut again!" M 881 [342] 304 565 343

I asked about the gaukang, and they agreed that the radja and the nine bate must have them. As for the others, for example the karaeng, some have them and some do not; but formerly they must all have had them. M 778 565

I asked about the charms, the djimat, and they said that there are still plenty being used in the kampong. M 751

We finally drove to the seaside where there was a bathing beach and bath houses. They say that there are many Dutch who come here and pay a fee. It is owned by the local karaeng. M 529

I had a talk with Emanuel, a student of van Voll, and ter Haar's former assistant. He looked like an Indo [i.e., Eurasian]. He is trying to get through a uniform marriage law for Christians in all of East Indonesia. He admitted that this is a difficult task because the families are so often mixed, and the settlement of property is likewise very confused. 000

I asked Emanuel about the divorce pronouncement by a man. He agreed that it was normal for a man to say it three times in order for it to become a full divorce. If it is said only once or twice the couple can remarry, but if it has been said three times it is final. He said, however, that there are two other forms in Indonesia (he said that ter Haar mentioned this). One form is when a woman gets a man to agree to give talak by offering him a settlement. This is in line with true Mohammedan law. The other kind is peculiar to Indonesia. It occurs when a woman complains to the judge that she has offered a man settlement for the requested talak, but the man has refused. The man is then called to the judge, and if he is still unwilling and all is in order, the judge himself may pronounce talak. I 586 592 C 586 592

I had a talk with engineer Resink, who is here for the Economic Affairs Department. He is an "Indo" and talks about "us" Indonesians. I get the impression he is a radical I 668

Makassar OG6 ● Gorontalo OG4
Batak OD5 Ambon OH4
Ceram OH9
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5

G 755 774 A C 753 755 J M1 MK ●753 J M1 MK Bt 774 775 753 755 Bt [829] I 771 774 Bt 774 732 776

[552 cont.]

patient was not cured, it was a sign that the soul had not been found. Among the Ambonese Islanders, the Alfoer of Ceram, etc., there is the idea that sickness is caused by the departure of the soul, which is prevented from returning by an evil spirit. Here, too, the assistance of a priest is required for a cure. A survival of this view is found even among the more highly developed Javanese, Malays, Buginese, and Makassarese.

The Javanese, like the Malays, call the soul sumangat, the Makassarese and Buginese sumangá and sumangá, words that are identical with the Batak sumangot, the spirit of a deceased blood-relative.

The sumangat is someone's life-spirit, which, according to the conception of the natives, leaves the body not only at death, but also in case of fright or a faint, and good health is achieved only through its presence. If the soul goes away, one becomes sick, and it must be called back by a priest. This is done among the Batak by having someone scatter rice on the head. The sumangat can also pass into another human being or into an animal, which creates such a secret relationship between the two that the fate of the one becomes entirely dependent on that of the other.

The above shows how general animism is in the archipelago. We have seen how fetishism and spiritism, the religion of primitive peoples, developed directly from it. In general among the peoples of the Malayan Archipelago we find spiritism as the religion more than animism. It must be recognized, however, that, although the former is to be distinguished from the latter, [553] they cannot always be separated, in other words, spiritism and fetishism often blend into each other, and one cannot tell where the one stops and the other begins. As we have noted, for example, the Batak believes that all objects, living as well as inanimate, have a soul. Thus, rice has a soul, the rice-soul, tondi-ni-eme. As soon as the rice starts to bloom, an offering is made to its soul; otherwise one would run the risk of angering it, because the soul of the rice can become angry. If that should

Makassar OG6 Nias OD11
Borneo OC1 Ceram OH9
Malays AN5
Minangkabau OD10

N 532 769 [557 cont.]
a human shape and are called adju. One finds a number of these images in every house; they play the same role as the korwar.

C 775 769 323 Another and more peculiar way of representing the souls of the deceased which deserves special mention is found on the island Boeano west of Ceram. Here the abode is believed to be small pots or urn, which, like the korwar and adju, are the media, for communicating with it. These little pots, buli-buli, are of coarse porcelain and are divided into male and female. The former are in high relief and have no cover, whereas the latter have one. A special little house is erected for the buli-buli. Although it is more generally believed that the souls are disembodied, nevertheless it is likewise believed that they have the power to change temporarily into one or another body, even into that of a human being. Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that the spirits and souls, although wandering about freely, are thought to prefer certain places as their abode, such as in rivers, on mountains, and in graves. As to the nature and character of the souls, it can be stated that they are generally regarded as good spirits. One must take care, however, not to offend or neglect them, or one will have to fear their vengeance.

I 776 753 [558] Besides the souls of the deceased, good and evil spirits are worshiped. Calamities, accidents, etc. are caused by their influence, as are illnesses, because they snatch the soul from the body and torture it.

MA MK B MI

f. Vampire and Werewolf

I 774 754 753 761 To enumerate all the evil spirits here would carry us too far afield. We shall, however, name a few that are believed in generally in the Malay Archipelago. In the first place, we have in mind a kind of spirit that has a human shape during the day, but at night leaves the trunk behind while the head, neck, and intestines wander about, causing all kinds of harm, especially sickness, or even bring about death by sucking the blood of

Timor OF20
Moluccas OH1

Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Minangkabau OD10
Malays AN3
Tagalog OA36

Ml [558 cont.]
MK sleepers. These spirits bear various names. Among the Malays
MK of Sumatra they are called palasib or, according to Minangkabau
I pronunciation, pălăsiëq; among the Batak, palasik, and elsewhere
BR in Malayan lands, penanggalan. Among the Dajak in particular
774 the belief in these spirits plays an important role. They are
754 called hantuen, and in nearly every region of the southeastern
753 division there are persons who are suspected of being hantuen.
761 Naturally, there is great abhorrence of marriage with such a person. It is said, however, that such marriages sometimes occur, because one does not always know. If it is regarded as proved that someone is a hantuen, then he is put to death with the greatest tortures. Among the Buginese these spirits are called paeppo,
MK among the Makassarese popokang. Among these peoples, they
[562 are exclusively women. If a woman is thought to be such at the
681] court, she is immediately reduced to slavery and sentenced to pounding kemiri nuts all day long every day, which is a means of preventing her nightly wanderings.

T The belief in these beings also exists in the eastern part of
MD the archipelago, in the Moluccas and on Timor. They are called
Tm suwangi or swangi here. Especially when a ruler dies, a swangi
754 is often blamed for it. The person accused of being the swangi
761 [559] is put to death and his relatives are made slaves. Among
753 the Tagalog on Luzon, who believe in these spirits, they are
774 called magtatankal.

g. Pontianak

MD Another spirit that is generally feared is the pontianak, the
I name of the spirits of women who died before delivery Every
755 woman who dies in childbed becomes a pontianak. They gen-
[845] erally show themselves in the form of a bird and are therefore flying ghosts. These pontianak who could not enjoy motherhood
MD before their confinement, begrudge that of their sisters and al-
I ways try to harm pregnant women. It is not pregnant women
[843]

generally agree in this matter. She said that there could not 164
have been a law compelling colonization as there is not enough 743
room to care for all the lepers here, who number in the thou- 758
sands (though India and Africa are worse off). So, many
lepers are still at large. Generally, those who enter are those [753]
who either fear infection spreading to their relatives, or those
whose relatives won't have them around, or those whom the
kampong compels to leave their local community. But they
have a happy life in a way, and this impresses the native mind,
because they get free and good food, good houses, etc. The [461]
nurse said that there is some trouble in getting them to work
as they will not do so unless they have to. Nevertheless, they
do all the work needed and the place is well cared for, in fact,
spotless. She said that psychologically there was little trouble
with the native lepers but that Europeans almost went crazy.
I saw only one Eurasian little girl. They weave their own [286]
clothes. I saw a backbar loom here [in the leper asylum at
Bolombaru--Analyst] and another in the old man's house. All
girls can weave, and practically all sarongs are homemade. I
saw some beauties. And now I know how the weaving is done.
The colors are really amazing. They weave a long narrow
strip, perhaps thirty inches, and cut and sew to make a sarong.
This takes from three to seven days. One military doctor
comes here three times a week. The rest of the work is done
entirely by the patients. The nurse said she liked her work and
seemed to be in excellent spirits. I told her that I would give
them old detective books. An old man [a patient in the leper 159
asylum, Balombaru--Analyst] (photograph) said that he had
formerly been captain of a prau. He had made a fine model of
one like his for his son, and was quite proud to show it off. He
said that he had sailed wherever there was trade, and that
formerly he might be away from three to four years. He said
that he had gone to Surabaja, Cheribon, Semarang, Batavia,
Padang, Singapore, Siam, Penang, and even China. He had
once had a chance to go to the United States (how?) but did not
go. He showed me a picture of himself when he was in Java in
the old days. It showed him, his former wife, and another
couple. All were wearing horn rimmed glasses (property
of the photographer?). He was dressed in a dark coat,
wide "slicker" pants of the twenties and a necktie. He was
not at all hesitant about talking of his former wife. He
said that this one was still in Java with one child. He said
he had only one male child by his present wife, but that he
had many other children by others. He even seems un-
certain as to how many wives, exactly, he has had. There

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M /127 cont./
648 In everyday life the Datoe of Loewoe' meant nothing to
M the Toradja. In no case was he considered. The Datoe was
643 brought into play only against strangers. In their contacts with
the Government, before it vigorously asserted itself, all over-
T tures were rejected with an appeal to the Datoe. Our attempts
114 to open schools among the Toradja failed in the first years, be-
648 cause the people did not want to know anything about this novelty,
871 from which they expected only disadvantages for their social
177 life. In order to cut off all discussion of this matter they hid
M behind the Datoe, who certainly would not approve if his sub-
648 jects obtained schooling while he himself did not yet have any.
643 Whenever the Toradja saw an advantage in some new thing,
they did not think of consulting the Datoe about it.

M The Datoe of Loewoe' was actually only the keeper of the
648 gaoekang (literally "things, implements, ornaments"), or
643 aradjang ("signs of greatness"), the fetishes in which the strength
[778] of the country is preserved, the regalia. As heirlooms of the
T deified ancestors they make the possessor the direct deputy of
648 these ancestors; this person thus stands on the same level as the
ancestors. Then the Toradja also said of the Datoe: "He is our
god (lamoa)." That the Datoe left them to their lot and never
T concerned himself about them they found precisely "god-like"
[622] and "ancester-like" of him because in this way he left their adat
untouched. And this is the task of every Chief.

T The Toradjas were loyal subjects of the Datoe, precisely be-
M cause of the superstitious respect that they had for him. The Datoe
648 was said to have white blood in his veins. The mysterious power
M that emanated from his person was considered so great that an
643 ordinary Toradja could not look at him without getting a swollen
[826] stomach and dying. The story is told of two Lage chiefs who
[753] wished passionately to see the Datoe. They actually succeeded
[778] in making their way to him, but the one died already on the
[761] return journey and the other three months after he reached home.

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/127 cont./

Because of this superstitious fear, it did not even occur to the people to oppose the wishes or the commands of the Datoe. It was told that whenever the Datoe came to punish rebellious tribes, his army was preceded by swarms of wasps which put the rebels out of action before there was an encounter. The Datoe had power over the success or failure of the harvest. Whenever people opposed him, the rice in the cooking pots would change to worms. This /128/ power over the crops that was ascribed to him was the reason that many Toradja continued to deliver their tribute to the Datoe after the Government had already prohibited this, because they thought that through their show of respect their fields would prosper. Whenever now and then there was resistance to Loewoe', this was not aimed at the Datoe, but at the Chief of one of the little realms that made up Loewoe'. There was ascribed to the Datoe another feared weapon with which he held his subjects in check. Namely, he could bring a contagious sickness over the land; he had nine of these sicknesses at his disposal. The Datoe was said to have inherited this power from one of his ancestors called La Dondorio. The tradition connected with this is too remarkable for it not to be reported.

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[631]

M
[753]

14. The story of La Dondorio and the To Ngojoe.

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La Dondorio went to seek supernatural power (mempepali asi-asi) on the other side of the ocean. At sea he met someone in a proa, who said to him: "La Dondorio, do not go to the inhabitants of yonder island; only women are there; if a man comes to them, they go at him in order to unite with him; they tear him from one another's arms so that he dies. They are the To Ngojoe, who are called this because they have the wind for a husband. When the wind sweeps over their dwelling place, they all go to sit with their faces in the direction from which the wind comes. If a man comes to them, then they cover (naowoeti) him, and the one with whom he mates becomes pregnant; but if the child is a boy, they sit upon him so that he dies. Therefore there are no men on the island."

M
T
648 /129 cont./ The people then went
755 to ask forgiveness of the Datoe, the descendant of La Dondorio,
753 and then the Datoe gave medicine, charmed water, which was
M drunk by the sick, and then many became better. Sometimes
643 he gave a charmed piece of wood or curcuma; little pieces of it were chewed and spit on the body of the sick person, or it was rubbed with it. The water charmed by the Datoe was kept in a bottle, and when a contagious sickness made its appearance, this water was mixed with a large quantity of ordinary water, and at eventide when the chickens went to roost, all the
T people, large and small, were sprinkled with it; this was con-
[776] tinued until the sickness had gone away. In such times of sickness no one should cross the road with a piece of wood or a spear in his hand, because then many spirits roamed about, and if one
T of them was touched by the wood or the spear, he would make
753 the person sick. The physicians (sando) say that when a hornbill
776 (alo) flies across the road, one must say nothing about it, for the
825 bird is possessed by a spirit, and if one says something about the bird, one is made sick by him (VIII, 28). Teka-teka (Phoenicophaeus calyorinchus) and monkeys are also sometimes possessed by spirits that bring sickness (napeontjoga).

M-L 15. The Datoe-ri-tana of Mori.

648 Some of the East Toradja brought their tribute to the Datoe-
643 ri-tana, the regional chief of Mori in the east of the country.
T This title means "ruler over the land." At the time, the last
[648] Datoe-ri-tana, Maroendoe, declared that the Datoe of Loewoe'
M had given him this title because his residence, Petasia, lay so
[648] far inland, in contrast to the Loewoe' residence Palopo, which lay close to the sea. The Loewoe'ers, however, use this name as a term of derision for the Mori ruler.

T It was the tribes of the To Pakambia, To Pada, and To
M-L Poe'oe-mbana, together with the subsidiary small tribes of the
648 To Kalae, To Tananda, and To Watoe, that were subject to the
M Datoe at Petasia. Originally these Bare'e-speaking tribes must also
[648]

835 /35 cont./ occur at the courts of princes without being further discussed in public, even though they led to pregnancy.

In the same manner the court of justice handled a case
684 of a man's relations with his stepdaughter, and that of a man
835 with his stepgranddaughter. The court of justice declared
593 that although no blood relationship existed between the accused,
608 these two young women were nevertheless regarded as daughter and granddaughter respectively, because they had lived with their stepfather and stepgrandfather from childhood on and had been reared by them. Here there exists a certain doubt, therefore, whether the case can be regarded as salimara'.[1]
608 Cases of sexual relation between a woman and her stepson
835 were not registered. This does not mean that these do not occur. At the most it may mean that these cases occur less frequently than those in which the man belongs to the higher generation (1).

587
593

1. The idea exists that when a widower remarries, his second wife treats her stepchildren with less kindness than her own. No heart-rending examples of this could be noted, however. In
[754] one case the hostile attitude originated with the two girls who suspected their stepmother of having killed their own mother by means of a formula (pangassengang), in order to be able to marry their father.

The relationship of a man
[578] with his stepson is a tense one. Quarrels occur that lead to physical violence and fights such as are unknown between a man and his own son.

1[i.e. incest. - Ann/Tst]

Makassar OG6 ●
Borneo OC1

Nias OD11
Ceram OH9
Malays AN5
Minangkabau OD10

N [557 cont.]
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Moluccas OH1
Makassar OG6
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MD before their confinement, begrudge that of their sisters and al-
I ways try to harm pregnant women. It is not pregnant women
[843]

[635 cont.]

776 A consequence of the latter is that the belief in good and evil spirits is also found among the Buginese and Makassarese. They are referred to by a few general designations that were adopted in former times from the Hindu-Javanese. Generally speaking, the tutelary spirits are called rewata in Makassarese, dewata in Buginese, the Hindu-Javanese dewata; the Sanskrit devâta. Another category is called sangiyang, the well-known Hindu-Javanese sanghjang. Among them Sangiyang Sarri, the same as Dewi Sri, deserves special mention. She is the spirit of the rice and is identified with it.

At the head of the spirits stands Batara Goeroe = Siva, often simply called Batara, who, as the name indicates, is likewise of Hindu-Javanese origin.

754 Among the evil spirits--popokang among the Makassarese, pappo among the Buginese--a primary role is played by those whose heads wander around at night while the trunk remains in bed. Here they are always women. If there is a woman at court who is thought to be a popokang, she is immediately made a slave and sentenced to pound kemiri continuously as a means of preventing her from going out at night and doing harm. Besides these, there are the pontijana, the spirit of women who died
766 in childbirth. If a woman dies in childbirth, an egg is put un-
775 der each of her armpits, her hands are pressed tightly against
754 the body, and some needles are stuck inside her clothing.
845

We shall not discuss the other spirits, because they were already mentioned in the general sketch.

769 [636] The worship of the souls of the deceased deserves
775 special consideration since the sanctity of the crocodiles, which
825 is found in many places on southern Celebes, is connected with
782 it. It is believed that the souls reside in these animals after
824 death. In the eastern districts, in Boeloekoempa, eels are regarded in the same way. Like the crocodiles, at the sound of metal cymbals, they come on land and feast on the chicken-
782 drumsticks that are given to them, especially by women who
776 yearn for the joys of motherhood. The most peculiar worship on

826 /165 cont./ inward, while he is convinced that he will die if
158 this should really happen (1). Koro literally means "to shrink."

1. The signs reported with respect to women are: the breasts become flatter, the nipples shrink, and the labia have a tendency to recede. Only women help the female patient. The phenomenon is less frequent with women than with men.

Van Wulfften Palthe and Slot regarded the phenomena as expressions of an anxiety neurosis (2).

2. See Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, 1935, Vol. 75, pp. 836 ff. and 811 ff. respectively.

The description of one certain case, as it was reported
[595] by an informant, ran as follows. A man of around forty-five years of age, married and with children, had taken a second wife. He had kept this fact a secret from his first wife because he was afraid of her jealousy. After a certain length
158 of time had elapsed, however, his second marriage neverthe-
826 less became known. One evening when he had come home
●755 tired and sleepy, he was overcome with tremors and broke out in a cold sweat of fear. He had the feeling that his penis was becoming smaller and smaller and that it was suddenly going to turn inward. Upon his shouts for help, neighbors came running in to him. One of them held the penis tightly in order to prevent it from receding, and another man went

158 /165 cont./ to fetch a sanro (Makassarese physician). After
826 some time had elapsed, and the sanro had performed a number
755 of rituals, the feelings of anxiety disappeared. For this day, the attack was past.

Women are kept away from a male koro patient. It is believed that their presence would cause the dreaded event, the receding /166/ of the penis, to take place, and it is believed
[761] that in that event the patient would die. People mention without much trouble a number of instances of individuals who supposedly died of koro.

Slot reports that koro occurs among adult Makassarese and
158 Buginese of each social class and both sexes. The phenomenon
755 may appear in groups. It is not the consequence of a modified libido. The Makassarese combat it by using influences regarded as positive, for instance, by using the flowering cluster of the male lontar palm as medicine and through the avoidance of negative influences, among which the turtle is mentioned (1).

1. The thought of the disappearance of this animal's head under its shell gives the patient an unpleasant association according to one informant.

158 Finally, Slot explains that the cause of koro may be a sense of guilt, but that this cause is ethnologically determined because the admissable and the inadmissable are here differently interwoven than in western Europe. He speaks of feelings of guilt while van Wulfften Palthe believes that it is anxiety feelings that lie at the base of the koro phenomenon.

Now that the koro phenomenon has been described from
158 the psychological point of view as an expression of anxiety,
181 one may attempt to indicate from the ethnological point of view how this anxiety can have its genesis. To this end I

Halmahera OH12 Bahau OC5
Toradja OG11 Borneo OC1
Nias OD11
Sundanese OE7
Makassar OG6

Ba 778 826 827 H 778 827 N T 778 827 I 778 826 827 Bo [755 778] I [844] S 782 776 777 778 I 844 M 778 755 777

[150 cont.]

liver hurt me," said a Dajak, "when I heard that my house had burned down." The Malayans speak of sakit hati, "pain in the liver," that is, "angered," and ketjil hati, "piqued"; the Tobélorees of Halmahera, when they hear something shocking, say, "my liver is burning."

Only among a few peoples in the archipelago is the heart itself looked upon as the central seat of mana (Niassans, Kailians of central Celebes).

The blood, however, is regarded as one of the principal carriers of much [151] mana; it throbs in the body wherever a pulse is seen or felt. Blood therefore plays an important role when sacrifices have to be made to avert disasters, as a means of driving out sickness, as a symbol of unity. Above all, it is believed to possess purifying powers. For this reason, when a house is dedicated, blood is painted on the beams and posts. In case of sickness, the Dajak of Sarawak build a miniature house which they sprinkle with blood and place in the home of the patient; for three days no stranger may enter so that the patient is able to have the full benefit of the power residing in the sprinkled blood, since he has lost so much by his sickness.

The placenta and umbilical cord possess great magical power for the newborn child, and they are given the name of the child's parents or called his "younger brother" (1).

1. The name for the placenta in various languages of the archipelago means "young brother."

A Sundanese kiai (teacher) used the following formula as an incantation: "His Majesty, King Djati Koembara, my brother, who was a placenta and is now an angel in the land of the north, promised at the time of my birth to protect me from storms, the detonation of guns, long swords, and spiced foods. I now ask for this protection seven times by day and seven times by night."

The placenta is buried with care; it is preserved during the first year of the child's life (among the Makassarese) for use in case of sickness to supply the missing life force, etc.

[160 cont.]

I 278 755 824 What is done with animals is also done with plants. Because the Dracaena terminalis is so strong and always grows again when it is clipped, the leaves of this plant are used throughout the whole archipelago for both religious purposes and medicines. Who in the Indies has not seen the lank stems with red or green leaves that the people carefully leave standing in a cultivated field? The Dracaena, as well as other plants that have the same characteristic of tenacious vitality, is used to add to the mana of man.

Other plants are used for the same purpose because of their name. It is believed that the nature of the plant is in the name, and so name and substance are identified with each other.

T 278 To give some illustrations, the Toradja have a plant, lontoeroe, which is used as a sedative because toeroe is "to sleep."

A 755 278 In Atjeh, in order to help someone back to health, he is cooled by sprinkling him with water that has been mixed with rice meal. The sprinkling is done with a brush made of a certain plant, sisidjöoe, "cooling."

M 755 278 Ratong-rara, the blood of the rara, plays an important role in the healing art of the Makassarese because rara means "firm" and is thus specially suitable for making one's vitality firm.

I 754 278 It is possible for one to be robbed of mana, in which case the therapy lies in getting it back or in breaking the influence that caused the sickness.

I 776 754 793 753 [161] Just as primitive man has the same explanation for all sickness, lack of magic power or lack of mana, or the presence of one aura or another, the magic power of spirits, gods, demons, or persons, especially priests who hinder the action for the sake of their own mana, for their own vitality, so also does he regard death, not as the result of natural development, but always as the consequence of outside influences. It is the personified spirits of smallpox, cholera, fever, etc. that are the cause of death. "Aja noe ngaheureujan, there is someone bothering him (or her," say the Sundanese of a sick person. The

S 753

Gorontolo OG4

Atjehnese OD4
MaKassar OG6
Halmahera OH12
Borneo OC1
Nias OD11

At 764 755 [169 cont.] time she has unraveled the tangled thread and threaded the broken needle day will break and she will have to put off her lugubrious outing until the next night.

I 764 755 The openings in the face of an ordinary corpse are covered over many times because the organs of sense can no longer be used.

N G B H M [764 755] When it comes to the burial, the first thought is to make it as difficult as possible for the deceased to find his way back to the house. For this reason, the corpse is not taken through the usual exit but through a hole made in the bamboo walls of the house (southern Celebes, Halmahera, Borneo). On Nias, the corpse of a woman who has died in childbed is taken outside through the flooring. The heathen Minahasa go quickly around the house several times with the corpse to confuse the deceased. Sometimes stakes are placed along the road to the burial ground, or one makes a great noise or starts a fire or returns from the burial ground at a trot or along a different path.

At the burial ground itself there are ceremonies that indicate no one wants any more to do with the deceased. We noticed several times at Chinese burials that a coconut would be split in two, one half was thrown in the grave and the other half was kept by the mourners. Or a piece of rattan was torn in half lengthways and the one half placed in the grave and the other kept. The idea behind this is that in the same way as the two halves of the coconut or rattan can never come together again, so the separation between the deceased and those he left behind is complete.

N [764] On Nias a cloth is sometimes torn in two over the shoulder of the deceased.

[170] Often the grave is dug so that the deceased lies with his head toward his house. This is done chiefly with persons who have suffered violent death. They are not looking in the direction of their house and are not so likely to be filled with thoughts of revenge. Furthermore the grave is oriented toward the west because it is in the west that the entrance to the land of

Makassar OG6 ● Gorontalo OG4
Batak OD5 Ambon OH4
Ceram OH9
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5

G 755 774 [552 cont.]
patient was not cured, it was a sign that the soul had not been
A C 753 755 found. Among the Ambonese Islanders, the Alfoer of Ceram,
etc., there is the idea that sickness is caused by the departure of
the soul, which is prevented from returning by an evil spirit.
J M1 MK 753 Here, too, the assistance of a priest is required for a cure. A
survival of this view is found even among the more highly de-
veloped Javanese, Malays, Buginese, and Makassarese.

The Javanese, like the Malays, call the soul sumangat, the
J M1 MK Bt 774 775 753 755 Makassarese and Buginese sumangá and sumangá, words that are
identical with the Batak sumangot, the spirit of a deceased blood-
relative.

The sumangat is someone's life-spirit, which, according
to the conception of the natives, leaves the body not only at
death, but also in case of fright or a faint, and good health is
achieved only through its presence. If the soul goes away, one
becomes sick, and it must be called back by a priest. This is
Bt [829] done among the Batak by having someone scatter rice on the head.
The sumangat can also pass into another human being or into an
animal, which creates such a secret relationship between the two
that the fate of the one becomes entirely dependent on that of
the other.

I 771 774 The above shows how general animism is in the archipelago.
We have seen how fetishism and spiritism, the religion of primi-
tive peoples, developed directly from it. In general among the
peoples of the Malayan Archipelago we find spiritism as the re-
ligion more than animism. It must be recognized, however, that,
although the former is to be distinguished from the latter, [553]
they cannot always be separated, in other words, spiritism and
fetishism often blend into each other, and one cannot tell where
the one stops and the other begins. As we have noted, for ex-
Bt 774 732 776 ample, the Batak believes that all objects, living as well as in-
animate, have a soul. Thus, rice has a soul, the rice-soul,
tondi-ni-eme. As soon as the rice starts to bloom, an offering
is made to its soul; otherwise one would run the risk of angering
it, because the soul of the rice can become angry. If that should

MO [559 cont.]
I exclusively who are persecuted by the pontianak, but the hus-
755 bands, too, have to fear these spirits. Among some peoples,
843 especially in the Moluccas, there is the belief that they rob the
MO men of their genitals. Therefore, their evil influence is lifted
[842] through offerings, exorcism, etc. Among many peoples, preg-
nant women always carry a small knife with them as a means of
defense against the pontianak.

MK Some peoples try to prevent those who die in childbirth
I from becoming pontianak for which several means are used. The
A Ambonese stick pins into the arms and legs of the corpse and
755 put three eggs under the chin and both armpits. The hair is
843 wound around a nail hammered into the coffin, and then the
766 whole body is covered with fishbones. The same custom, some-
what modified, is found among the Makassarese. Here, too,
an egg is put under each armpit of a woman who has died in child-
birth, and the arms are pressed tightly against her body and a
few needles are stuck into the palms of the hands.

h. Supreme Being

I As we noted in the beginning and have shown by some
776 examples, the religion of the Indonesians is principally spiritism,
[775] the worship of the [560] souls of the deceased and of spirits, who
wander about disembodied, although it is believed that both
these spirits and the souls of the deceased prefer to live in rivers,
on trees, in forests, etc. the souls are generally favorably dis-
posed; the spirits are good and evil.

Originally, none of the spirits had a higher rank than any
other. In the course of time, however, the notion of a supreme
god developed nearly everywhere. Among some peoples, this
is nothing more than a primus inter pares, but among most peo-
ples from this highest spirit there developed a conception of a
definite godhead, a supreme being that is above and beyond the

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thousands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

the latter there are ten graves of former radjas who were also holy men. One was especially important. Over the door was a sign in Arabic telling about the dates and lives of the men there buried. The dates are from 1600 to 1700, the Golden Age, of course. Busses are loaded going to this place, and the area itself is thronged. The people buy oil cakes and bring real flowers and lay these on the graves. The graves are thick with flowers. Then the people make their request, for example, for a child to get over an illness. I saw at least two Chinese there and I was told that plenty of them come to make requests. I did not go to the Kale Goa place with the graves today as it was too late. I will go tomorrow morning. I had little time to go into religious matters, but these matters are very strongly held here. I will cover these notes later on. 764 782 563 755

I took Saleh to meet Nunuhitu, the translator and typist. 124

Ternate and the Moluccas: I met the Sultan of Ternate in the club, where he stayed until 3 A. M. He touched no alcohol. He said that if he were in the United States he might drink, but not in Indonesia. He is a very little fellow, his clothes being too large for him, and is in the room next to me at the hotel. He is very keen and speaks English very well. He was in Australia during the war and spent quite a bit of time with the Americans. He even has a familiarity with American slang, for example, merry-go-round. A Dutchman said that he is 100 per cent Nederlander, and he spoke thus, but evidently not a stooge. He says he knows that he will have to yield to the folk here soon, but admits that other radjas are often not of the same disposition as he is. He has an intelligent progressive mind evidently, and although he works with the Dutch, he knows why. That is, he realizes that the Indonesians need their help. He is a member of the East Indonesia Senate. Evidently there are very few in this body, and they are the highest only. Thus the Tidore sultan is not in this body, but in the House of Representatives. The Sultan said that the siwa and lima were old Ternate and Tidore customs originally. Ternate, in the old days, was divided into nine negri or tribes, and everywhere rule among the people was divided into nine divisions. This is no longer true on the island, but he knows that it once was this way. He says that two of the original nine negri still exist. Tidore originally was divided into five negri and wherever the local adat was extended it was so organized. I asked him how he knew about this, and he said that his father had told him. His family has been in direct ruling line for 600 years and these old things are passed 000

M
T
648 /129 cont./ The people then went
755 to ask forgiveness of the Datoe, the descendant of La Dondorio,
753 and then the Datoe gave medicine, charmed water, which was
M drunk by the sick, and then many became better. Sometimes
643 he gave a charmed piece of wood or curcuma; little pieces of it were chewed and spit on the body of the sick person, or it was rubbed with it. The water charmed by the Datoe was kept in a bottle, and when a contagious sickness made its appearance, this water was mixed with a large quantity of ordinary water, and at eventide when the chickens went to roost, all the
T people, large and small, were sprinkled with it; this was con-
[776] tinued until the sickness had gone away. In such times of sickness no one should cross the road with a piece of wood or a spear in his hand, because then many spirits roamed about, and if one
T of them was touched by the wood or the spear, he would make
753 the person sick. The physicians (sando) say that when a hornbill
776 (alo) flies across the road, one must say nothing about it, for the
825 bird is possessed by a spirit, and if one says something about the bird, one is made sick by him (VIII, 28). Teka-teka (Phoenicophaeus calyorinchus) and monkeys are also sometimes possessed by spirits that bring sickness (napeontjoga).

M-L 15. The Datoe-ri-tana of Mori.

648 Some of the East Toradja brought their tribute to the Datoe-
643 ri-tana, the regional chief of Mori in the east of the country.
T This title means "ruler over the land." At the time, the last
[648] Datoe-ri-tana, Maroendoe, declared that the Datoe of Loewoe'
M had given him this title because his residence, Petasia, lay so
[648] far inland, in contrast to the Loewoe' residence Palopo, which lay close to the sea. The Loewoe'ers, however, use this name as a term of derision for the Mori ruler.

T It was the tribes of the To Pakambia, To Pada, and To
M-L Poe'oe-mbana, together with the subsidiary small tribes of the
648 To Kalae, To Tananda, and To Watoe, that were subject to the
M Datoe at Petasia. Originally these Bare'e-speaking tribes must also
[648]

Java OE1
Moluccas OH1
Gorontalo OG4
Makassar OG6

I [426 cont.]
J and these serve solely for the amusement of the spectators; an
535 example is the distinguished character dance of the Javanese.
M1 The war dances Tjakalélá in the Moluccas), which are found
535 primarily in the east of the archipelago, are also purely for the enjoyment of the audience and probably never had any religious significance.

I We shall now give some examples of each of the above-
535 mentioned dances; it will be seen that there is a definite development from purely religious or magical ceremony to mere amusement, although perhaps this statement is too sweeping, for it is by no means certain that the development has always
MK been the same among all the peoples of the archipelago. [427]
G [Illustration appears here.]
I [428] Shaman Dances. In the archipelago certain dances are
T56 one of the ways shamans are put in a trance; likewise, possession
535 by a spirit is also expressed in more or less wild dances. Where the shamans formed a closed society, as was the case among the Buginese and the old Minahasa, for instance, it was natural that the women in particular should apply themselves to the art of dancing. The original shamanistic dances gradually became secularized; dancing became a pastime and retained only faint
J traces of its former significance. This is probably the explana-
I tion for the existence of a class of professional dancing girls,
[548] who at the same time are often prostitutes. The usual name for these dancing girls on western Java is ronggèng, on central and eastern Java, talèdèk.

J The dances of these women are usually designated as
I
535 tandakken, derived from a Malayan dialect word tandak; the proper Javanese word for dancing is andjogèd, the Sundanese ngigel; in the Malayan of Sumatra, Riau, etc., one speaks of menari. This tandakken is done in exactly the same manner as the ordinary form of dancing described above; the ronggèng hold a slèndang in front of the mouth and during the dance strike at the end of the slèndang again and again in a peculiar way with the hands, meanwhile uttering little songs that can hardly be understood owing to the covering of the mouth. In

1:Alkema & Bezemer--478 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Melanesians OK2
Toradja OG11

Java OE1
Sumatra OD1
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7
Batak OD5

J [428 cont.]
I
535 Government lands the use of the covering for the mouth is obligatory, but not in the Principalities.

Bl Public or professional dancing girls like those on Java are also
S found in Palembang, where they are called pelandoek (actually,
535 "chevrotain"); among the Makassarese and Buginese, where they are known as padjogé; and on Bali, where they are called djogèd. The two last names are related to the Javanese word
MK mentioned above, andjogèd. Although the Buginese bissoe
535 still execute a kind of dance during their performances, never-
756 theless a direct connection between these shamans and the padjogé is no longer apparent, at least at present.

Bt Among the Toba Batak, besides the ordinary sibaso [429] or
756 shamans, there are also sibaso marèndé-èndé; among them the
786 spirits are not called down to deliver oracles concerning sickness,
535 etc., but rather the intention is to show the dances inspired by the spirit, during which all kinds of songs are sung (Batak, èndé, of the same form as the Malayan pantoen). This is an example of shaman dancing where the dance is actually a diversion.

I Masked Dances. The animistic or magical character of these
535 dances is to be seen quite clearly among some peoples; among others it is no longer recognizable, although it may be assumed on good grounds that they once had this character.

Ml Throughout the world, masks originally had a close connec-
I
[532] tion with religious conceptions, especially with ancestor worship. This is the case among the Melanesians in particular, where, for example, on New Mecklenburg, there are enormous, beautifully carved dance-masks. On New Caledonia there are masks which are the front part of the skull of an ancestor, more or less touched up; this is perhaps the most primitive form of mask and one which shows plainly that the object of putting on masks in some cases was to give a representation of the deceased ancestors. Wooden masks are found in various parts of the archipelago. Among the
T Toradja they are called pémia, a word which means "make after
532 the model of a human being, image of a human being." They are used at the great festivals for the dead. These pémia are

Bali OF7
Javanese OE5
Buru OH8
Halmahera OH12
Ma Kassar OGG

Bl [565 cont.]
791 ceremonies, make their will known to the people and are to be regarded as relics of the ancient Polynesian cult. Their name is walian. In addition, as a designation for shamans on Bali, there is also the word wewalen, which came from wewalian = walian with
J [791] reduplication. The contraction of ia to e is very common in Javanese as well as in the related languages, for example, durian = duren.

Bl 791 756 The difference between walian and wewalen is that the former word has a more general meaning. They are the actual mediums, whereas the wewalen are more the co-workers who perform the functions of doctors and doctresses.

Besides the walian and wewalen, there are also the sangyang,
Bl 791 who likewise are shamans. They are usually small boys or girls
786 and, like the former, are [566] put in a state of ecstasy by artificial means, such as incense, music, and not infrequently arrack, in order to serve the gods as mediums. The name sangijang literally means "spirit, god," hence, the being that possesses. Only later was this name carried over for the person who is possessed. Another people should be mentioned here, namely, the Bisayans of the Philippines; among them, too, there are priestesses, balian, who apparently are shamans.

Bu H 791 Furthermore, shamanism plays an important role in the religion of the Alfoer of Buru and Halmahera.

MK 756 It is not only among the pagan tribes, however, that shamanism is found. It also occurs among the more highly developed peoples who have already embraced Islam. First, we name the Buginese and Makassarese. Among them there is a class of persons, men as well as women, who profess to be able to be possessed by spirits and are therefore consulted primarily as
MK doctors and doctresses. These shamans are called bissu. The
[838] bissu greatly resemble the basir among the Dajak; like the latter, they also dress as women. Dr. Matthes doubts very much, however, that they surrender themselves to pederasty like the basir.
MK [833] To be sure, the male bissu maintain that they are incapable of

MK [566 cont.]
756 coitus, that they are impotent, which is the reason that in
832 Makassar they are called kweëen, from the Makassarese kawe = impotent. On account of this characteristic, they have free access to the court at all times, even to the rooms of the young princesses. Dr. Matthes does not believe that the female bissu are prostitutes like the Dajak balian, because they are seldom or never pretty enough to make young gentlemen lose their heads over them.

As we have noted, they are principally consulted as doctors or doctresses, sanro.

MK Otherwise, they appear chiefly when festivals are held, for
796 example, in honor of a birth, at funerals, teeth filing, weddings,
756 etc. They then perform all kinds of religious ceremonies, which consist primarily of dancing and singing. They also drive off the evil spirits, for which they use specific musical instruments.

B [567] There are also shamans among the Batak, usually
791 women. They bear the name sibaso. Baso is the Malayan
787 bahasa = word, term; sibaso can therefore be translated as "the word," because the utterance of anyone who is possessed by a spirit is regarded as the word. The spirits who possess the sibaso are in general begu. The descent of these begu is called sijar. They are consulted about all kinds of things, but mainly about illnesses.

M1 Shamanism also occurs among the Malays. This comes
787 out most clearly in the conjuring of the trubuk as this is done
226 in Brouwer Strait on Sumatra's east coast. When it is time for the catch and the schools of trubuk do not appear, this is attributed to a supernatural reason and an attempt is made to learn the cause of their staying away as well as the means to make the fish come.

M1 At the head of the fish stands a woman, Djindjang radja,
791 who serves as medium during the conjuring. She is possessed
787 by a spirit and in this condition delivers the necessary oracles.
786

[636 cont.]

782 southern Celebes, derived from the pre-Islamic period, is that of
776 Karaëng Lowe = Great Lord, which occurs primarily in the south-
ern districts. Karaëng Lowe is usually worshiped there under the
symbol of two stones that have the shape of male and female
778 genitals. In some localities, these symbols are stored in small
782 houses especially built for them, where the sacrificial rites are
conducted by a priestess, pinate. Elsewhere they are found in
caves or even in the open, so that everyone has free access to
them. Besides those symbols, trees and huge stones are also re-
garded as residences of Karaëng Lowe. Also, in every house,
generally in the loft, there is a small niche for offerings dedicated
to Karaëng Lowe, in which, however, the symbols are lacking;
at all the places dedicated to him vows and offerings consisting of
young coconuts, betel, burning native candles, chickens, buffalo,
gold, etc. are made to him, and in some areas a great annual
three-day festival is celebrated in his honor. The greatest of these
796 celebrations takes place in Gantanrang Keke, a place located
three hours away from Bantaeng. People stream there from all
regions of southern Celebes and amuse themselves with cockfights,
dice games, etc.

776 The worship of Karaëng Lowe is probably a survival from
778 the Hindu period; he is viewed as identical with Siva, who, as
we have said, was worshiped as the god of fertility and procreative
power under the symbols of the linga or of the linga and yoni, the
male and female genitals in conjunction. The stones with which
[637] Karaëng Lowe was worshiped have the same form and thus
point to the Siva cult; in this case it was brought to southern
Celebes by Hindu-Javanese. Now a few words about the other
principal characteristics of the worship in connection with the gen-
eral sketch.

791 1. Shamanism. We have already discussed the occurrence
● 756 of this on southern Celebes in detail. It is to be recalled that the
shamans here are called bissu = the Sanskrit bhikshû = mendicant
monk, but we want to add a few remarks.

The bissu actually belong to the Buginese regions. They

M 791 756 [637 cont.]
are said to have originated from the Buginese state Loewoe.

The spirits under whose influence they are supposed to
M [776] stand are more specifically Batara Goeroe and his spouse Wi Njilo Timo, the daughter of the god of the underworld, who rose from the sea, and their descendants. They are possessed by these spirits, and when they are possessed they often act as doctresses, sanro. Otherwise they perform their services especially during the festivities on such occasions as births, circumcisions, deaths, filing of teeth, marriages, etc. They then perform all kinds of religious ceremonies which consist of dances, singing, scattering toasted rice, etc. On such occasions, they drive off evil spirits by making noise and smoke with certain instruments. We should
M [198] note, too, that the bissu, like the shamans in other parts of the archipelago, use a sacred language at their conjurations, one which greatly resembles Old Buginese.

M [782] 2. Offerings. The making of offerings, both small and large, and holding sacrificial festivities is done often.

3. Magic. Sorcery manifests itself here in the wearing
M 777 of amulets and preventives, as well as in the use of magical
787 formulas and the belief in dreams and other omens. The way
788 in which ominous time periods are determined by means of kotika has already been mentioned.

M 784 4. Pemali. Among the Makassarese it is called kassipalli, among the Buginese pomali.

I 121 With this we close the discussion of the religions [638] as far as the original Polynesian and Hinduism are concerned. Islam remains to be mentioned, but we shall limit ourselves exclusively to an enumeration of the peoples who profess this religion.

h. Islam

I 779 771 We shall not discuss the history of the introduction of Islam in the archipelago, because this would take us too far afield (1). Similarly we shall not deal with the value of Islam

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
764 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photograph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photograph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
782 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
412 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers, etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This belonged to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
743 leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map) [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss
● 758 Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows. These dwelling places are much better than native houses. There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the children especially get leprosy, and that when children are born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

generally agree in this matter. She said that there could not have been a law compelling colonization as there is not enough room to care for all the lepers here, who number in the thousands (though India and Africa are worse off). So, many lepers are still at large. Generally, those who enter are those who either fear infection spreading to their relatives, or those whose relatives won't have them around, or those whom the kampong compels to leave their local community. But they have a happy life in a way, and this impresses the native mind, because they get free and good food, good houses, etc. The nurse said that there is some trouble in getting them to work as they will not do so unless they have to. Nevertheless, they do all the work needed and the place is well cared for, in fact, spotless. She said that psychologically there was little trouble with the native lepers but that Europeans almost went crazy. I saw only one Eurasian little girl. They weave their own clothes. I saw a backbar loom here [in the leper asylum at Bolombaru--Analyst] and another in the old man's house. All girls can weave, and practically all sarongs are homemade. I saw some beauties. And now I know how the weaving is done. The colors are really amazing. They weave a long narrow strip, perhaps thirty inches, and cut and sew to make a sarong. This takes from three to seven days. One military doctor comes here three times a week. The rest of the work is done entirely by the patients. The nurse said she liked her work and seemed to be in excellent spirits. I told her that I would give them old detective books. An old man [a patient in the leper asylum, Balombaru--Analyst] (photograph) said that he had formerly been captain of a prau. He had made a fine model of one like his for his son, and was quite proud to show it off. He said that he had sailed wherever there was trade, and that formerly he might be away from three to four years. He said that he had gone to Surabaja, Cheribon, Semarang, Batavia, Padang, Singapore, Siam, Penang, and even China. He had once had a chance to go to the United States (how?) but did not go. He showed me a picture of himself when he was in Java in the old days. It showed him, his former wife, and another couple. All were wearing horn rimmed glasses (property of the photographer?). He was dressed in a dark coat, wide "slicker" pants of the twenties and a necktie. He was not at all hesitant about talking of his former wife. He said that this one was still in Java with one child. He said he had only one male child by his present wife, but that he had many other children by others. He even seems uncertain as to how many wives, exactly, he has had. There

164 743 758 [753] [461] [286] 159

C the city government. Maybe I am too hard, but it lines up
647 with my steady claim: let them have democracy, but let them
563 realize that they must pay for and use expert direction. And
above all, they must work and learn. There are quite a few
152 Dutch teachers around here in government schools, and that,
829 to me, is good. I hope they stay. I do not know where they
will get the money to pay them in a land run by economic
illiterates. They try all sorts of ideas. I note that they often
ask me why the United States does not help. For example,
Andi said, "Why was it that the United States or some Ameri-
can firm did not build a factory in Makassar." I told him
frankly that the reason was that there was no money to be
made in South Celebes and that they would not come unless
they could see certain profit. For example, who here could
buy cars and other manufactured products? He took it well.
Another interesting thing here is the way they are not at all
bashful about the price of things. Everything I have they want
to know the price of. This is especially true of the old
Sulewatang. However, I met doctors at the beach, and they
were rather sophisticated. And still they wanted at once to
know the price of my camera as everyone else does. The old
Sulewatang came into my room today and looked at every-
thing, asking the price of each object. He commented that
everything was wonderful. He also asked if I could not get
some of the things he was handling for him! Thus, he obvi-
ously wanted my pencil, and whatever else I had. He asked
if I could not get him just a small raincoat like I had. I have
to be careful, but I manage to turn them off.

M To get back to the first kampong trip, and also to my talk
565 with the Sulewatang at his home the evening before; he told
● 759 me that it was easy for anyone to know what per cent of blood
was in any individual. Thus everything is figured out in per
829 cent. He used the word "pro sen"! Thus if someone who is
773 100 per cent marries someone who is 50 per cent, the chil-
dren are 75 per cent. And if someone who is 50 per cent
marries someone who is 25 per cent, then the children are
35 per cent (he noted that you just cut the difference!). Thus
the notable class consciousness is perhaps clearer here than
anywhere else. To what degree is magic power involved? He
agreed that there is practically no pure blood royalty in Bone.
He knew well the stories of heaven descent, the names of gods,
and so forth. I wonder if his son knows about them too? He
said that the sanro [a type of native doctor] are still in. Some
are doctors, that is, healers. This is all in line. He said
that some of them were half men, and seemed to agree that

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

771 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here
178 were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very
182 rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is
no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As
for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation
or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means
any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in
the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They
saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the
776 Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for
the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them
(maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those
that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong
knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names
of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew
saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata.
Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paeppo,
but called them popo, as did the Makassarese. In all spirit
cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping
or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also
[861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of
these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used
now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the
"spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan
ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa
Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go
back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala
838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which
793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got
548 much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo-
535 sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over,
it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an
● [759] aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they
are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and
also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example,
to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They
know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all
this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated
them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry,
etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and
that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as
ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they
act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go
for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night
for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he
would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved
wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also

158 /165 cont./ to fetch a sanro (Makassarese physician). After
826 some time had elapsed, and the sanro had performed a number
785 of rituals, the feelings of anxiety disappeared. For this day, the attack was past.

Women are kept away from a male koro patient. It is believed that their presence would cause the dreaded event, the receding /166/ of the penis, to take place, and it is believed
[761] that in that event the patient would die. People mention without much trouble a number of instances of individuals who supposedly died of koro.

Slot reports that koro occurs among adult Makassarese and
158 Buginese of each social class and both sexes. The phenomenon
755 may appear in groups. It is not the consequence of a modified libido. The Makassarese combat it by using influences regarded as positive, for instance, by using the flowering cluster of the male lontar palm as medicine and through the avoidance of negative influences, among which the turtle is mentioned (1).

1. The thought of the disappearance of this animal's head under its shell gives the patient an unpleasant association according to one informant.

158 Finally, Slot explains that the cause of koro may be a sense of guilt, but that this cause is ethnologically determined because the admissable and the inadmissable are here differently interwoven than in western Europe. He speaks of feelings of guilt while van Wulfften Palthe believes that it is anxiety feelings that lie at the base of the koro phenomenon.

Now that the koro phenomenon has been described from
158 the psychological point of view as an expression of anxiety,
181 one may attempt to indicate from the ethnological point of view how this anxiety can have its genesis. To this end I

585 /202 cont./ thought to be acquainted
833 with the formulas that
are correct in the Moslem
view. It is possible that
this is a local development.
Elsewhere in South Celebes
I did not hear of such marry-
ing again.

able to record three cases of this. All three took place from one to three years after the first wedding ceremony; and in all of them the couple shortly thereafter was "good" together.

833 It is believed that the individual himself is not responsible for his unwillingness. Therefore, nobody is angry at him.

If the young man is unwilling, his wife's kinsmen are not [602] angry at him. They receive him in a friendly manner when he comes to visit at their house. His wife remains shy and [593] withdrawn toward him, just as every young woman is toward her husband. She is not angry either, nor does she feel insulted by his refusal.

593 The man, too, is not angry. He sometimes brings some-
626 thing for his wife which she can use in the household, as is
833 customary between man and wife and as he would do if they were "good" together. Frequently, he spends the night at a married brother's or sister's house, by preference not in that of his parents, because the latter very clearly show him that he should not sleep in their house but with his wife. A certain amount of pressure is therefore exerted upon him. "People who act like that have a short life," it is said.

In case the wife refuses, there is a similar situation./203/. She is similarly told that women in such circumstances do not live long. "If a woman continues to refuse her husband, her [761] bier will creak" (1). Her husband is not angry at her, nor

593 /203 cont./ 1. That is to say, then
626 she will soon die.' For
833 when a corpse is placed
[761] upon the bier made of
bamboo, the bier creaks.

does he feel shame because she refuses him. Her kinsmen feel a little embarassed (siri' siri') because they brought about the marriage and therefore also bear responsibility for her refusal, so they are extremely friendly toward the young man.

586 The belief that the performance of ritual can cause a
[833] man or wife to give up his (her) refusal to have sexual intercourse entails that one waits for a long time before officially dissolving the contracted marriage. This is usually done with the mutual consent of the older people. Only when the latter have given up hope, after at least a year has elapsed, that the marriage could still become "good," is one of the two spouses permitted to marry someone else. Only then is the divorce of the first marriage registered.

In the case of couples who have been living separately for a long period of time, people often do not exactly know whether the Moslem marriage dissolution has already taken place. Little interest is shown in this.

The unwillingness of a young man is thus accepted, even though people are not simply satisfied with this right away. But one does not accept his giving the talak /formal repudiation. -- Ed./. A case of a young man disposing of his wife against the wishes of his older kinsmen was unknown in Borongloë. Informants believed that he would disgrace his kin group by doing so.

593 Even though a couple is "good" together after the wedding
833 festivities are over, this relationship may not be lasting in a number of cases. After a shorter or longer period of time, no more sexual relations take place in such a case. This

114 /249 cont./ There is no punishment for failure to register.
163 The reason that people do not like to register a child that has
217 just been born is the belief that this would bring about misfortune
because it is conceived as an expression of arrogance or pride.
[777] For the same reason a newborn child is wrapped in old rags.
751] There is no certainty that the births recorded in a year represent
the correct number.

A woman by preference has her first child in the house of her
[844] parents, especially if she herself was also born there. Many
children are therefore registered in a kampong where their parents
no longer live and from which it again "moves" a few months
after birth.

A child does not receive a name directly at birth for the
[553] same reason that a child's birth is not directly reported. All boys
are referred to as Baso or Batjo, all girls as Basse or Batje. In
this semianonymity the child is considered safe. Only years
later does it receive a name of its own, which, however, is not
recorded in the register. A certificate of birth is not submitted.

Death Registers

114 In the death registers that are likewise maintained by the
217 imam for the entire adat community (around 14, 000 inhabitants),
165 the following data are found reported in parallel columns: the
[793] name of the deceased, his sex, his age; the kampong in which
he died, whether he died during the night or during the day, the
date of his death, the final illness, and sometimes a few remarks
concerning heirs and estate.

The reasons indicated for the death are very much those of
[761] a layman; the imam bases them upon complaints uttered during
the final illness; stomach-ache, coughing, sometimes old age,
are found recorded in this category. /250/

Thus, these registers must also be handled with care.
Neither age nor reason for death can be regarded as reliable.

2: Wilken--606 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Makassar OG6 Nias OD11
Borneo OC1 Ceram OH9
Malays AN5
Minangkabau OD10

N [557 cont.]
532 a human shape and are called adju. One finds a number of these
769 images in every house; they play the same role as the korwar.

Another and more peculiar way of representing the souls of
C the deceased which deserves special mention is found on the
775 island Boeano west of Ceram. Here the abode is believed to be
769 small pots or urns, which, like the korwar and adju, are the
323 media, for communicating with it. These little pots, buli-buli, are of coarse porcelain and are divided into male and female. The former are in high relief and have no cover, whereas the latter have one. A special little house is erected for the buli-buli. Although it is more generally believed that the souls are disembodied, nevertheless it is likewise believed that they have the power to change temporarily into one or another body, even into that of a human being. Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that the spirits and souls, although wandering about freely, are thought to prefer certain places as their abode, such as in rivers, on mountains, and in graves. As to the nature and character of the souls, it can be stated that they are generally regarded as good spirits. One must take care, however, not to
I offend or neglect them, or one will have to fear their vengeance.

776 [558] Besides the souls of the deceased, good and evil
753 spirits are worshiped. Calamities, accidents, etc. are caused by their influence, as are illnesses, because they snatch the soul from the body and torture it.

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f. Vampire and Werewolf

I To enumerate all the evil spirits here would carry us too
774 far afield. We shall, however, name a few that are believed in
754 generally in the Malay Archipelago. In the first place, we have
753 in mind a kind of spirit that has a human shape during the day,
761 but at night leaves the trunk behind while the head, neck, and intestines wander about, causing all kinds of harm, especially sickness, or even bring about death by sucking the blood of

Timor OF20
Moluccas OH1

Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Minangkabau OD10
Malays AN5
Tagalog OA36

Ml [558 cont.]
MK sleepers. These spirits bear various names. Among the Malays
MK of Sumatra they are called palasib or, according to Minangkabau
I pronunciation, pălăsiëq; among the Batak, palasik, and elsewhere
BR in Malayan lands, penanggalan. Among the Dajak in particular
774 the belief in these spirits plays an important role. They are
754 called hantuen, and in nearly every region of the southeastern
753 division there are persons who are suspected of being hantuen.
761 Naturally, there is great abhorrence of marriage with such a person. It is said, however, that such marriages sometimes occur, because one does not always know. If it is regarded as proved that someone is a hantuen, then he is put to death with the greatest tortures. Among the Buginese these spirits are called paeppo,
MK among the Makassarese popokang. Among these peoples, they
[562 are exclusively women. If a woman is thought to be such at the
681] court, she is immediately reduced to slavery and sentenced to pounding kemiri nuts all day long every day, which is a means of preventing her nightly wanderings.

T The belief in these beings also exists in the eastern part of
MD the archipelago, in the Moluccas and on Timor. They are called
Tm suwangi or swangi here. Especially when a ruler dies, a swangi
754 is often blamed for it. The person accused of being the swangi
761 is put to death and his relatives are made slaves. Among
753 the Tagalog on Luzon, who believe in these spirits, they are
774 [559] called magtatankal.

g. Pontianak

MD Another spirit that is generally feared is the pontianak, the
I name of the spirits of women who died before delivery. Every
755 woman who dies in childbed becomes a pontianak. They gen-
[845] erally show themselves in the form of a bird and are therefore flying ghosts. These pontianak who could not enjoy motherhood
MD before their confinement, begrudge that of their sisters and al-
I ways try to harm pregnant women. It is not pregnant women
[843]

T M /127 cont./

648 In everyday life the Datoe of Loewoe' meant nothing to
M the Toradja. In no case was he considered. The Datoe was
643 brought into play only against strangers. In their contacts with
the Government, before it vigorously asserted itself, all over-
T tures were rejected with an appeal to the Datoe. Our attempts
114 to open schools among the Toradja failed in the first years, be-
648 cause the people did not want to know anything about this novelty,
871 from which they expected only disadvantages for their social
177 life. In order to cut off all discussion of this matter they hid
M behind the Datoe, who certainly would not approve if his sub-
648 jects obtained schooling while he himself did not yet have any.
643 Whenever the Toradja saw an advantage in some new thing,
they did not think of consulting the Datoe about it.

M The Datoe of Loewoe' was actually only the keeper of the
648 gaoekang (literally "things, implements, ornaments"), or
643 aradjang ("signs of greatness"), the fetishes in which the strength
[778] of the country is preserved, the regalia. As heirlooms of the
T deified ancestors they make the possessor the direct deputy of
648 these ancestors; this person thus stands on the same level as the
ancestors. Then the Toradja also said of the Datoe: "He is our
god (lamoa)." That the Datoe left them to their lot and never
T concerned himself about them they found precisely "god-like"
[622] and "ancester-like" of him because in this way he left their adat
T untouched. And this is the task of every Chief.

M The Toradjas were loyal subjects of the Datoe, precisely be-
648 cause of the superstitious respect that they had for him. The Datoe
M was said to have white blood in his veins. The mysterious power
643 that emanated from his person was considered so great that an
[826] ordinary Toradja could not look at him without getting a swollen
[753] stomach and dying. The story is told of two Lage chiefs who
[778] wished passionately to see the Datoe. They actually succeeded
[761] in making their way to him, but the one died already on the
return journey and the other three months after he reached home.

554/241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely de-
612 limited group and that the standing of relatives among each
684 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
687 found -- with one single exception: the karaëng and the
[562] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thousands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

634 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man
612 in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived
621 together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua. When he became head in that year, the members of both groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to
[361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration, the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua, as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen from at least two of these groups.

571 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course
612 of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the
[778] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around the adat community head. The tendency toward separation is increased by the difficulty of communication across the Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie
[764] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
064 to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

532 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth
612 in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
669 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past," he wrote in 1883 (2).

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

Gorontolo OG4 Atjehnese OD4 Makassar OE6 Halmahera OH12 Borneo OC1 Nias OD11

At 764 755 [169 cont.] time she has unraveled the tangled thread and threaded the broken needle day will break and she will have to put off her lugubrious outing until the next night.

I 764 755 The openings in the face of an ordinary corpse are covered over many times because the organs of sense can no longer be used.

N G B H M [764 755] When it comes to the burial, the first thought is to make it as difficult as possible for the deceased to find his way back to the house. For this reason, the corpse is not taken through the usual exit but through a hole made in the bamboo walls of the house (southern Celebes, Halmahera, Borneo). On Nias, the corpse of a woman who has died in childbed is taken outside through the flooring. The heathen Minahasa go quickly around the house several times with the corpse to confuse the deceased. Sometimes stakes are placed along the road to the burial ground, or one makes a great noise or starts a fire or returns from the burial ground at a trot or along a different path.

At the burial ground itself there are ceremonies that indicate no one wants any more to do with the deceased. We noticed several times at Chinese burials that a coconut would be split in two, one half was thrown in the grave and the other half was kept by the mourners. Or a piece of rattan was torn in half lengthways and the one half placed in the grave and the other kept. The idea behind this is that in the same way as the two halves of the coconut or rattan can never come together again, so the separation between the deceased and those he left behind is complete.

N [764] On Nias a cloth is sometimes torn in two over the shoulder of the deceased.

[170] Often the grave is dug so that the deceased lies with his head toward his house. This is done chiefly with persons who have suffered violent death. They are not looking in the direction of their house and are not so likely to be filled with thoughts of revenge. Furthermore the grave is oriented toward the west because it is in the west that the entrance to the land of

Timor OF20
Bali OF7
Toradja OG11
Makassar OG6
Ambon OH4

I [172 cont.]
769 of giving the deceased his possessions to this extent. Along this
I [762] same line there is the custom of cutting off the hair upon the
death of a royal personage, as was the practice [173] [illustra-
Tm [765] tion appears here] [174] on Timor. One did not give his whole
life, but a part of the whole (pars pro toto).

I When none of his own clan members followed the deceased
[174 in death, they tried to satisfy him by offering someone else.
[782] Another notion was later added to this idea of satisfying the
764] dead, that of sending along the soul of the sacrifice as a servant
and, still later, as an attribute of courage, in order to facilitate
the entry of the deceased into the realm of the dead.

Usually a head was cut off; sometimes a slave from a neigh-
B boring tribe was bought and killed. If the dead man was a prince,
[764] it was customary for several people to be offered as sacrifices.
In former times on Bali as many as thirty people were sometimes
sacrificed at the death of a prince.

Even where human sacrifices are no longer offered, the idea
that the deceased should be accompanied in death is still pre-
served in another form in various customs.

Tr When a chief of the Toradja on Poso Lake dies, a slave family
[764 has to go and live on the grave. The family is looked upon as
768] dead and nobody is allowed to speak to it or to refuse any request
it might make. Even after the festival of the dead, the presump-
tive death of the slave family is still maintained.

M Among the Buginese (Islamites) it is customary for the slave
[764] who catches the water in which the corpse has been washed to be
declared free. The idea is that he or she is sacrificed in this way
and is dead.

There are suggestions of these sacrifices to the dead among
the Islamites (see the chapters, "Islam" and "Ceremonies and
A Customs"), as well as among some of the Christians, for example,
775 the Ambonese. On the third day after death, the deceased be-
765 comes conscious of the fact that he is dead. The Ambonese
797 Christians assemble in the house of the deceased on this third day
and sing psalms into the night.

Makassar 066
Redjang-Lampung 0612
Batak 005

MK [186 cont.]
538 principally bânni = cracked rice, which sounds like mabanni =
[574] spend the night. The Buginese simply wanted to say "remain overnight." One can see that the play on words is farfetched.
MK The elong in the basa Bakkâ cannot be understood without ex-
[539] planation. Here is another example. "Do not try to satisfy your passion, because then you always would have only bale ta-kesâssi = fish without scales at home. This bale ta-kesâssi in the basa to-Bakkâ makes one think specifically of a fish awu-awu. This word also means "oh! alas!" The words "then you would only 'have scaleless fish at home'" are meant to express [187] then you would have only 'oh,' 'alas,' that is, distress and misery, in your house. Before taking leave of the elong, we must mention a particular kind, the so-called elong osong, war songs.

B Besides these shorter poems with four verses, the literature
RL of the peoples named has longer poems. Among the Batak,
538 Lampong, and Redjang, these are romantic or historical poems, which, however, are still not very well known. We are better
MK informed about those of the Makassarese and Buginese, called,
538 respectively, tolo and sinrili, which can best be compared with the Malayan sjair. The parallelism mentioned above is very much in evidence in them. Among these poems there are often very beautiful ones, especially among the Makassarese, which excel in bold images and striking contrasts. As an example, one
MK should read the sinrili No. 53 of Dr. Matthes' Makassaarsche
[764 Chrestomatie, a funeral song by a wife for her husband.
114]

Some sinrili or tolo are heroic lays, of which a few deal with subjects from modern times. For instance, a Buginese epic deals with the Boni war. There are some older ones, however, such as La Galigo, which is written in old, obsolete Buginese
MK and understood by only a few. The content is of a mythological
[773 nature and deals with the adventures of Batara Goeroe (the
776] supreme deity) and his descendants on earth, among whom is La Galigo (1). As a poetical product La Galigo is of little value

1. Wilken, Animisme, Part 2, pp. 232-233.

2: Wilken--240 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Makassar OG6 ● Batak OD5
Timor OF20 Borneo OC1
Land Dyak OC8
Ambon OH4

I
Bt
Br
842
776
775

[202 cont.]

v.d. Ind. Archipel [Animism among the peoples of the Malay Archipelago], Vol. II, p. 196.

LD
I
775

The belief in the pontianak is general throughout the archipelago, among the Mohammedans and Christians, as well as among the pagans. Evidence of this is the name of the capital of Borneo's western division, Pontianak, built, as is known, on an island. According to the natives, before the town was built the island was inhabited by pontianak who were driven off by gunfire, but their name was given to the town (4).

4. Veth, Borneo's Westerafdeeling, Vol. I, p. 13.

MK
A
775
764

We have just said that all women who die before their confinement are changed into pontianak. Some peoples try to prevent this, for example, the Ambonese, who treat the corpses in a special way. [203] When the body is put in the coffin the arms and legs are pricked with pins, and three eggs are put under the chin and both arms. The hair is wound around a nail driven into the coffin, and the whole corpse is covered with pieces of fish bones (1). Something similar is done among the Makassarese (1)

1. Ludeking, Schets v.d. res. Amboina [Sketch of the Ambon Residency], p. 166. Matthes, Bijdrage t. d. Ethnologie v. Z. Celebes, p. 97.

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T
775
777
843

In order to protect themselves from the influence of pontianak, pregnant women sometimes carry a knife, as on Timor (2), or then again other objects (3).

2. Veth, Timor, p. 42.

3. Riedel, de Kroes- en sluikharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua [The Curley and Straight-haired Races between Celebes and Papua], see Index under zwangerschap [pregnancy].

Enggano OD6
Gorontalo OG4
Javanese OE5
Sula OH15
Makassar OG6
Toradja OG4

M S J I 304 171 764 [236 cont.]

Concerning the age at which the teeth are filed, it should be noted that it commonly coincides with the onset of puberty or entering into wedlock. It is also worthy of note that sometimes the teeth are not filed until after the death of the nearest blood-relatives. For instance, this is the case among the Alfoer of the Minahasa, in the Kedoe Residency, in the environs of Benkulen, on the Sula Islands, and on Salayar, which indicates that tooth-filing was once a mourning custom, corresponding to the practice current in Polynesia of breaking out a couple of teeth as an act of mourning when a death occurs.

E T I 304 585

In the Malay Archipelago teeth are not broken out for that purpose, but as a necessary ceremony at the celebration of a marriage. For instance, this is done among the tribes of central Celebes and the people of Enggano. It therefore appears that tooth-filing and the tooth-breaking are parallel; in other words they are identical.

I 304 174

This is of great importance for an answer to the question of the original significance of the mutilation of teeth; although nowadays most of the peoples of the archipelago file the teeth only for beautification, it seems to me that a deeper meaning lies behind it.

I have just indicated that breaking out the teeth occurs in Polynesia as a mourning custom and is analogous to tooth-filing for the same reason among some tribes of the Malay Archipelago. This custom, however, does not stand alone, but is often linked with other self-mutilations which involve bloodshed, the blood of which should be considered a sacrifice to the dead, whereby, in giving part of the body, in this case blood, the principle pars pro toto is put into practice. The supposition that mutilation of the teeth was originally a similar [237] sacrificial act is, therefore, far from improbable.

I [585 302]

Likewise, breaking the teeth out or filing them on the occasion of marriage must originally have been a sacrificial act whose original religious significance was later lost and it survived only as a social institution analogous to the ritual

Bahau OC5
Makassar OG6
Batak OD5
Bali OF7

[426 cont.]
567 masters if he can find someone who is willing to pay his debt to his master. This is more or less a brighter side of bondage, because a bondman can, if he has a bad master, at least try to improve his lot. Apart from this difference, bondage and slavery are very much alike. Many people look down on bondmen with as much disdain as on slaves.

MK 567 426 727 In Celebes, more specifically among the Buginese and Makassarese, persons become slaves through debts. It can happen that a person has many debts, his own or inherited ones, which he cannot pay himself and which the family refuses to pay. If the creditor agrees that the person may work for him until the debt has been paid, then he becomes a bondman, but if the creditor is not satisfied with that and neither the sovereign nor the hadat (state council) loans the money, then the debtor is sold (1)

1. Niemann, "De Latowa," Bijdr. T., L. en Vlk, v. Ned. Ind., 4th series, Vol. VIII, p. 227.

and becomes the slave of whomever buys him. Furthermore, one becomes a slave by selling himself, by being sold as a prisoner of war, or as punishment for wrongdoing against the state council or the sovereign.

MK BC BI 567 764 The slaves may be declared free if the behave well or if they buy their freedom.

[427] A special instance when slaves are declared free is at funerals. We mentioned this earlier for Bali; here we want to point to the Batak and Buginese, among whom the same custom exists (1).

1. Van der Tuuk, Bat. Wrdb., see mangalopas (lopasan). Neumann, Tijdschrift Ned. Aard. Gen., Vol. IV, p. 40.

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo killings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been
771 at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
184 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not
●764 pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always re-
513 moved. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs
625 proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate. The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well
102 things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaëng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]

368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
●764 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photograph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photograph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
782 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
412 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers, etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This belonged to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
743 leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map) [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss
758 Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows. These dwelling places are much better than native houses. There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the children especially get leprosy, and that when children are born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
505 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

● 764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
563 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thou-
755 sands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

the latter there are ten graves of former radjas who were also holy men. One was especially important. Over the door was a sign in Arabic telling about the dates and lives of the men there buried. The dates are from 1600 to 1700, the Golden Age, of course. Busses are loaded going to this place, and the area itself is thronged. The people buy oil cakes and bring real flowers and lay these on the graves. The graves are thick with flowers. Then the people make their request, for example, for a child to get over an illness. I saw at least two Chinese there and I was told that plenty of them come to make requests. I did not go to the Kale Goa place with the graves today as it was too late. I will go tomorrow morning. I had little time to go into religious matters, but these matters are very strongly held here. I will cover these notes later on. 764 782 563 755

I took Saleh to meet Nunuhitu, the translator and typist. 124

Ternate and the Moluccas: I met the Sultan of Ternate in the club, where he stayed until 3 A. M. He touched no alcohol. He said that if he were in the United States he might drink, but not in Indonesia. He is a very little fellow, his clothes being too large for him, and is in the room next to me at the hotel. He is very keen and speaks English very well. He was in Australia during the war and spent quite a bit of time with the Americans. He even has a familiarity with American slang, for example, merry-go-round. A Dutchman said that he is 100 per cent Nederlander, and he spoke thus, but evidently not a stooge. He says he knows that he will have to yield to the folk here soon, but admits that other radjas are often not of the same disposition as he is. He has an intelligent progressive mind evidently, and although he works with the Dutch, he knows why. That is, he realizes that the Indonesians need their help. He is a member of the East Indonesia Senate. Evidently there are very few in this body, and they are the highest only. Thus the Tidore sultan is not in this body, but in the House of Representatives. The Sultan said that the siwa and lima were old Ternate and Tidore customs originally. Ternate, in the old days, was divided into nine negri or tribes, and everywhere rule among the people was divided into nine divisions. This is no longer true on the island, but he knows that it once was this way. He says that two of the original nine negri still exist. Tidore originally was divided into five negri and wherever the local adat was extended it was so organized. I asked him how he knew about this, and he said that his father had told him. His family has been in direct ruling line for 600 years and these old things are passed 000

000 down from father to son within the ruling family. He said that Ternate once ruled over most of the Moluccas and up into the Philippine Islands. Tidore ruled mainly over New Guinea. Batjan, the other sultanate, was small and less important. This Sultan is a remarkable man and I will talk further with him when I read over my notes on Halmahera.

764 346 177 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Sixth day: I had to leave at eleven in the morning to go to Bone. I went at once to the graves of the radjas nearby and at Kale Goa. I noted that all of the tombs of the hundred-year ago type ("beehive") had an urn on top. I also noted that the mosques around here and also the shrine buildings have urns on top. (Later, in Watumpone, I noted that a mosque had, instead of the urn, a stone decoration which looked like an urn) This urn business must be a survival of the old mortuary use (or could it be a mere imitation of the onion shape of Byzantine decoration, which an urn approximates?). I had seen the beehive tombs near the Shrine of the Pigrimage the day before, as well as the large cemetery of regular graves. A bit further on I saw another mosque, and near it many more beehive tombs. I went into several of them.

764 782 778 Then I went on to Kale Goa, and on the plateau stand many older type tombs (see photographs), of rough stones, with low doors. And I also noted even older ones, near stone heap mounds. An old man said that the latter were from Hindu times, the former from the time of Datu ri Bandang, in the early seventeenth century, who was the introducer of Islam here. In one of them I saw people sitting crouched down. Several of them were from Pangkadjene, which is quite a distance away, and they had come to make requests. All this is amazing. Then, on a slight, rectangular, earth mound was the coronation stone of Goa. It is small and flat and low. It fell from heaven. Over it is a small gnarled tree which never grows nor diminishes. Nearby is a small fence around another larger and rounder stone which also fell from the sky. There is one beehive tomb here (photograph).

773 778 I then walked down a little valley to a small kampong, the old man telling me stories about Tumanurung [a legendary figure of unknown origin who married Karaëng Bayo. The couple became mythological founders of the Goa nobility--Analyst] and others the whole time. We reached a well which evidently also features in the cycle of the legend. Nevertheless, it is being used at the present time, and there was a woman there washing a white buffalo with water. I forgot to say that under the round stone is the dried-up well where Goa warriors used to wash for invulnerability before

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed [791]
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
]day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764●
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that 554
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 782
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 796
They said that women have two stones, and men only one!
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

office and even to Batavia. The trouble with Wadjo is that many letters there are left unanswered because friends of the corrupt administration are involved. But the controleur is catching them, as he gets copies in the office at Watumpone and then goes to Wadjo and asks why no answer. This is evidently the reason, or one of them, that the Wadjo folk are ready to revolt against the radja and the government. The letters are written by letter writers, who charge a fee to write them in most kampongs. M 695 661 668 212

In regard to Wadjo and Soppeng, Denzo said that the latter is pretty good and that the radja sees this is an overgangstijd [transitional period], as does his administration. Thus the situation is not so bad. But he agrees that Wadjo is awful.

Incidental: I see from the Sadang notes that the swing [During the period of rice ripening, swings are made of ratan, rope, and buffalo hide. The swings are attached to the branch of a tree. In some areas (Kesu, Sadang, and Balusu) boys and girls swing together. Swinging is done to promote the growth of the grains of rice. In some parts of the Sadang area (e.g., Rimbon), the swinging is done by women who also sing a song of gratitude for a good harvest. This custom apparently survives principally as a children's game. All references to swinging will be found in category 524. --Analyst] is used during the entire period of rice planting or rice ripening. S 524 243

I noted that the three-window front of a house, which I had thought was specifically Makassarese, is also found on Buginese houses in the mountains, for example in Soppeng. Thus all that has happened is that the Makassarese have kept it well, while the Buginese in the coastal and other areas tend to lose it. M 342 178

On the way up to Makale, I saw plenty of Toradja, including a coffin on a platform in the yard. The platform was made of bamboo. Bohn in Paloppo and my notes on van der Veen say that this is probably the Luwu group of Sadang. And Bohn corroborates that many are descendants of slaves who were brought there. They live mainly in separate kampongs from the Buginese and there are very few mixed kampongs. They have little social contact, except trading. They practically never intermarry. M 563

On the way in I noticed that the place around Rantepao is full of niche graves. Nearly every appropriate rock face has at least one, together with an ornate door. In these rather solitary ones, however, I did not notice the tautau. M 764

M 764 Also, every time I looked more closely, I saw more stone circles. The hills are full of them. I saw through my glasses a small death feast on the hillside near Rantepao. There was a circle, a platform, and people all around.

S 871 797 In regard to payment for school tuition, I noted that it is starting in Bone next month. Boer said that next month they are going to try to start it in the Makale region too. This seems to be a sign that they are really bankrupt. I asked Boer about this and he agreed that the Sadang are better off than the people in Bone by far because the missions give them free schooling and also other services. They bring f.200,000 per year into the district. Bone gets nothing from the outside.

S 124 551 [115] Marante, September 13, 1949. First day: A complete failure. I went to the house of my assistant whose adult name is Datu Palinggi and he reminded me that Sa'lita was his child name. He seemed a bit put out that I used the latter. He was not in, but the district head of Kessu (in which Marante is situated as one of the kampongs) was there and he said that Datu Palinggi was in Makale for a Bible conference. I talked a bit with the district head, and he said that Palinggi is a big man in the kampong, and could become kepala kampong. Kessu is a big district, including, I think, Rantepao. Papajungan used to be the kepala of it. The district kepala also said that the mabua [a communal feast with offerings to invoke fertility and welfare--Analyst] feast is seldom given as it costs too much. He said that his father had seen one but that he had never seen one himself. Van der Veen later said that he saw one many years ago. The district kepala also said that mabugi and maro and merauk [communal feasts with offerings to combat or expel illness--Analyst] are rare. Thus only death feasts carry on as a regular thing. But the big ones come next month, of course. I may be able to see some small ones. A big one is being arranged in kampong Tau near Rantepao, for the dead father of the district kepala. They will kill 160 buffaloes and 300 pigs. He was a high tomakaka. I hope to see his body soon.

S 527 782 764 634 751

S 124 Then I went to Rantepao where I was told that my assistant was in Makale. I found him with the Domine Pol and two other Dutch people, and two native Christians. Pol was reading the Bible in Sadang and the others were listening with bowed heads. I arranged to see him later at which time he said that he had to work every day with van der Veen, so we went to see the latter, but to no avail. So, as Palinggi said the Papajungan had done much of the work on the schedule

his status. The Kepala kampong repeated that there are M
many grades of slaves, and evidently the higher ones actual- 567
ly regard themselves as superior to ordinary commoners. He said that formerly there were many more slaves here, but that many went away when greater freedom of movement was allowed. He added that in the kampongs near the towns there are fewer slaves than in the more remote areas. At one time a noble might have owned as many as a hundred or more slaves.

I quizzed him about the to detjeng. He said this was hard M
to explain because there were so many kinds. He agreed that 565
the crucial point is that there is some noble blood involved. 851
However, he said that one might use the term detjeng in 582
reference to slaves; all this means literally is "good" (baik). 567

I asked about class intermarriage, and Andi said that marriage of a matola with a slave woman means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. Also, the marriage of a matola man with a commoner means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. He is not too clear about all this, and it certainly could stand some case research.

In the kampong of Tolangi there are supposed to be a M
number of Toradja descendants. I saw this section of 563
Bukaka and noted that there were only about seven to eight T
houses. They are located near a mosque. The Kepala kam- 186
pong said that the Toradja there try hard to assimilate into 167
the Buginese group, and that they do not like to be called 191
"To Tolangi." They try to move out of this section so that 177
they can hide their Toradja origin. The older ones can still speak Toradja, but the younger ones are forgetting it and they try never to let it be heard (like immigrants in the United States). Today they intermarry with the Buginese. Andi said that there are plenty of Toradja people in Watampone, lots of them living near his house. They come from all over the Toradja country. By and large they are workers M
at rather poor jobs and do not mix in very much. 565

In talking about intermarriage I insisted that everyone has 582
to know whether a person has a slave background or not. They agreed to this and said that marriages are watched carefully.

We went to a cemetery where there were two beehive M
cement and brick tombs just like the Kale Goa. Inside were 764
the usual graves and on them were placed flowers. There 174
was a smell of incense in the tomb. The Kepala kampong [563]
said that people make offerings and pray here. He said that the Chinese come here too. These graves are about two

764 hundred years old and may show that Mohammedanism here
174 came in a little later than in Goa. These tombs seem to date from the period of conversion to Mohammedanism, judging from the dates, especially in Goa. In this cemetery there are also modern, ordinary graves.

The Kepala kampong said that before the war there were many fine urns on the tombs, but the Dutch controleur had taken them. Later on van Heekeren told me that the Japanese took a lot of these urns too.

346 We went to look at the old and the new mosques. Both have
174 urns on top, as in Goa. The one on the old mosque has blue and white figures on it; the one on the new mosque is brown, apparently of a solid color. I asked van Heekeren, and he said that all mosques have these urns, even in the Paloppo and Luwu areas. He says that these urns are of Chinese origin and were formerly used to hold the ashes and charred bones (i.e., some of the bones) of the cremated bodies, before Islam came in. Van Heekeren is sure that there is not very much Hindu influence here; the urn burial trait is not Hindu but merely pre-Islamic Makassarese and Buginese. I
[126] took some photographs and gave some polaroid prints to the Kepala kampong, of him and his wife in Hadji dress, with their little daughter (perhaps one and a half years old, who waves when you say dag [hello or good-bye--Analyst]).

000 While we were talking about slaves an old fellow came in and stood at the foot of the stairs mentioning something to the Kepala kampong. He was the slave of the assistant chief (seriang). They talked in a very low whisper.

838 Talking with Andi, I brought up the homosexual matter
793 again. He maintains that homosexuals are numerous here.
778 The official ones are attached to the aradjang and at the head of them is the puang matoa, chief of the bissu. When the aradjang is taken out, the bissu from many kampongs gather in Watampone and dance. I asked if every wanua has an aradjang. They do not. However, there are some kampongs that have them. The bissu handle and take out these lesser aradjang too. This also would bear research.

838 Andi went on and on about the scandalous behavior of the
548 ordinary homosexuals (tjalabai). They dress and act like women and are found everywhere. There are many in Watampone. They swish and flirt and stick rolled up handkerchiefs in their blouses to imitate breasts. Andi says that many men are crazy about them and spend lots of time and money to have sex with them. He was surprised that I had seen none. I do remember at the pasar malam that I had seen a "girl" in a bright red blouse (kabaya), and a well painted face. "She"

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in
[342] Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

Coastal Moro OM6 Borneo OC1 Javanese OE5 Malayans AN5 Toradja OG11 Makassar OG6 Gorontalo OG4

I 304 881 [465 cont.]

teeth, and they are filed flat. Also, filing the teeth to a point may be accompanied by relief-filing through partly removing the enamel so that the front surface shows a diamond-shaped relief. Some peoples, among them the Javanese and the Malayans, blacken the stumps.

MR J 304 881

Opinions differ as to the significance of this custom. Some regard it as a mourning custom, like the practice of breaking off all or some of the teeth in Polynesia, on some of the small islands of our archipelago, and among some Toradja tribes. Filing could represent a later phase of breaking them off entirely; the teeth, as containing much "mana," were thus offered to the spirits instead of the whole body, and later this was further reduced to filing away part of the teeth. The blackening of the rest could then have served to hide from the spirits what had not been offered. Only later did the custom become a kind of preparation ceremony before marriage. Advocates of the view that it may have been a mourning custom point to the practice of first filing the teeth only after the death of the nearest relatives, a custom among the Minahasa (formerly), in the vicinity of Bengkoelen, in the Kedoe Residency on Java, on Salajer Island, and on the Sula Islands.

I 304 174 T [304] C MK J G 304 765

Another view is that it arose solely from the desire for adornment, which led to great exaggeration (as is usually the case with fashion), with the result that gradually the exaggeration came to be regarded as beautiful. The Indonesian peoples of later times undoubtedly have regarded it as an enhancement of beauty, as can be seen [466] in the Malayan poem in which the lover compares the mouth of his beloved to an opened pomegranate: the black pips (the teeth) in the red flesh of the fruit (the lips reddened through the use of betel).

I 304 174

This would also help explain the use of other beauty aids on the teeth among various peoples. Putting little gold pins between the teeth or in little holes bored in the teeth for this purpose is especially popular; among others, many Dajak [Dyak] tribes practice it.

B 304 302

New Guinea OJ1 Ngadju OC9
Makassar OG6 ● Ceram OH9
Gorontolo OG4 Kisar OF10
Leti OF11
Babar OF6

I [312 cont.]
765 this is that one wears just the opposite of what is worn in daily life. Whereas gay and bright-colored garments are ordinarily
NL preferred, plain colors must be worn for mourning, for example,
[765] among the Olo Ngadju and other peoples. The widow must first wear white clothing, and when this is worn out, [313] black.
Lt Sometimes mourning consists of wearing old, worn-out garments,
Cr
Ki as is done in the Moluccas, in particular among the Alfoer of
[765] Ceram, on Kisar, and on the Loeang-Sermata islands. What is most characteristic of mourning, however, particularly among women, is that they must cover the head, whereas they usually go bareheaded. We must compare custom of a mourning hood with that of the widow's veil among us. We find it among a
NG number of peoples, in the first place among the Papuans, those
765 on the north coast as well as those on the south coast of New Guinea. Here a woman wears mourning for her husband by cover-
MK ing the crown, the back of the head, and the sides of the face
Bb with a hood of blue cotton or tree bark, which hangs to the
Lt shoulders. This custom also exists on the Southwestern Islands, on
● 765 the Loeang-Sermata group, and on Babar. Among the Makassarese and Buginese, too, the woman must veil her head during mourning by wearing a cloth over this part of the body. Among the
G Alfoer of the Minahasa there is the custom that during funerals
765 both men and women put on large head-coverings, tendong, about three feet in diameter. In some areas these are replaced by black head-cloths. The Olo Ngadju also require attention. We
NL have said that they are obliged to wear white first and then black
765 clothing. What particularly characterizes the mourning attire, however, is the sambalajong. Whereas the women generally go about with uncovered heads, this is pali for widows; they are obliged to wear a white or black head-cloth, sambalajong, which covers the whole head and hangs down to the eyes in front. Thus, the Dajak expression for mourning is hasambalajong = to be provided with a sambalajong. This obligation also exists among the Batak, where it is called mortudjung.

I Apart from wearing certain clothing, mourning also involves
NL
765 putting aside all ornaments. This is the case among many peoples.

Nuforese	OJ22	Kisar	OF10	Ngadju	OC9
Arfak	OJ7	Gorontalo	OG4	Moluccas	OH1
Aru	OH5	Kei	OH13	Ceram	OH9
Makassar	OG6 ●	Timor	OF20	Wetar	OF21
		New Guinea	OJ1	Leti	OF11
				Babar	OF6

I NL 765 [313 cont.]

301 I MB Cr Lt W 765 I again mention the Olo Ngadju. Among some tribes, there is also the custom of hiding from view the ornaments that cannot be easily removed, such as arm bands, leg rings, etc., by covering them with tree bark. This is done [314] especially in the 292 Moluccas, among others, on Ceram, among the inhabitants of the Loeang-Sermata islands, on Wetar, etc.

Lt B Ke Kr G Cr Tm 302 765 The hairdo is also changed during mourning. It is often arranged quite differently than during normal times. Whereas the women, especially those on Leti, Babar, and Kisar, ordinarily wash and comb their hair, they must abstain from this in case of a death and let the hair hang loose instead of wearing it done up in a bun. This last is also a custom among the Alfoer of the Minahasa and Ceram, on the Kei Islands, and among the Belonese.

NG NP Ar 302 765 Among various tribes there is also the custom of shearing or cutting off all the hair during mourning which we find among the Papuans, in particular among those who belong to the Noefoerese [Nuforese] tribe and among the Arfak

Not only the clothing and the hair, but often the whole way of life is changed during mourning. Among some peoples, in case of a death the closest relatives may not leave the house where the death occurred, for example, among the Noeforese. Lt Au G 765 No one may leave the house, not even to bathe Widows in particular strictly observe this regulation, often this seclusion lasts for months. Among the Alfoer of the Minahasa it is customary for a man, upon the death of his wife, to be taken to a room which he may not leave five, seven, nine, or eleven days. On the Aru Islands it is the widow who must remain secluded in the dwelling during the whole mourning period. Other peoples allow mourners to leave the dwelling, but prohibit them from going out of the village. This is enforced for a whole year on the Loeuang-Sermata islands.

MK I ● 765 527 Furthermore, during mourning there is a general prohibition against either giving feasts or attending them, indeed often

Makassar OG6
Ngadju OC9
Klamantan OC7
Aru OH5
Ceram OH9
New Guinea OJ1

MK I 765 527 [314 cont.]

one may not even perform the usual activities and must maintain a deep silence as far as possible. This is most pronounced among the Buginese and Makassarese. We find it reported of them that during the period of mourning, especially for royalty, which lasts about 100 days, such daily work as pounding rice and weaving may not be done throughout the country, and [315] no one may be so bold as to speak in a loud voice. The crow of the cock is not to be heard, and markets are not to be held in neighboring villages. Among other peoples these limitations do not go as far, but they are found, especially concerning the playing of music and holding festivities.

Fasting during mourning is also related to this, especially abstention from certain foods, for example, from rice in the west and from sago mush in the east.

NU I 765 587 There is another obligation that merits special attention and that is observed especially by women, namely, not to remarry while in mourning. This is found among the Olo Ngadju, among others.

i. End of Mourning

NU KI MK I 765 The question now is when does the mourning period end. Among all peoples a definite time period is specified. For example, among the Makassarese and Buginese, mourning for a ruling sovereign lasts 100 days, for lesser persons 50, 40, 20, or 10 days. A woman of the common class here mourns 40 days for her husband, among the Doeson Timor Dajak, 49 days. Among most of the peoples the duration depends on the funeral, or, rather, on the celebration of the feast of the dead connected with it. Among the Olo Ngadju, the wife upon the death of her husband, the children upon the death of their parents, and brothers and sisters upon the death of one of them are pali = unclean. This uncleanness is removed by the funeral and the feast of the dead, A C NG 765 tiwah, connected with it, with which mourning also ends. This is also the case among the Aru Islanders, the Alfoer of Ceram, the

MO [559 cont.]
I exclusively who are persecuted by the pontianak, but the hus-
755 bands, too, have to fear these spirits. Among some peoples,
843 especially in the Moluccas, there is the belief that they rob the
MO men of their genitals. Therefore, their evil influence is lifted
[842] through offerings, exorcism, etc. Among many peoples, preg-
nant women always carry a small knife with them as a means of
defense against the pontianak.

MK Some peoples try to prevent those who die in childbirth
I from becoming pontianak for which several means are used. The
A Ambonese stick pins into the arms and legs of the corpse and
755 put three eggs under the chin and both armpits. The hair is
843 wound around a nail hammered into the coffin, and then the
766 whole body is covered with fishbones. The same custom, some-
what modified, is found among the Makassarese. Here, too,
an egg is put under each armpit of a woman who has died in child-
birth, and the arms are pressed tightly against her body and a
few needles are stuck into the palms of the hands.

h. Supreme Being

I As we noted in the beginning and have shown by some
776 examples, the religion of the Indonesians is principally spiritism,
[775] the worship of the [560] souls of the deceased and of spirits, who
wander about disembodied, although it is believed that both
these spirits and the souls of the deceased prefer to live in rivers,
on trees, in forests, etc. the souls are generally favorably dis-
posed; the spirits are good and evil.

Originally, none of the spirits had a higher rank than any
other. In the course of time, however, the notion of a supreme
god developed nearly everywhere. Among some peoples, this
is nothing more than a primus inter pares, but among most peo-
ples from this highest spirit there developed a conception of a
definite godhead, a supreme being that is above and beyond the

[635 cont.]

776 A consequence of the latter is that the belief in good and evil spirits is also found among the Buginese and Makassarese. They are referred to by a few general designations that were adopted in former times from the Hindu-Javanese. Generally speaking, the tutelary spirits are called rewata in Makassarese, dewata in Buginese, the Hindu-Javanese dewata, the Sanskrit devâta. Another category is called sangiyang, the well-known Hindu-Javanese sanghjang. Among them Sangiyang Sarri, the same as Dewi Sri, deserves special mention. She is the spirit of the rice and is identified with it.

At the head of the spirits stands Batara Goeroe = Siva, often simply called Batara, who, as the name indicates, is likewise of Hindu-Javanese origin.

754 Among the evil spirits--popokang among the Makassarese, pappo among the Buginese--a primary role is played by those whose heads wander around at night while the trunk remains in bed. Here they are always women. If there is a woman at court who is thought to be a popokang, she is immediately made a slave and sentenced to pound kemiri continuously as a means of preventing her from going out at night and doing harm. Besides these, there are the pontijana, the spirit of women who died
766 in childbirth. If a woman dies in childbirth, an egg is put un-
775 der each of her armpits, her hands are pressed tightly against
754 the body, and some needles are stuck inside her clothing.
845

We shall not discuss the other spirits, because they were already mentioned in the general sketch.

768 [636] The worship of the souls of the deceased deserves
775 special consideration since the sanctity of the crocodiles, which
825 is found in many places on southern Celebes, is connected with
782 it. It is believed that the souls reside in these animals after
824 death. In the eastern districts, in Boeloekoempa, eels are regarded in the same way. Like the crocodiles, at the sound of metal cymbals, they come on land and feast on the chicken-
782 drumsticks that are given to them, especially by women who
776 yearn for the joys of motherhood. The most peculiar worship on

241 /50 cont./ number of bowls for themselves. They ate in small
796 groups seated around the bowls without any special order
264 according to standing being observed in so doing.
554 Some pinati at the ritual take a few fingers of rice plus the extreme end of a chicken leg (only the bone) from each bowl and place this by the parappo. In this manner something
[769] has been put aside for the ancestors from each house.

Men now let their cocks fight again as they did in the
[541] morning. Meanwhile the Pinati goes around and touches
241 everybody who wants it with a mixture of oil, earth, and finely
796 rubbed rice, as well as something else which is his special secret. The parts of the body suited for this are the forehead, the neck, and the navel. The purpose is to cause these persons
[769] to share in the prosperity (pitjuru') of this ancestor through the earth with which he came in contact (nibarakkakki) (1).

1. It is good practice to take for this purpose earth from as close to the stone as possible and as soon after the conclusion of the ritual as possible (see photograph).

After the meal many stay to watch the cocks for a while. Only gradually do they return home. Only a few pisang and betel leaves, some pieces of areca and rice kernels remain by the stone under the tree and in the saukang next to the looped-off center post. The wind easily drives the dried-up leaves asunder; ants and birds make off with the rest. The oil spots alone remain visible as a sign that the ancestors were honored.

Horizontal Mobility

166 Three aspects of horizontal mobility will be described here. First of all, the relationship of place of residence to place of birth; secondly, the migrations which take place during a unit of time in one certain kampong territory; and

[see End Plate 7.-Analyst]

186 /61 cont./ but the majority are only interested in owning
563 land back in the homeland.

Language and common residence strengthen, at least for the time being, the integration of the colonists.

The Worship Community

612 The Makassarese related group was defined as a group of
769 relatives whose members worship their ancestors at places and times designated for this purpose.

Participation in ancestor worship is linked to kinship. For instance, one whose grandparents were not related to each other, and whose two pairs of grandparents were not related to each other either, belongs to four different groups of relatives and may participate in the ancestor worship of all four different groups. In practice, an individual participates primarily in the worship of the group with which he lives. But he may also share in that of his kinsmen, even if he does
[557] not have daily contact with them. His choice in this is determined to a great degree by the social standing of these kinsmen. There is a demonstrable preference among people to turn to the prominent members of the related group in ritual matters.

769 Here we will first describe the most significant aspects of the ritual. Subsequently, we will make comparisons with the ornament ritual.

Essentials of the Ritual

In spite of local differences and despite personal viewpoints of the person carrying out the ritual, the pinati (1), there is

1. See pp. 82, 83.

a high degree of uniformity in the ritual prescriptions. A number of elements are to be found everywhere, such as rice, oil, incense, and water. Some actions /62/ are carried

769 /62 cont. / out in the same sequence in every instance. They will be briefly reported here.

[793] By donning a white headdress, the pinati makes himself distinguishable as the one who is going to bring about contact [777] between the living and their ancestors. The throwing of rice, usually in puffed form (bente), over the offerings is done because it is believed that rice brings good luck. The pinati sprinkles a circle of drops of oil around the offerings with the little oil bottle. After he has placed incense in a burning incense vessel, with the latter, he describes the same circle, first three times counterclockwise and then once clockwise. This done, he places the offering, the "parappo" (1), prepared

1. See p. 84.

by himself, inside the circle next to the offering bowls. Both the puffed rice as well as the parappo is momentarily held over the incense vessel each time for purposes of purification, so that whatever enters it will always be pure. An imaginary circle thus separates that which is brought into contact with the ancestors from the rest of the world. The pinati then places a few fingers of his right hand as it were against the circle and mumbles for a few moments. In so doing, the ritual is concluded.

What he mumbles is kept secret by the pinati. At the same time he always communicates the factual events to the ancestors. Thus, at the time of planting: "We have come here to report to you that we are going to plant; if we obtain a good harvest we will offer the best of it to you." Or at the harvest festival: "Here I bring you the best of my harvest."

The Pinati

612 The Pinati of Bontoramba was a kinsman of the Kapala.
793 His standing was high in his related group because of his personal qualities. He functioned as a regulator of marriages and

773/64 cont. / not hold /65/ water. An eel appeared which curled
612 up inside it and in this way closed off the seams of the basket
262 with the slime of its skin, and in that way the woman was able to carry out her task. Out of gratitude she there upon vowed that she and her descendants would not eat the eel and its descendants.

[84] However, neither in the Kapala group nor in any of the other groups in Bontoramba were people able to produce such a story. Nor were they able to name a certain animal that a number of relatives were prohibited from eating.

Pantasa'

778 In the attics of Makassarese houses one frequently finds
769 a pantasa' (literally, "bedstead"). This is a little house on posts, from 70 to 100 centimeters tall, hung with mosquito netting. It has a small entrance going up to the front of the house (sapana) such as only the nobility possesses. In this little house one can see a small pillow and a little mat.

The care of these pantasa' primarily involves having a candle burn by its side every Thursday evening at sundown (malang Djuma') and always having ready a glass filled with water, a little bowl with betel and areca nuts, and a cup of water for washing one's hands, such as is customary at every meal. It is believed that the ancestors (pattautoaang) descend here. Therefore, care is taken at all times to leave whatever is customarily presented to an honored guest.

In or near these pantasa' is to be found a small closed basket (baku paballe, literally, "medicine basket"). A number of objects belonging to the ritual are kept in it. Next to the pantasa' one finds, in some cases, a large open basket (salosso), where the larger ritual objects are kept.

[648] It is told that formerly almost all the houses had their pantasa', but that in 1905 the Dutch troops destroyed a great number of them because they were used in blood sacrifices, which always had renewed opposition as a result. It is further

778 /65 cont./ told that members of the Muhammadijah
769 Association agitated against these pantasa', so that many people made no replacement when the old one was broken.

In 1949, 17 of the 133 houses in Bontoramba had a pantasa'. One stood in 10 of the 81 houses of the Kapala group, in 2 of the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and in 5 of the 33 houses of the /66/ Rest group. Several of these were obviously new, that is to say, they had been made one or only a few years ago. In 5 houses, a large standing basket (salosso) with ritual objects was found.

In addition to pantasa' one can also see so-called "andja'" in attics of houses. An andja' is a place on which one puts an offering. It is a hanging bamboo basin tray without turned-up rims. In the same enumeration, it appeared that there were 38 andja' in the 133 houses of Bontoramba, distributed over the three groups as follows: 30 in the 81 houses of the Kapala group, none in the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and 8 in the 33 houses of the Rest group.

778 One who wishes to bring an offering generally prepares
769 more than one parappo; 3 or 4 is customary. A woman
602 declared that at times she prepared as many as 12. The other parappo are then taken to the pantasa' or the andja' of the kinsmen who are believed to deserve them. Thus only a few of the kinsmen who have a pantasa' in their house receive a parappo. According to reports, this is determined by what the ancestors have prescribed. A Makassarese does not like to state the reason why he gives a parappo to some kinsmen and
554 not to others. It is possible to observe, however, that parappo
778 are by preference brought to the houses of those who are
769 appreciated for their personal qualities. And usually these
602 appear to be personalities generally appreciated in the group of relatives. They are the ones who know how to collect the most goods, whose advice is gladly asked, whose pitjuru (1)

1. See p. 242.

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is concentrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other. The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

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The Ornament-Worship Community

Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

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1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

[113]

2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

114 /67 cont./ In 1940 I thought I was able to indicate the con-
794 nection between ornament and ancestors by assuming that ancestor worship frequently attached itself to an ornament (3).

[113]

3. H. Th. Chabot, "Over the Makassaarsche samenleving en een erfrechtelijke kwestie /Concerning Makassarese Society and a Question of Inheritance/," T.B.G. /Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, erroneously cited; see Bibliography, p. 347. -- Tr./, 1940, pp. 325 ff.

I considered at that time Nooteboom's "certain community" to be the kin group. At present an attempt will be made to determine more closely the relationship between ornament and ancestor worship.

778 The ornament of Borongloë is kept in the attic of the
794 dwelling belonging to the head of the adat community. It is an old flag on which a cock is pictured. Wrapped in a white cloth, the flag is kept in a closed basket in the ancestral house (pantasa').

The worship taking place at this ornament corresponds in
[769] all important points to the ancestor worship described above. The elements and the course of the ritual are the same. The parappo has the same task and a similar composition in this case. The rojong song and ritual objects here find a similar application. Here, too, the entire preparation lies in the hands of the women, and the pinati appears where the ritual concerns the whole group and not just a few relatives. The
[773] tomanurung myth of Borongloë, reproduced by Friedericy in his own words, corresponds in important respects with that of Bontoramba. At the sacred spot of Borongloë, where the ritual takes place on the most important occasions for the group, the stone, the saukang (little offering house), and the trees are again to be found together.

346 778 /75 cont./ In 1939, when I came to Borongloë for the first time, a dilapidated little hut had been built over this rock. Around the same time attention seems to have been drawn to this "rock worship" by the Muhammadijah Association. Shortly after this, people of Borongloë, under the leadership of the head of the adat community and the old Imam, constructed a new cottage.

The rock is flat on top. Viewed from above, the greatest length amounts to about 60 centimeters and the greatest width to about 40 centimeters. Everywhere it is from 2 to 3 centimeters above the ground. At the time of the reconstruction, a pointed rock was placed at opposite sides of the flat rock along the extension of the longitudinal axis, at a distance from each other of approximately 80 centimeters. Each of these two rocks jutted about 15 centimeters out of the ground. In combination with the rock, they make an impression of eroded mesas on the visitor. Questioned about this, the head stated that a grave existed here although he was unable to state with certainty whose grave it was.

[769 178] The purpose of placing the two rocks seems clear. Externally, the rock worship gave way to grave worship. The demands of modern times had therefore been met by doing as they did.

634 778 At the climax of their inauguration festival, the two last adat community heads of Borongloë stood on this rock. There they took the oaths of loyalty (aru) of a number of their kapala and followers.

346 778 Right by the rock a little house (saukang) has been built. It stands on posts. The floor forms a rectangle of 1.0 by 1.5 meters; the walls consist of transparent braided bamboo. A fifth post is stuck in the middle of the floor, going right through it and rising about 30 centimeters above the floor. This is called the lopped-off house post (benteng polong). Rock and saukang belong together. Whenever offerings are [782] made there, a parappo is placed /76/ both by the lopped-off house post as well as by the flat rock (1).

585 /193 cont./ comment. But if he hesitates or turns away, he is urged to accept the food. For, ultimately, the older people like nothing better than to see him lose, and it is believed that he loses if he does what his wife demands of him, namely when he accepts food from her.

The First Joint Bath

Again a few days later the couple is bathed together for the first time. Here, too, ritual and play are of more importance than the fact of the bathing itself. Together, the couple sit -- the woman wrapped entirely in a sarong -- on the house steps, which in daily life forms the link with the attic but which for this special occasion has been placed on the floor in the pannjambungi (1). Under the rungs of the ladder lies a cleaver

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[769]
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1. The attic is an important place in the house. There the rice is kept. In case of shortage of living quarters, the young girls are sometimes housed there. The ancestors descend through it when they are implored to do so in a ritual manner. The ladder to the attic has a special form. The two uprights proceed from a single branch that rests on the floor and which splits into two, approximately 40 centimeters above the floor.

as well as one of the sections of the loom, objects which man and wife respectively always need in performing their daily activities. According to informants, /194/ the significance of this is to further the wish that man and wife will now also

1. Chabot
~~Chabot~~ E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.

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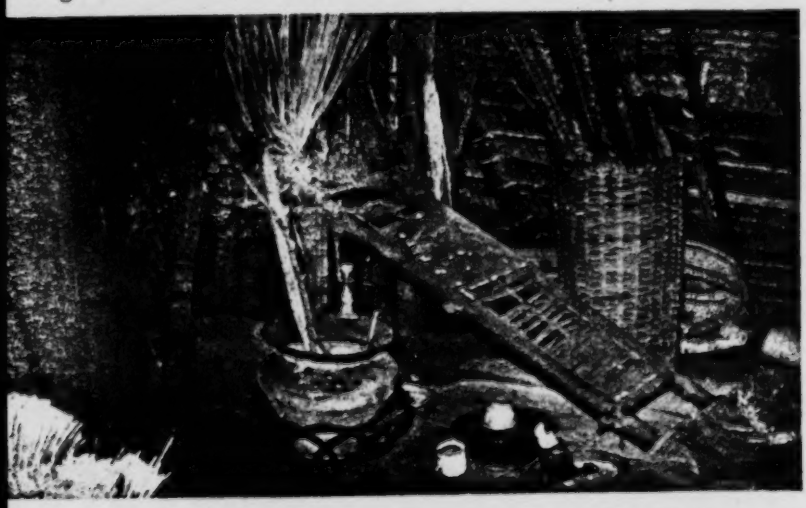

The little ancestral house (pantasa') in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END PLATE 3]

[635 cont.]

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766 in childbirth. If a woman dies in childbirth, an egg is put un-
775 der each of her armpits, her hands are pressed tightly against
754 the body, and some needles are stuck inside her clothing.
845

We shall not discuss the other spirits, because they were already mentioned in the general sketch.

769 [636] The worship of the souls of the deceased deserves
775 special consideration since the sanctity of the crocodiles, which
825 is found in many places on southern Celebes, is connected with
782 it. It is believed that the souls reside in these animals after
824 death. In the eastern districts, in Boeloekoempa, eels are regarded in the same way. Like the crocodiles, at the sound of metal cymbals, they come on land and feast on the chicken-
782 drumsticks that are given to them, especially by women who
776 yearn for the joys of motherhood. The most peculiar worship on

[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friedericy). This
565 fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to
another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded.
582 But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman.
829 I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage
rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use
of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked
around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States,
something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indo-
nesian man in the United States could marry an American
woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed.
Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the
567 Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I des-
427 cribed the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty
of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here
who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was
told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They
insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?)
The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many
gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-
on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens,
and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food.
When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house
or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a
survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that former-
ly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he
is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were
perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of
folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are
they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were
descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they
were.

000 One thing about education: the business man asked if I could
take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He
said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told
him to write the Institute for International Education in New
York.

●769 Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of
the old belief in present practice, including information con-
cerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the country-
side people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and
that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a
sense, were ancestors.

126 I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in
124 the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the
women were very proud. Also the children remained pests.

J [550 cont.]
782 wind blowing through them is supposed to be a tribute to the soul
774 of the rice. Another example of the Javanese belief that the rice
824 is animated is the custom in some areas of attributing to it a sexual urge which must be aroused to obtain a rich harvest. From
J this there arose the custom of having men and women walk naked
[833] around the fields during the night hours and make offerings to linga and yoni, that is, have sexual intercourse. A similar custom is found among the Christian Ambonese in connection with
A clove cultivation. If the condition of the plants indicates a poor
782 crop, the man visits his garden at night, undresses, and, while
779 standing near the trees, he makes the motions of coitus to try to
833 make them bear abundant fruit. This custom, too, is only a survival of the old animism.

MK Before leaving this subject, we want to point out that the
776 worship of Dewi Sri also exists among the Makassarese and Buginese. The latter call her Sangiyan Sarri (sarri = sri; sangijan, actually sangiyang = a kind of spirit, the same as sanghyang). Sangiyan sarri is the goddess of the rice and is often identified with it.

e. Spirits

MK
J
I It is self-evident that among such peoples as the Javanese,
771 Buginese, and Makassarese, who are already more civilized, we find animism only in survivals. Among the pagan peoples, however, who are less civilized, it is much more in the fore-
Bt ground. We want to show this with a few examples.

NG [551] The Papuans ascribe a soul to all objects. For ex-
774 ample, the soul of trees is the mist; that of boiling water is the steam. The same applies to the Batak. Among them everything, including human beings, has a soul, tondi. This is the
Ng case also among the Olo-Ngadju Dajak. They, however, have
774 special names for the soul of living and inanimate objects. The souls of human beings and animals and of a few inanimate objects, such as rice, money, cloth, etc., are called hambaruan,

J 785 [634 cont.]
themselves with disgusting food. They go without sleep as much as possible or sleep in a tree or in a cave where there is scarcely room to stretch their tired limbs. In this way they seek death of the self, life in death.

There are other ascetics, however, who do not seclude themselves in the mountains, but continue to live in society, surrounded by the stir of the world. For instance, Mr. Swaving saw one in 1859 at the market in Toeloeng Agoeng in Kediri in a little cubbyhole that was closed off by a muslin curtain. When he asked what it meant, he learned that a Sang tăpă lived there, old in years and famous for his wisdom and piety.

The name dépok distinguishes this kind of hermit from the others who retire from public life.

g. The Religion of the Buginese and Makassarese

MK 797 177 When the Portuguese arrived in the Malay Archipelago, the Buginese and Makassarese were still pagans; not until around the beginning of the seventeenth century was Islam introduced to the southern part of Celebes, by missionaries from Sumatra and Malaya in particular. It quickly took root here to such an extent that it soon became the popular religion and has remained so to this MK day. Both knowledge of this doctrine and the observance of it, 771 however, are very little known among the people [635] and are limited to the external ceremonies. Therefore many traces of MK the former pagan worship remain, and among them there are a 174 few ceremonies that hark back to the Hindu period. As we saw earlier, southern Celebes must also have been a dependency of the ruler of Modjopahit, and consequently Hinduism was intro- MK duced there by Hindu-Javanese. We shall now briefly discuss 771 this Hinduism, at least as it has been preserved up to the present in a few ceremonies, as well as the ancient Polynesian religion.

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo kil-
771 lings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
184 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura-La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

M tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at
175 large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the
565 people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]

[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and
793 their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession
838 of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst]
231 This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any
881 bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati.
304 But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there
574 for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the
182 Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I re-
●771 minded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own
181 idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

M 6651 521 conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic l life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

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are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ěppa, lima, ěneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

●771 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here
178 were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very
182 rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is
no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As
for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation
or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means
any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in
the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They
saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the
Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for
776 the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them
(maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those
that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong
knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names
of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew
saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata.
Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paeppo,
but called them popo, as did the Makassarese. In all spirit
cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping
or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also
[861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of
these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used
now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the
"spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan
ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa
Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go
back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala
838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which
793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got
548 much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo-
535 sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over,
[759] it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an
aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they
are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and
also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example,
to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They
know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all
this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated
them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry,
etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and
that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as
ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they
act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go
for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night
for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he
would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved
wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
● 771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
563 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
161 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly
582 had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

471 /46 cont. / had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his participation in the life of the kampong at this communal festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
[626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated, this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
●773 "Lord of the Land, " the following story was told. /47/

1. Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga, " niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land, " called Besenga.
2. Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

/47 cont./

539 773

3. Naandjo taua ammantangi ri birinna agang lompoa.	This man lived along the large road.
4. Naandjo aganga, punna nia' tau ammalo na'bongong iareka nammake pajung, andjo taua balalo mate karampasang.	Now, whenever there were people who came along the way with their sarong over their head or with a pajong /parasol/, these people soon died (1).

[554 576 689]

1. A lower person who appears before a higher one with a sarong over his head or with a pajong, or who simply walks past his house, in so doing shows little respect for him. He can always expect punishment.

5. Nasiapa are sallona andjo taua appakamma naniareng tommo tau tabesse-besse panggaukanna;	And thereupon this man who had that on his conscience was called an evil man in place of a courageous one.
6. Sanggenna andjo taua appasang angkana:	Finally, the following statement was issued to this man:
7. Punna salllang tenama' anrinni (sajanga') punna eroko assarea', nia' antu batu ritangngana pa'rasanganga, andjoremmako sarea';	If in future I will no longer be here (if I will have risen up to heaven) and if you want to give me something, there is a stone there, situated in the middle of the land, there you must then give that to me.

539
773 /47 cont./

8.	Mingka antu sallang batua alolokintu timboranna pa'rasanganga ri poko taipaja;	But this stone will later move to the south of the country, to the mango tree. /48/
9.	Punna andjoremmondjo batua papparekang tomma' balla', nasalloa' andjoremma' antu lammantang.	When the storm arrives there erect a house for me so that I will be able to live there.
10.	Le'baki appasang allannja' tommi.	When he had said this, he ascended to the sky.

773 The story appears to be a short edition of the tomanurung
171 stories familiar all over South Celebes. These are stories concerning people descended from the sky (1). In this case

1. See Friedericy's discussion, pp. 469ff and 506 ff.

the narrator has also given an explanation of the name Besenga in the same story. This combination is customary.

241 Now we shall try to give a description of this brief harvest
796 ritual (2).

2. For a description of the essentials of the ritual, see pp. 81, 82.

Around half past twelve in the afternoon, the Pinati thinks that it is time to begin. He sits down under the mango tree next to the stone lying there, with his face turned to the south. About 40 bowls with offerings have been placed on top of this stone and next to it, as close together as possible. All of these contain glutinous rice with a hard-boiled egg pressed into

612 /64 cont./ is likewise made between the offering presented
778 to the ancestors in the attic and that which -- on the occasion
184 of the same festival -- is delivered into the water. At a
796 festival in the Kapala group the numbers were 6 and 7 respectively.

The Rojong Song

533 The rojong song constitutes another significant element
796 of the ritual. Old women hum the sounds unintelligibly and monotonously; the exact words frequently are not known to them. This song occurs at wedding feasts and other important solemnities in the related group, and it is coupled with the beating of drums (ganrang). The rojong song recorded in Borongloë before the war has disappeared. The woman who gave it to me was overcome by all kinds of misfortune. She was not prepared to repeat it to me.

Food Taboos

612 In a single related group there is awareness, however
262 feeble, that the members of the group may not eat a certain animal (2). In Goa it is still generally known, perhaps,

2. Dr. Chr. Nooteboom drew my attention to this phenomenon for the first time in 1939.

that the members of the karaëng group (the nobility) may not eat the meat of the white buffalo.

In the related group of the head of the Borongloë adat community the realization faintly continues that a certain type of eel may not be eaten. To explain this the following
773 story is told: A woman who had violated a prohibition was
612 punished for this with the task of carrying water in a basket
262 from the river to a certain place. The basket, however, did

773/64 cont. / not hold /65/ water. An eel appeared which curled
612 up inside it and in this way closed off the seams of the basket
262 with the slime of its skin, and in that way the woman was able to carry out her task. Out of gratitude she there upon vowed that she and her descendants would not eat the eel and its descendants.

[884] However, neither in the Kapala group nor in any of the other groups in Bontoramba were people able to produce such a story. Nor were they able to name a certain animal that a number of relatives were prohibited from eating.

Pantasa'

778 In the attics of Makassarese houses one frequently finds
769 a pantasa' (literally, "bedstead"). This is a little house on posts, from 70 to 100 centimeters tall, hung with mosquito netting. It has a small entrance going up to the front of the house (sapana) such as only the nobility possesses. In this little house one can see a small pillow and a little mat.

The care of these pantasa' primarily involves having a candle burn by its side every Thursday evening at sundown (malang Djuma') and always having ready a glass filled with water, a little bowl with betel and areca nuts, and a cup of water for washing one's hands, such as is customary at every meal. It is believed that the ancestors (pattautoaang) descend here. Therefore, care is taken at all times to leave whatever is customarily presented to an honored guest.

In or near these pantasa' is to be found a small closed basket (baku paballe, literally, "medicine basket"). A number of objects belonging to the ritual are kept in it. Next to the pantasa' one finds, in some cases, a large open basket (salosso), where the larger ritual objects are kept.

[648] It is told that formerly almost all the houses had their pantasa', but that in 1905 the Dutch troops destroyed a great number of them because they were used in blood sacrifices, which always had renewed opposition as a result. It is further

114 /67 cont./ In 1940 I thought I was able to indicate the con-
794 nection between ornament and ancestors by assuming that ancestor worship frequently attached itself to an ornament (3).

[113]

3. H. Th. Chabot, "Over the Makassaarsche samenleving en een erfrechtelijke kwestie /Concerning Makassarese Society and a Question of Inheritance/," T.B.G. /Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, erroneously cited; see Bibliography, p. 347. -- Tr./, 1940, pp. 325 ff.

I considered at that time Nooteboom's "certain community" to be the kin group. At present an attempt will be made to determine more closely the relationship between ornament and ancestor worship.

778 The ornament of Borongloë is kept in the attic of the
794 dwelling belonging to the head of the adat community. It is an old flag on which a cock is pictured. Wrapped in a white cloth, the flag is kept in a closed basket in the ancestral house (pantasa').

The worship taking place at this ornament corresponds in
[769] all important points to the ancestor worship described above. The elements and the course of the ritual are the same. The parappo has the same task and a similar composition in this case. The rojong song and ritual objects here find a similar application. Here, too, the entire preparation lies in the hands of the women, and the pinati appears where the ritual concerns the whole group and not just a few relatives. The
• [773] tomanurung myth of Borongloë, reproduced by Friedericy in his own words, corresponds in important respects with that of Bontoramba. At the sacred spot of Borongloë, where the ritual takes place on the most important occasions for the group, the stone, the saukang (little offering house), and the trees are again to be found together.

532 /74 cont./ After the subjection of the princes of South
778 Celebes in 1905, this period of the tomanurung had passed,
612 however. Tomanurung were thought to deceive and to disturb
669 the peace. They were no longer given an opportunity to create a federation. In spite of this, however, the belief in the tomanurung did not disappear.

It may be that the Kapala of Bontoramba counts on the possibility of a tomanurung appearing who will unite his presently well-integrated group with a number of neighboring groups into a federation. The group from which the ornament of the federation is derived will, as a matter of course, have the leadership. The Kapala is prepared for this. The image is, as it were, an ornament in statu nascendi /in the nascent state/.

The Sacred Spot of Borongloë

778 A five-minute walk from the head's house leads to a
773 grove, the so-called "Flat Rock," (batu lappara') of Borongloë (3). On it /75/ stood, according to the myth, the

[103]

3. Many call the rock batu napara', which according to Matthes' dictionary (p. 635) means "a smooth rock with the bottom part in the water; a rock that is stretched out flat."

ancestral couple of the present-day head's group of relatives, at the moment when they made their final statements to the people prior to ascending to heaven (1).

1. Friedericy relates this myth in his own words in his dissertation. See there, pp. 506 ff.

1:Alkema & Bezemer--216 E-4,5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Buru OH8
MaKasser OG6
Toradja OG11

I
776 [188] [illustration appears here] [189] or bamboo. As has been said, the supreme god on Buru bears the name "lord, creator of
B 776 773 man." He sent down to earth his envoy, Nabiata, who came down from the mountain Tomahoe and remained among the people for a while, giving them all kinds of instructions concerning divine worship.

M 776 773 According to the Buginese, the first people came from the union of a son of a god of the upperworld, Sangkoeroewira, and the daughter of the god of the underworld, Goeroe ri Seleng. The two gods were brothers. They both decided to give up one of their children so that they could be joined in marriage and beget descendants who would venerate the gods. Sangkoeroewira sent his oldest son, Batara goeroe, down below after he had killed him and placed him in the stem of a bamboo with a clump of earth in his hand.

When the bamboo was halfway between the upper and lower worlds, it sprang open and Batara Goeroe came back to life in the form of a human being. He divided up the clump of earth and scattered the pieces to the four winds of heaven. Thus the earth arose and all that is on it.

Batara Goeroe lacked many things on earth and was very bored. His father sent him a house and all sorts of household goods in a thunderstorm. To relieve his boredom he sent him seven slaves.

When everything on earth was in readiness Goeroe ri Seleng remembered his promise, too. He sent his daughter, Njilitimo, to earth in a kind of litter, but she with her maidens, remained adrift at sea. She was found in this state by Batara Goeroe. He married her and the slaves married the maidens Njilitimo had brought with her, and thus the earth was populated.

T 776 773 The Toradja of central Celebes have two supreme beings, one in heaven and one on earth: Ilai (man) and Indara (maiden). A better way of representing them would be "Father Sun" and "Mother Earth." Among the Toradja, the creation of man is thought of as a special event and is not identified with that of animals and plants. These gods form a human couple out of

MK [186 cont.]
538 principally bânni = cracked rice, which sounds like mabanni =
[574] spend the night. The Buginese simply wanted to say "remain overnight." One can see that the play on words is farfetched.
MK The elong in the basa Bakkâ cannot be understood without ex-
[539] planation. Here is another example. "Do not try to satisfy your passion, because then you always would have only bale ta-kesâssi = fish without scales at home. This bale ta-kesâssi in the basa to-Bakkâ makes one think specifically of a fish awu-awu. This word also means "oh! alas!" The words "then you would only 'have scaleless fish at home'" are meant to express [187] then you would have only 'oh,' 'alas,' that is, distress and misery, in your house. Before taking leave of the elong, we must mention a particular kind, the so-called elong osong, war songs.

B Besides these shorter poems with four verses, the literature
RL of the peoples named has longer poems. Among the Batak,
538 Lampong, and Redjang, these are romantic or historical poems, which, however, are still not very well known. We are better
MK informed about those of the Makassarese and Buginese, called,
538 respectively, tolo and sinrili, which can best be compared with the Malayan sjair. The parallelism mentioned above is very much in evidence in them. Among these poems there are often very beautiful ones, especially among the Makassarese, which excel in bold images and striking contrasts. As an example, one
MK should read the sinrili No. 53 of Dr. Matthes' Makassaarsche
[764 Chrestomatie, a funeral song by a wife for her husband.
144]

Some sinrili or tolo are heroic lays, of which a few deal with subjects from modern times. For instance, a Buginese epic deals with the Boni war. There are some older ones, however, such as La Galigo, which is written in old, obsolete Buginese
MK and understood by only a few. The content is of a mythological
[773 nature and deals with the adventures of Batara Goeroe (the
776] supreme deity) and his descendants on earth, among whom is La Galigo (1). As a poetical product La Galigo is of little value

1. Wilken, Animisme, Part 2, pp. 232-233.

C the city government. Maybe I am too hard, but it lines up
647 with my steady claim: let them have democracy, but let them
563 realize that they must pay for and use expert direction. And
above all, they must work and learn. There are quite a few
152 Dutch teachers around here in government schools, and that,
829 to me, is good. I hope they stay. I do not know where they
will get the money to pay them in a land run by economic
illiterates. They try all sorts of ideas. I note that they often
ask me why the United States does not help. For example,
Andi said, "Why was it that the United States or some American firm did not build a factory in Makassar." I told him
frankly that the reason was that there was no money to be
made in South Celebes and that they would not come unless
they could see certain profit. For example, who here could
buy cars and other manufactured products? He took it well.
Another interesting thing here is the way they are not at all
bashful about the price of things. Everything I have they want
to know the price of. This is especially true of the old
Sulewatang. However, I met doctors at the beach, and they
were rather sophisticated. And still they wanted at once to
know the price of my camera as everyone else does. The old
Sulewatang came into my room today and looked at everything, asking the price of each object. He commented that
everything was wonderful. He also asked if I could not get
some of the things he was handling for him! Thus, he obviously wanted my pencil, and whatever else I had. He asked
if I could not get him just a small raincoat like I had. I have
to be careful, but I manage to turn them off.

M To get back to the first kampong trip, and also to my talk
565 with the Sulewatang at his home the evening before; he told
759 me that it was easy for anyone to know what per cent of blood
829 was in any individual. Thus everything is figured out in per
●773 cent. He used the word "pro sen"! Thus if someone who is
100 per cent marries someone who is 50 per cent, the children are 75 per cent. And if someone who is 50 per cent
marries someone who is 25 per cent, then the children are
35 per cent (he noted that you just cut the difference!). Thus
the notable class consciousness is perhaps clearer here than
anywhere else. To what degree is magic power involved? He
agreed that there is practically no pure blood royalty in Bone.
He knew well the stories of heaven descent, the names of gods,
and so forth. I wonder if his son knows about them too? He
said that the sanro [a type of native doctor] are still in. Some
are doctors, that is, healers. This is all in line. He said
that some of them were half men, and seemed to agree that

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose. 342 114 554 565 773 591

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the pakarena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting? 177 535 527 574

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna. 186 173

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there. 778

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing. 197

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day. 241 262

000 down from father to son within the ruling family. He said that Ternate once ruled over most of the Moluccas and up into the Philippine Islands. Tidore ruled mainly over New Guinea. Batjan, the other sultanate, was small and less important. This Sultan is a remarkable man and I will talk further with him when I read over my notes on Halmahera.

764 346 177 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Sixth day: I had to leave at eleven in the morning to go to Bone. I went at once to the graves of the radjas nearby and at Kale Goa. I noted that all of the tombs of the hundred-year ago type ("beehive") had an urn on top. I also noted that the mosques around here and also the shrine buildings have urns on top. (Later, in Watumpone, I noted that a mosque had, instead of the urn, a stone decoration which looked like an urn) This urn business must be a survival of the old mortuary use (or could it be a mere imitation of the onion shape of Byzantine decoration, which an urn approximates?). I had seen the beehive tombs near the Shrine of the Pigrimage the day before, as well as the large cemetery of regular graves. A bit further on I saw another mosque, and near it many more beehive tombs. I went into several of them.

764 782 778 Then I went on to Kale Goa, and on the plateau stand many older type tombs (see photographs), of rough stones, with low doors. And I also noted even older ones, near stone heap mounds. An old man said that the latter were from Hindu times, the former from the time of Datu ri Bandang, in the early seventeenth century, who was the introducer of Islam here. In one of them I saw people sitting crouched down. Several of them were from Pangkadjene, which is quite a distance away, and they had come to make requests. All this is amazing. Then, on a slight, rectangular, earth mound was the coronation stone of Goa. It is small and flat and low. It fell from heaven. Over it is a small gnarled tree which never grows nor diminishes. Nearby is a small fence around another larger and rounder stone which also fell from the sky. There is one beehive tomb here (photograph).

773 778 I then walked down a little valley to a small kampong, the old man telling me stories about Tumanurung [a legendary figure of unknown origin who married Karaëng Bayo. The couple became mythological founders of the Goa nobility--Analyst] and others the whole time. We reached a well which evidently also features in the cycle of the legend. Nevertheless, it is being used at the present time, and there was a woman there washing a white buffalo with water. I forgot to say that under the round stone is the dried-up well where Goa warriors used to wash for invulnerability before

before going into battle. It is said that the water rises in it whenever Goa goes to war. Thus it rises no more. From then on, it was quite a walk to another well and to a fenced-in area where there were three stones in a row. They were also low and flat. It was on the center one that the real Tumanurung, a beautiful girl, suddenly appeared. It was the population of this kampong who discovered and talked with and received her. 773 778

Then I went back to the car and went off to Bone. I find these Makassarese here very cooperative and polite. The atmosphere in the kampong is good. I got the results of the kampong census typed up by Nunuhitu, and later made up a preliminary reckoning. It is only for three of the kampongs, or rather three of the small kampongs. These are (1) Balombaru proper, (2) Bontotangnga, and (3) Sappabulo. The results are as follows: 609 162

	M	F	Total	
1.	144	143	287	(99+)
2.	32	28	60	(114)
3.	121	134	255	(90-)
Total	297	305	602	(98)

AVERAGE NUMBER PERSONS PER HOUSE [592]

1.	5.6	Houses:	1.	51
2.	4.6		2.	13
3.	5.2		3.	49
Total	5.1			113

NUMBER CHILDREN PER ADULTS

	Adults	Children	Child per Adult
1.	141	146	1.04
2.	36	24	.67
3.	105	150	1.43
Total	282	320	1.14

TRADES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS 162 463

[data for three kampongs, Balombaru, Bontotangnga and Sappabulo--Analyst]

	1	2	3	Total
Goldsmith	32	1	2	36 [sic]
Leather-worker	2	6	7	15
Farmer	-	-	13	13
Shop-keeper	6	2	1	9
Smith	-	1	7	8
Salesman (peddler)	1		6	7

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs. M 304 881 852

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heaven ones. This explains a difficult point. M 565 173 793

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace. M 778 793

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former. M 562 609

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime. C 669 643

Makassar OG6 Gorontalo OG4
Batak OD5 Ambon OH4
Ceram OH9
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5

G 755 774 A C 753 755 J M1 MK 753 J M1 MK Bt 774 775 753 755 Bt [829] I 771 774 Bt 774 782 776

[552 cont.]

patient was not cured, it was a sign that the soul had not been found. Among the Ambonese Islanders, the Alfoer of Ceram, etc., there is the idea that sickness is caused by the departure of the soul, which is prevented from returning by an evil spirit. Here, too, the assistance of a priest is required for a cure. A survival of this view is found even among the more highly developed Javanese, Malays, Buginese, and Makassarese.

The Javanese, like the Malays, call the soul sumangat, the Makassarese and Buginese sumangá and sumangá, words that are identical with the Batak sumangot, the spirit of a deceased blood-relative.

The sumangat is someone's life-spirit, which, according to the conception of the natives, leaves the body not only at death, but also in case of fright or a faint, and good health is achieved only through its presence. If the soul goes away, one becomes sick, and it must be called back by a priest. This is done among the Batak by having someone scatter rice on the head. The sumangat can also pass into another human being or into an animal, which creates such a secret relationship between the two that the fate of the one becomes entirely dependent on that of the other.

The above shows how general animism is in the archipelago. We have seen how fetishism and spiritism, the religion of primitive peoples, developed directly from it. In general among the peoples of the Malayan Archipelago we find spiritism as the religion more than animism. It must be recognized, however, that, although the former is to be distinguished from the latter, [553] they cannot always be separated, in other words, spiritism and fetishism often blend into each other, and one cannot tell where the one stops and the other begins. As we have noted, for example, the Batak believes that all objects, living as well as inanimate, have a soul. Thus, rice has a soul, the rice-soul, tondi-ni-eme. As soon as the rice starts to bloom, an offering is made to its soul; otherwise one would run the risk of angering it, because the soul of the rice can become angry. If that should

Makassar OG6 ●
Borneo OC1

Nias OD11
Ceram OH9
Malays AN5
Minangkabau OD10

N 532 769 [557 cont.]
a human shape and are called adju. One finds a number of these images in every house; they play the same role as the korwar.

C 775 769 323 Another and more peculiar way of representing the souls of the deceased which deserves special mention is found on the island Boeano west of Ceram. Here the abode is believed to be small pots or urns, which, like the korwar and adju, are the media, for communicating with it. These little pots, buli-buli, are of coarse porcelain and are divided into male and female. The former are in high relief and have no cover, whereas the latter have one. A special little house is erected for the buli-buli. Although it is more generally believed that the souls are disembodied, nevertheless it is likewise believed that they have the power to change temporarily into one or another body, even into that of a human being. Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that the spirits and souls, although wandering about freely, are thought to prefer certain places as their abode, such as in rivers, on mountains, and in graves. As to the nature and character of the souls, it can be stated that they are generally regarded as good spirits. One must take care, however, not to offend or neglect them, or one will have to fear their vengeance.

I 776 753 [558] Besides the souls of the deceased, good and evil spirits are worshiped. Calamities, accidents, etc. are caused by their influence, as are illnesses, because they snatch the soul from the body and torture it.

MM MK B M! I

f. Vampire and Werewolf

● 774 754 753 761 To enumerate all the evil spirits here would carry us too far afield. We shall, however, name a few that are believed in generally in the Malay Archipelago. In the first place, we have in mind a kind of spirit that has a human shape during the day, but at night leaves the trunk behind while the head, neck, and intestines wander about, causing all kinds of harm, especially sickness, or even bring about death by sucking the blood of

Timor OF20
Moluccas OH1

Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Minangkabau OD10
Malays AN5
Tagalog OA36

Ml [558 cont.]
MK sleepers. These spirits bear various names. Among the Malays
MK of Sumatra they are called palasib or, according to Minangkabau
I pronunciation, pălăsiëq; among the Batak, palasik, and elsewhere
BR in Malayan lands, penanggalan. Among the Dajak in particular
774 the belief in these spirits plays an important role. They are
754 called hantuen, and in nearly every region of the southeastern
753 division there are persons who are suspected of being hantuen.
761 Naturally, there is great abhorrence of marriage with such a person. It is said, however, that such marriages sometimes occur, because one does not always know. If it is regarded as proved that someone is a hantuen, then he is put to death with the greatest tortures. Among the Buginese these spirits are called paeppo,
MK among the Makassarese popokang. Among these peoples, they
[562 are exclusively women. If a woman is thought to be such at the
681] court, she is immediately reduced to slavery and sentenced to pounding kemiri nuts all day long every day, which is a means of preventing her nightly wanderings.

T The belief in these beings also exists in the eastern part of
MD the archipelago, in the Moluccas and on Timor. They are called
Tm suwangi or swangi here. Especially when a ruler dies, a swangi
754 is often blamed for it. The person accused of being the swangi
761 is put to death and his relatives are made slaves. Among
753 [559] the Tagalog on Luzon, who believe in these spirits, they are
774 called magtatankal.

g. Pontianak

MD Another spirit that is generally feared is the pontianak, the
I name of the spirits of women who died before delivery Every
755 woman who dies in childbed becomes a pontianak. They gen-
[845] erally show themselves in the form of a bird and are therefore flying ghosts. These pontianak who could not enjoy motherhood
MD before their confinement, begrudge that of their sisters and al-
I ways try to harm pregnant women. It is not pregnant women
[843]

159 are plenty of people in his house including the two very pretty young girls who do the fine weaving. Saleh said that they both had learned gold work too, and that during a rush they are able to help him and his cousin helper. When there is not so much rush, they weave. The old man said he was also a carpenter in the old days, and pointed out the houses he had built in the leprosarium. He said he was born in Laikang, where there is much salt making from sea water.

774 Saleh uses the word dewata for spirit in the animistic sense, and also understands the term sumangat.

000 Most of the day was spent in looking around. Tomorrow I will go through my notes for questions and further discussion.

871 Balombaru, September 2, 1949: This third day I thought
157 I would go through my notes, but I got sidetracked onto
326 Saleh's answers to the schedule. This is all right, al-
159 though the going is very slow. One thing is very dramatic. Saleh told me about his personal tragedy as far as education is concerned. He said that he wanted to go to normal school, but that the fee was f.65. Neither he nor his father could afford this. They tried to sell portions of their rice fields, but times were bad then and there were no buyers. Saleh said that he then went to the teacher (I gather it was the superintendent) of the normal school and asked why he must pay f.65. The answer was that that was the price of board and room. At this Saleh offered to bring a mat and sleep on the floor and to get his own food. However, the superintendent said no. As Saleh told me the story, much affect could be noted. And he added that plenty of other boys have had the same trouble. He is truly an ambitious man and would have justified any help given him. He said that he had trained lots of young goldsmiths and that they were now scattered all over. He said that he had trained so many that often one found villages around here where there were formerly no goldsmiths at all and which now consisted of a good number of goldsmiths.

[535] One thing before the schedule: I talked about the dancing
584 girls. They told me that the Makassarese are very strict
834 regarding all girls. One might not approach a girl directly but only through relatives and always in a respectable fashion. In regard to the go-between in marriage, they said that many of the girls in school today are scorning the old practice. However, an old man, cackling, said that the padjoge in the Buginese country were different. He said

Borneo OC1
Toradja OG11
Bali OF7
Gorontolo OG4
Makassar OG6

Br 765 776 775 782 Br [177 554]

[176 cont.]

The whole festival ends in a meal, during which the elders present drink palm wine, so they believe, with the souls in the realm of the dead. Today, tiwah festivals are celebrated only for prominent people; they are very expensive. The souls of ordinary people continue to roam around the earth.

T 765 775

No less important, especially in former times, were the great festivals among the Toradja; at one time these lasted for seven days and cost the lives of a great number of buffaloes. The purpose of the festival is the accompaniment of the souls to the land of souls by the priestesses, who then relate their experiences during the journey in long litanies.

Bl [765]

The great cremation ceremonies, which are carried out with much pomp and pageantry on Bali, are probably the same in origin and significance [177] as the great festivals celebrated elsewhere, although the form of the ceremony has been strongly influenced by Hinduism.

I 775

The experiences of the soul on its journey are very much like those of someone who has to undertake a difficult expedition. Above all, entry into the land of souls is not made easy. The ideas concerning the obstacles the soul has to overcome, especially at the entrance, are closely connected with the mental make-up of the different peoples.

T 775 764 776 183

Among the Toradja a pig stands at the entrance and attempts to bite those who wish to enter. For this reason, a hard object is put in with the body of a child so that he can give it to the pig. While the animal is gnawing it, the soul of the child slips through. Sometimes it is the watchman of Hades, called Langkoda, who questions the souls. He does not admit unmarried persons and those who have never been unchaste or have never killed anyone.

G B 775 776

Among the Dajak it is Koekang, who is also against the chaste. Among the Minahasa, the watchman of heaven is Makawalang. He treats the souls of the rich with pork; he drives back the souls of the poor.

M 775 776

Among the Makassarese the souls are questioned as to how they have observed the obligations to Islam.

2: Wilken--238 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Mo Batak OD5 Moluccas OH1
C Java OE1 Ceram OH9
Bt Malays AN5 Buru OH8
Br Bali OFT Gorontolo OG6
G Makassar OG6 Borneo OC1
Bu

[200 cont.]

805 (about one hour), etc. To indicate very short lengths of time, one speaks of the duration of a betel quid, about a quarter of an hour. These expressions are still used even on Java and among J the Malays. The latter say sakapur sirih lamanja = the duration Ml of a betel quid, and the former say saparginang, which means [805] about the same thing.

[201] Chapter 9. Family Life.

a. Birth; b. Twins; c. Abortion;
d. Naming; e Bathing.

a. Birth

I 842 562 In the first place, we want to examine the principal customs at birth.

In general, the native values the possession of children very highly, even to such extent that among many peoples a childless marriage is grounds for divorce. There is nothing more terrible for a married woman than to remain childless. She can be sure that her husband will despise her and her sisters Mk will ridicule her. "Eh! indona = oh, mother of itself," says the Bt Buginese (1), and the Batak (2) and the Balinese (3) are no less Bl 842 562 775

1. Matthes, Boegineesch Wrdb., see indó.

2. Van der Tuuk, Bataksch Wrdb., see ambala.

3. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T. L. Vk., Vol. XVIII, p. 387.

considerate in this respect. Moreover, the childless woman has

Makassar 066
Bali 0F7
Batak 0D5
Gorontalo 064
Borneo 0C1

Br
Bt [201 cont.]
M to fear a number of horrors in the hereafter; indeed some peoples
842 of the archipelago believe that in hell she must feed a snake at
562 her breast for punishment.
775 In general a son is desired more than a daughter as the first-born, but after that daughters are desired, in particular because of their value in connection with [202] bride price. The
G Alfoer of northern Celebes expresses this very characteristically:
842 "only girls bring in money" (1).

1. Graafland, De Minahassa, Vol. I, p. 301.

Bt
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Infertility is therefore regrettable and is generally ascribed to evil spirits. All kinds of charms and offerings are used to try to render their influence innocuous. Even during pregnancy, however, the woman still has to fear the snares of the evil demons. She therefore zealously gives offerings to them, who bear such names as djata (2) among the Dajak [Dyak], langolan among

2. Hardeland, Dajaksch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, see bararamin.

the Batak, etc. Standing above all of them, however, are the pontianak, the spirits of women who died in childbirth. All the women who have met this fate are pontianak without exception. They are usually imagined as naked and as having the shape of birds, thus, as flying ghosts. Driven by envy, they always and at all times seek to take away from their sisters the joy that they themselves have been deprived of. Various means, primarily offerings, are used to ward off their influence. As well as on the pregnant women, these ghosts also have designs on the men as the beings who can give the joy of motherhood to the women, and particularly on their genitals (3).

3. Wilken, Het Animisme bij de Volken

Makassar OG6 ● Timor OF20 Batak OD5 Borneo OC1 Land Dyak OC8 Ambon OH4

I Bt Br 842 776 775

[202 cont.]

v.d. Ind. Archipel [Animism among the peoples of the Malay Archipelago], Vol. II, p. 196.

LD I 775

The belief in the pontianak is general throughout the archipelago, among the Mohammedans and Christians, as well as among the pagans. Evidence of this is the name of the capital of Borneo's western division, Pontianak, built, as is known, on an island. According to the natives, before the town was built the island was inhabited by pontianak who were driven off by gunfire, but their name was given to the town (4).

4. Veth, Borneo's Westerafdeeling, Vol. I, p. 13.

MK A ●775 764

We have just said that all women who die before their confinement are changed into pontianak. Some peoples try to prevent this, for example, the Ambonese, who treat the corpses in a special way. [203] When the body is put in the coffin the arms and legs are pricked with pins, and three eggs are put under the chin and both arms. The hair is wound around a nail driven into the coffin, and the whole corpse is covered with pieces of fish bones (1). Something similar is done among the Makassarese (1)

1. Ludeking, Schets v.d. res. Amboina [Sketch of the Ambon Residency], p. 166. Matthes, Bijdrage t. d. Ethnologie v. Z. Celebes, p. 97.

I T 775 777 843

In order to protect themselves from the influence of pontianak, pregnant women sometimes carry a knife, as on Timor (2), or then again other objects (3).

2. Veth, Timor, p. 42.

3. Riedel, de Kroes- en sluikharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua [The Curley and Straight-haired Races between Celebes and Papua], see Index under zwangerschap [pregnancy].

Makassar OG6 ● Gorontalo OG4
Batak OD5 Ambon OH4
Ceram OH9
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5

G 755 774 A C 753 755 J M1 MK 753 J M1 MK Bt 774 775 753 755 Bt [829] I 771 774 Bt 774 782 776

[552 cont.]

patient was not cured, it was a sign that the soul had not been found. Among the Ambonese Islanders, the Alfoer of Ceram, etc., there is the idea that sickness is caused by the departure of the soul, which is prevented from returning by an evil spirit. Here, too, the assistance of a priest is required for a cure. A survival of this view is found even among the more highly developed Javanese, Malays, Buginese, and Makassarese.

The Javanese, like the Malays, call the soul sumangat, the Makassarese and Buginese sumangá and sumangá, words that are identical with the Batak sumangot, the spirit of a deceased blood-relative.

The sumangat is someone's life-spirit, which, according to the conception of the natives, leaves the body not only at death, but also in case of fright or a faint, and good health is achieved only through its presence. If the soul goes away, one becomes sick, and it must be called back by a priest. This is done among the Batak by having someone scatter rice on the head. The sumangat can also pass into another human being or into an animal, which creates such a secret relationship between the two that the fate of the one becomes entirely dependent on that of the other.

The above shows how general animism is in the archipelago. We have seen how fetishism and spiritism, the religion of primitive peoples, developed directly from it. In general among the peoples of the Malayan Archipelago we find spiritism as the religion more than animism. It must be recognized, however, that, although the former is to be distinguished from the latter, [553] they cannot always be separated, in other words, spiritism and fetishism often blend into each other, and one cannot tell where the one stops and the other begins. As we have noted, for example, the Batak believes that all objects, living as well as inanimate, have a soul. Thus, rice has a soul, the rice-soul, tondi-ni-eme. As soon as the rice starts to bloom, an offering is made to its soul; otherwise one would run the risk of angering it, because the soul of the rice can become angry. If that should

[635 cont.]

776 A consequence of the latter is that the belief in good and evil spirits is also found among the Buginese and Makassarese. They are referred to by a few general designations that were adopted in former times from the Hindu-Javanese. Generally speaking, the tutelary spirits are called rewata in Makassarese, dewata in Buginese, the Hindu-Javanese dewata, the Sanskrit devâta. Another category is called sangiyang, the well-known Hindu-Javanese sanghjang. Among them Sangiyang Sarri, the same as Dewi Sri, deserves special mention. She is the spirit of the rice and is identified with it.

At the head of the spirits stands Batara Goeroe = Siva, often simply called Batara, who, as the name indicates, is likewise of Hindu-Javanese origin.

754 Among the evil spirits--popokang among the Makassarese, pappo among the Buginese--a primary role is played by those whose heads wander around at night while the trunk remains in bed. Here they are always women. If there is a woman at court who is thought to be a popokang, she is immediately made a slave and sentenced to pound kemiri continuously as a means of preventing her from going out at night and doing harm. Besides these, there are the pontijana, the spirit of women who died
766 in childbirth. If a woman dies in childbirth, an egg is put un-
775 der each of her armpits, her hands are pressed tightly against
754 the body, and some needles are stuck inside her clothing.
845

We shall not discuss the other spirits, because they were already mentioned in the general sketch.

768 [606] *The worship of the souls of the deceased deserves*
775 special consideration since the sanctity of the crocodiles, which
825 is found in many places on southern Celebes, is connected with
782 it. It is believed that the souls reside in these animals after
824 death. In the eastern districts, in Boeloekoempa, eels are regarded in the same way. Like the crocodiles, at the sound of metal cymbals, they come on land and feast on the chicken-
782 drumsticks that are given to them, especially by women who
776 yearn for the joys of motherhood. The most peculiar worship on

342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
● 775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
764 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always re-
513 moved. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate.
625 The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well
102 things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaeng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]

368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

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/471 cont./
first pay their respects to the Chief. Here all the souls wear yellow clothes. They do no work of any kind, for they obtain what they need by practicing magic (moadi), in the same way that the air spirits (woerake) provide for their needs. Only their water must be hauled up from Rato-ngkasimpo by means of a long rope, for there is no water in Wawo-maborosi because the city lies on a mountain.

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In the general popular version there exists only Rato-ngkasimpo, where a great bustle prevails because there are many death-souls together there. A feast is celebrated daily because every new arrival is welcomed festively. The children there play all day long. The paths run in all directions because of the busy traffic. This is sung about in the following verse:

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Ire'i podo pe'onto, ri Torate lipoe doro: "Here (on earth) it is only a stopping place, but in the Underworld it is a busy (lively) city"; ire'i podo pombale, ri Torate lipoe bangke, "here (on earth) it is only a shaded resting place, in the Underworld it is a large city."

/472/ In general, existence in the Hereafter is called gloomy and dismal; but yet people say that the souls are happy and satisfied there and do not know trouble and grief. This is expressed in a generally known song:

Mapari ri wawo ntana, ri Torate moroeana: "On earth one has a difficult life, in the Underworld it is better";

bemo re'e soesa ndaja, sambela mawongko raja. "there one does not know grief and one enjoys nothing but pleasure."

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In the Wotoe region, where some Toradja have been converted to Mohammedanism, we heard of a dispute between a Heathen and a Mohammedan on the question of where it would be prettier: in Torate, the heaven of the Heathens, or in Soeroega, the Mohammedan place of the blessed. They finally decided to kill each other in order to go to satisfy themselves. Then they stabbed each other to death. When the Chief heard what had given rise to the quarrel, he said: "We shall bury the one who pleaded for Soeroega. We shall let the corpse of the one who claimed that it is prettiest in Torate lie unburied. If the corpse of the first has disappeared by tomorrow,

M 797 /472 cont./
• 775 Soeroega is better than Torate; if the corpse of the other one has
T disappeared, then Torate is the best." When the people went to
*775 look the next day, the corpse of the Heathen had disappeared,
797 and that of the Mohammedan was full of worms. This convinced
the people of the superiority of Heathendom over Mohammedanism.

T In Torate the souls keep busy with the same activities as here
* 775 on earth: one hunts and plants fields. This is also done by the
241 death-souls that do not go to the Underworld, but stay on earth.
When people come to a spot where a few trees have fallen, they
say: "There angga have planted a field." The rice in Torate,
however, is different from that on earth; it resembles the fruits
of the tarinti, a reed-like plant with rough leaves like sugar cane.
Other crops, such as pisang and sugar cane, are like those of human
beings. It is also claimed, however, that the rice in Rato-ngkasimpo
only rarely thrives because of the many buffaloes which the relatives
give to a dead person to take along; these animals often ruin the
plantings, so that the inhabitants of Rato-ngkasimpo usually suffer
from want. This, however, benefits the human beings, for if the
T rice in the Underworld were to thrive, that on earth would fail. For
[769] this reason the living must diligently continue to bring food to the
graves for the dead; for if the dead are hungry they take the rice
soul (tanoana mpae) from the human beings and then it requires
much effort to get it back again. At the harvest feast (mompadoengkoe)
T the leader customarily covers a pile of rice with an old-fashioned
[776] cloth (bana) and calls back the rice soul: "O rice soul that is lost
[782] on the way to Rato-ngkasimpo, come back to me again." Any
negligence in the performance of the rites in connection with rice
cultivation might have as a consequence that the rice soul would
go to Rato-ngkasimpo.

T /473/ An important point about which people are concerned
* 775 is the food that the dead might consume. In the many stories of
262 people who visit the Underworld it is said that the rice and the fish
or the meat that the dead eat look like the rice and the fish on earth;
but in reality their rice is nothing but earth, and their side-dishes
rotten wood. It often happens in the stories that living persons who
visit their deceased relatives in the Underworld are given, upon their

Borneo OC1
Toradja OG11
Bali OF7
Gorontolo OG4
Makassar OG6

Br 765 776 775 782 Br 177 554

[176 cont.]

The whole festival ends in a meal, during which the elders present drink palm wine, so they believe, with the souls in the realm of the dead. Today, tiwah festivals are celebrated only for prominent people; they are very expensive. The souls of ordinary people continue to roam around the earth.

T 765 775

No less important, especially in former times, were the great festivals among the Toradja; at one time these lasted for seven days and cost the lives of a great number of buffaloes. The purpose of the festival is the accompaniment of the souls to the land of souls by the priestesses, who then relate their experiences during the journey in long litanies.

Bl [765]

The great cremation ceremonies, which are carried out with much pomp and pageantry on Bali, are probably the same in origin and significance [177] as the great festivals celebrated elsewhere, although the form of the ceremony has been strongly influenced by Hinduism.

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The experiences of the soul on its journey are very much like those of someone who has to undertake a difficult expedition. Above all, entry into the land of souls is not made easy. The ideas concerning the obstacles the soul has to overcome, especially at the entrance, are closely connected with the mental make-up of the different peoples.

T 775 764 776 183

Among the Toradja a pig stands at the entrance and attempts to bite those who wish to enter. For this reason, a hard object is put in with the body of a child so that he can give it to the pig. While the animal is gnawing it, the soul of the child slips through. Sometimes it is the watchman of Hades, called Langkoda, who questions the souls. He does not admit unmarried persons and those who have never been unchaste or have never killed anyone.

G B 775 776

Among the Dajak it is Koekang, who is also against the chaste. Among the Minahasa, the watchman of heaven is Makawalang. He treats the souls of the rich with pork; he drives back the souls of the poor.

M 775 776

Among the Makassarese the souls are questioned as to how they have observed the obligations to Islam.

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776 [188] [illustration appears here] [189] or bamboo. As has been said, the supreme god on Buru bears the name "lord, creator of
B 776 773 man." He sent down to earth his envoy, Nabiata, who came down from the mountain Tomahoe and remained among the people for a while, giving them all kinds of instructions concerning divine worship.

M 776 773 According to the Buginese, the first people came from the union of a son of a god of the upperworld, Sangkoeroewira, and the daughter of the god of the underworld, Goeroe ri Seleng. The two gods were brothers. They both decided to give up one of their children so that they could be joined in marriage and beget descendants who would venerate the gods. Sangkoeroewira sent his oldest son, Batara goeroe, down below after he had killed him and placed him in the stem of a bamboo with a clump of earth in his hand.

When the bamboo was halfway between the upper and lower worlds, it sprang open and Batara Goeroe came back to life in the form of a human being. He divided up the clump of earth and scattered the pieces to the four winds of heaven. Thus the earth arose and all that is on it.

Batara Goeroe lacked many things on earth and was very bored. His father sent him a house and all sorts of household goods in a thunderstorm. To relieve his boredom he sent him seven slaves.

When everything on earth was in readiness Goeroe ri Seleng remembered his promise, too. He sent his daughter, Njilitimo, to earth in a kind of litter, but she with her maidens, remained adrift at sea. She was found in this state by Batara Goeroe. He married her and the slaves married the maidens Njilitimo had brought with her, and thus the earth was populated.

T 776 773 The Toradja of central Celebes have two supreme beings, one in heaven and one on earth: Ilai (man) and Indara (maiden). A better way of representing them would be "Father Sun" and "Mother Earth." Among the Toradja, the creation of man is thought of as a special event and is not identified with that of animals and plants. These gods form a human couple out of

[193 cont.]

I 776 and earth, between the gods and man, was a very busy one. By
772 means of high mountains, lianas, and rattan, man was able to
[773] reach the dwelling of the gods. Everything in heaven is beautiful and sparkling, but otherwise life there is like life on earth. It is noteworthy, however, that it is easy to deceive the gods. For example, one can make them believe that a pig or a buffalo is being given as an offering when in reality one is offering something paltry.

I 776 Apart from the demigods there are also mountain, sea, and tree gods or spirits. Mountain gods are chiefly volcano gods.

J G 776 In Minahasa every volcano is inhabited by a god, to whom human sacrifices are made. This was also the case on Java,
[782] especially in connection with Bråmå. The Bråmå festivals are still celebrated every year, but without human sacrifices, of course. The disasters often caused by these volcanos led people to believe that the gods were the cause, and sacrifices were made to them in order to gain their favor.

J 776 Sacrifices are also made to the sea gods on most of the islands.
782 Persons who look for edible bird nests on the southern coast of Java bring offerings to the sea godess Njai (or Ratoe) Lårå Kidoel, a godess who is mentioned as early as the Javanese chronicles.

M [194] In southern Celebes a sea god is revered under the sign
776 of a linga and a yoni (representations of human genitals). The
532 name of this god is Karaeng Lowé, "Great Lord." This cult is
[831] perhaps of Hindu origin or of animistic origin influenced by Hinduism. The inhabitants expect everything from Karaeng Lowé, for he is almighty and able to give life and happiness and also to destroy them. There is no question of one god here, but each area has its Karaèng Lowé.

I 776 The Indonesians have many tree gods or spirits, although they are of even lower rank than the demigods mentioned above. If people hinder them or go through their territory, they do only evil. One can protect oneself against their evil by means of amulets, and if one is made sick by such a spirit, he can be

MK [186 cont.]
538 principally bänni = cracked rice, which sounds like mabanni =
[574] spend the night. The Buginese simply wanted to say "remain overnight." One can see that the play on words is farfetched.
MK The elong in the basa Bakkä cannot be understood without ex-
[539] planation. Here is another example. "Do not try to satisfy your passion, because then you always would have only bale ta-kesässi = fish without scales at home. This bale ta-kesässi in the basa to-Bakkä makes one think specifically of a fish awu-awu. This word also means "oh! alas!" The words "then you would only 'have scaleless fish at home'" are meant to express: [187] then you would have only 'oh,' 'alas,' that is, distress and misery, in your house. Before taking leave of the elong, we must mention a particular kind, the so-called elong osong, war songs.

B Besides these shorter poems with four verses, the literature
RL of the peoples named has longer poems. Among the Batak,
538 Lampong, and Redjang, these are romantic or historical poems, which, however, are still not very well known. We are better
MK informed about those of the Makassarese and Buginese, called,
538 respectively, tolo and sinrili, which can best be compared with the Malayan sjair. The parallelism mentioned above is very much in evidence in them. Among these poems there are often very beautiful ones, especially among the Makassarese, which excel in bold images and striking contrasts. As an example, one
MK should read the sinrili No. 53 of Dr. Matthes' Makassaarsche
[764 Chrestomatie, a funeral song by a wife for her husband.
114]

Some sinrili or tolo are heroic lays, of which a few deal with subjects from modern times. For instance, a Buginese epic deals with the Boni war. There are some older ones, however, such as La Galigo, which is written in old, obsolete Buginese
MK and understood by only a few. The content is of a mythological
[773 nature and deals with the adventures of Batara Goeroe (the
776] supreme deity) and his descendants on earth, among whom is La Galigo (1). As a poetical product La Galigo is of little value

1. Wilken, Animisme, Part 2, pp. 232-233.

J [550 cont.]
782 wind blowing through them is supposed to be a tribute to the soul
774 of the rice. Another example of the Javanese belief that the rice
824 is animated is the custom in some areas of attributing to it a sexual urge which must be aroused to obtain a rich harvest. From
J this there arose the custom of having men and women walk naked
[833] around the fields during the night hours and make offerings to linga and yoni, that is, have sexual intercourse. A similar custom is found among the Christian Ambonese in connection with
A 782 clove cultivation. If the condition of the plants indicates a poor
779 crop, the man visits his garden at night, undresses, and, while
833 standing near the trees, he makes the motions of coitus to try to make them bear abundant fruit. This custom, too, is only a survival of the old animism.

MK Before leaving this subject, we want to point out that the
776 worship of Dewi Sri also exists among the Makassarese and Buginese. The latter call her Sangiyan Sarri (sarri = sri; sangijan, actually sangiyang = a kind of spirit, the same as sanghyang). Sangiyan sarri is the goddess of the rice and is often identified with it.

MK
J
I
e. Spirits

It is self-evident that among such peoples as the Javanese,
771 Buginese, and Makassarese, who are already more civilized, we find animism only in survivals. Among the pagan peoples, however, who are less civilized, it is much more in the fore-
BL ground. We want to show this with a few examples.

NG [551] The Papuans ascribe a soul to all objects. For ex-
774 ample, the soul of trees is the mist; that of boiling water is the steam. The same applies to the Batak. Among them everything, including human beings, has a soul, tondi. This is the
Ng case also among the Olo-Ngadju Dajak. They, however, have
774 special names for the soul of living and inanimate objects. The souls of human beings and animals and of a few inanimate objects, such as rice, money, cloth, etc., are called hambaruan,

[635 cont.]

776 A consequence of the latter is that the belief in good and evil spirits is also found among the Buginese and Makassarese. They are referred to by a few general designations that were adopted in former times from the Hindu-Javanese. Generally speaking, the tutelary spirits are called rewata in Makassarese, dewata in Buginese, the Hindu-Javanese dewata, the Sanskrit devâta. Another category is called sangiyang, the well-known Hindu-Javanese sanghjang. Among them Sangiyang Sarri, the same as Dewi Sri, deserves special mention. She is the spirit of the rice and is identified with it.

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766 in childbirth. If a woman dies in childbirth, an egg is put un-
775 der each of her armpits, her hands are pressed tightly against
754 the body, and some needles are stuck inside her clothing.
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775 special consideration since the sanctity of the crocodiles, which
825 is found in many places on southern Celebes, is connected with
782 it. It is believed that the souls reside in these animals after
824 death. In the eastern districts, in Boeloekoempa, eels are regarded in the same way. Like the crocodiles, at the sound of metal cymbals, they come on land and feast on the chicken-
782 drumsticks that are given to them, especially by women who
776 yearn for the joys of motherhood. The most peculiar worship on

[636 cont.]
782 southern Celebes, derived from the pre-Islamic period, is that of
776 Karaëng Lowe = Great Lord, which occurs primarily in the south-
ern districts. Karaëng Lowe is usually worshiped there under the
symbol of two stones that have the shape of male and female
778 genitals. In some localities, these symbols are stored in small
782 houses especially built for them, where the sacrificial rites are
conducted by a priestess, pinate. Elsewhere they are found in
caves or even in the open, so that everyone has free access to
them. Besides those symbols, trees and huge stones are also re-
garded as residences of Karaëng Lowe. Also, in every house,
generally in the loft, there is a small niche for offerings dedicated
to Karaëng Lowe, in which, however, the symbols are lacking;
at all the places dedicated to him vows and offerings consisting of
young coconuts, betel, burning native candles, chickens, buffalo,
gold, etc. are made to him, and in some areas a great annual
three-day festival is celebrated in his honor. The greatest of these
796 celebrations takes place in Gantanrang Keke, a place located
three hours away from Bantaeng. People stream there from all
regions of southern Celebes and amuse themselves with cockfights,
dice games, etc.

776 The worship of Karaëng Lowe is probably a survival from
778 the Hindu period; he is viewed as identical with Siva, who, as
we have said, was worshiped as the god of fertility and procreative
power under the symbols of the linga or of the linga and yoni, the
male and female genitals in conjunction. The stones with which
[637] Karaëng Lowe was worshiped have the same form and thus
point to the Siva cult; in this case it was brought to southern
Celebes by Hindu-Javanese. Now a few words about the other
principal characteristics of the worship in connection with the gen-
eral sketch.

791 1. Shamanism. We have already discussed the occurrence
756 of this on southern Celebes in detail. It is to be recalled that the
shamans here are called bissu = the Sanskrit bhikshû = mendicant
monk, but we want to add a few remarks.

The bissu actually belong to the Buginese regions. They

M 791 756 [637 cont.]
are said to have originated from the Buginese state Loewoe.

The spirits under whose influence they are supposed to stand are more specifically Batara Goeroe and his spouse Wi M [776] Njilo Timo, the daughter of the god of the underworld, who rose from the sea, and their descendants. They are possessed by these spirits, and when they are possessed they often act as doctresses, sanro. Otherwise they perform their services especially during the festivities on such occasions as births, circumcisions, deaths, filing of teeth, marriages, etc. They then perform all kinds of religious ceremonies which consist of dances, singing, scattering toasted rice, etc. On such occasions, they drive off evil spirits by making noise and smoke with certain instruments. We should note, too, that the bissu, like the shamans in other parts of the M [198] archipelago, use a sacred language at their conjurations, one which greatly resembles Old Buginese.

M [782] 2. Offerings. The making of offerings, both small and large, and holding sacrificial festivities is done often.

3. Magic. Sorcery manifests itself here in the wearing M of amulets and preventives, as well as in the use of magical 777 formulas and the belief in dreams and other omens. The way 787 in which ominous time periods are determined by means of 788 kotika has already been mentioned.

M 784 4. Pemali. Among the Makassarese it is called kassipalli, among the Buginese pomali.

I 121 With this we close the discussion of the religions [638] as far as the original Polynesian and Hinduism are concerned. Islam remains to be mentioned, but we shall limit ourselves exclusively to an enumeration of the peoples who profess this religion.

h. Islam

I 779 We shall not discuss the history of the introduction of 771 Islam in the archipelago, because this would take us too far afield (1). Similarly we shall not deal with the value of Islam

771 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here
178 were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very
182 rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is
no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As
for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation
or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means
any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in
the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They
saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the
Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for
● 776 the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them
(maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those
that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong
knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names
of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew
saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata.
Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paeppo,
but called them popo, as did the Makassarese. In all spirit
cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping
or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also
[861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of
these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used
now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the
"spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan
ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa
Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go
back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala
838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which
793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got
548 much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo-
535 sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over,
it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an
[759] aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they
are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and
also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example,
to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They
know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all
this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated
them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry,
etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and
that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as
ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they
act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go
for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night
for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he
would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved
wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also

769 /62 cont./ out in the same sequence in every instance. They will be briefly reported here.

[793] By donning a white headdress, the pinati makes himself distinguishable as the one who is going to bring about contact [777] between the living and their ancestors. The throwing of rice, usually in puffed form (bente), over the offerings is done because it is believed that rice brings good luck. The pinati sprinkles a circle of drops of oil around the offerings with the little oil bottle. After he has placed incense in a burning incense vessel, with the latter, he describes the same circle, first three times counterclockwise and then once clockwise. This done, he places the offering, the "parappo" (1), prepared

1. See p. 84.

by himself, inside the circle next to the offering bowls. Both the puffed rice as well as the parappo is momentarily held over the incense vessel each time for purposes of purification, so that whatever enters it will always be pure. An imaginary circle thus separates that which is brought into contact with the ancestors from the rest of the world. The pinati then places a few fingers of his right hand as it were against the circle and mumbles for a few moments. In so doing, the ritual is concluded.

What he mumbles is kept secret by the pinati. At the same time he always communicates the factual events to the ancestors. Thus, at the time of planting: "We have come here to report to you that we are going to plant; if we obtain a good harvest we will offer the best of it to you." Or at the harvest festival: "Here I bring you the best of my harvest."

The Pinati

612 The Pinati of Bontoramba was a kinsman of the Kapala.
793 His standing was high in his related group because of his personal qualities. He functioned as a regulator of marriages and

857/140 cont./ be able to run away again more easily. Little
867 boys are allowed to be somewhat rowdy and boisterous during a festival, but girls are forbidden such behavior: "Are you
[262] a boy?" an older girl then snaps at her. Little girls may not eat a certain kind of fish so that later, when they are grown up, they will not become man-crazy. At various festivities
[777] they receive "pitjuru," luck-bringing /141/ charms so that when they are grown up they will marry and have many children. The sexes are sometimes separated as early as the
[871] age of seven to eight years when children go to the religious instructor (guru ngadji), where they learn to recite the Koran. Then the girls receive instruction from the guru's wife in the back of the house.

One of the first frustrations of children after weaning
593 is caused by adult men, especially the father. When a man
867 enters the house, women and children withdraw to the back part of the house. When there are guests, care is taken that the children make no noise. When an important man is in the house, this rule applies even more strictly. Little children who then make noise are threatened with: "He is angry at you." An old woman repeated to a three-year-old who quietly sat next to her, "He sees you, he is looking at you." The importance of the situation was imparted in this fashion; and a certain fear as well as a certain veneration for the superior found expression in this way.

867 The difference in /social/ level between children is
554 revealed partly by what is less tolerated in one than in another. When a karaëng comes for a visit to the house of the adat community head, his little son may run around and perhaps even sit down behind his father, but the children of kinsmen and servants remain in the back rooms, and the women take care that they are quiet.

864 A little girl learns from early childhood that it is not good to show herself naked: "Where is your sarong?" she is asked. This applies to boys only one to two years later.

/176 cont./

Elements of the Wedding Ritual

The Announcement

584 [554] [777] The announcement to a young girl that she is to marry is made with great care. An older woman is enlisted for this purpose, /177/ one who herself has many children and who has done well in this world. For instance, the wife of a kapala or someone who has higher blood coupled with personal standing. The parents hope that some of their luck (pitjuru) will be imparted to their child. The girl is taken to the woman and is addressed quietly and in a friendly manner with a few, well-chosen words. "We intend to make you a complete person" (nipadjari tau); "we want to make you into one single whole" (nipakalepu).

When her marriage is announced to her, a girl always cries. A somewhat simple type who remained seated quietly was even [539] incited to do so: "Cry, child, otherwise people will laugh at you" (ngarruko 'ndi, nakakaliko sallang taua). Not to cry is regarded as a sign that she longs for a man.

A girl who has heard that she must marry generally draws the sarong over her head and sobbingly lies down in a dark corner of the house. She refuses all food and remains there until she is taken up by her female relatives in order to undergo a certain ritual. At that time she keeps herself as passive as possible and thereby shows that the idea of having to marry makes her very unhappy.

It is also expected of a young man that he will be sad when he hears that he must marry. Eh, tene'na, "What, is he glad," (that he is going to marry), was the disapproving reaction of an old woman when the boy remained completely quiet. The kinsmen repeatedly make remarks to him designed to put him in a sad mood. "Think of your mother." "Now you probably will no longer think of us. Now you will only call your wife's kinsmen your kin group."

585 /180 cont./ The higher guests come at this point and stand before the bed, one after the other. They take some karuntigi between their fingers, mix this with oil and powder, and amidst the mumbling of a spell, they smear this mixture on one of the fingers, on the arm, sometimes on the forehead or the neck of the bride. The place where the mixture is applied and the [772] manner have their significance. However, this ritual is not [554] performed by all the guests, but only by the higher and by a 887 number of older ones who themselves have many children and many sawahs, in other words people who seem to possess much "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means) and who now, on this occasion, want to transfer something of this to the bride. When a great [554] number of guests come "akkaruntigi," this raises the social standing of the host.

In the afternoon of the day following the "akkaruntigi," [178] the bridegroom leaves -- according to a very old, but at present no longer observed, custom from the lap of his mother --, amidst a great deal of lamenting on the part of his relatives, for the bride's house in order to arrive there around sundown. Only men are present on this occasion. On the way and especially upon arrival at the bride's house, a loud dikir is heard. It is said that formerly at that moment a greeting of welcome was addressed to the bridegroom by one /181/ of the wife's relatives who for this purpose stationed herself at the top of the ladder in front of the door opening. The only time [178] that I experienced this a certain embarrassment could be sensed. This was considered very old-fashioned. The number of those in Borongloë who are familiar with this address is small. The Pinati of Bontoramba gave me the text here reproduced, independent of any festival. The four-line verses reported at the end, in which bridegroom and bride are introduced speaking, were actually incorporated into the address, according to him.

126 The text was checked for uniformity in spelling with the 585 assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes. The

/229 cont./ During this solemnity those present were
588 seated in a kind of closed-off veranda built onto the house proper of the Imam. The barred windows were still in the original front wall, and the men present in the veranda could get a glimpse of the women through them. Among them was a woman called Kamida who was in exactly the same position as Djawi and who was therefore also waiting to see if someone would come for her./230/ "That Kamida would also like to," said the guru, and there was general laughter. Rappung, who now felt at ease said that he had really carried through his marriage against the wishes of his parents. They had warned him against marrying since this
[777] month is regarded as "unfavorable" for it (bulang bambang, literally, "warm month"), and the Imam responded immediately: "Rappung bambang tongi" (literally, "Rappung is also warm").

The Imam now called out loud for Djawi but she did not appear. A woman was sent to get her, but she did not come. "She is asleep," someone said. A younger brother of the Imam was told to go and call her, and meanwhile the Imam had a burning censer pushed toward him by his wife. Djawi still remained in the back, but finally, urged on by the Imam himself, she appeared in the veranda, and, with her back half turned to her husband-to-be and face turned toward the wall of the house, she sat down. If it is at all possible the woman is spared this situation. Even when servants marry,
[212] the master who organizes the wedding takes care that taking the wife's fingerprint is arranged beforehand. According to Moslem legal prescription, a woman does not sign herself if she has a father or grandfather and if she has never before
[587] been married. Silariang cases, and therefore also this case, are placed on a par with the marriage of a previously wed woman.

After Djawi had her fingerprint taken, the witnesses and the Imam signed. After that the nikka' took place. Rappung

114 /249 cont./ There is no punishment for failure to register.
163 The reason that people do not like to register a child that has
217 just been born is the belief that this would bring about misfortune
because it is conceived as an expression of arrogance or pride.
[777 For the same reason a newborn child is wrapped in old rags.
751] There is no certainty that the births recorded in a year represent
the correct number.

A woman by preference has her first child in the house of her
[844] parents, especially if she herself was also born there. Many
children are therefore registered in a kampong where their parents
no longer live and from which it again "moves" a few months
after birth.

A child does not receive a name directly at birth for the
[553] same reason that a child's birth is not directly reported. All boys
are referred to as Baso or Batjo, all girls as Basse or Batje. In
this semianonymity the child is considered safe. Only years
later does it receive a name of its own, which, however, is not
recorded in the register. A certificate of birth is not submitted.

Death Registers

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217 In the death registers that are likewise maintained by the
165 imam for the entire adat community (around 14, 000 inhabitants),
the following data are found reported in parallel columns: the
[793] name of the deceased, his sex, his age; the kampong in which
he died, whether he died during the night or during the day, the
date of his death, the final illness, and sometimes a few remarks
concerning heirs and estate.

The reasons indicated for the death are very much those of
[961] a layman; the imam bases them upon complaints uttered during
the final illness; stomach-ache, coughing, sometimes old age,
are found recorded in this category. /250/

Thus, these registers must also be handled with care.
Neither age nor reason for death can be regarded as reliable.

Halmahera OH12 Bahau OC5
Toradja OG11 Borneo OC1
Nias OD11
Sundanese OE7
Makassar OG6

[150 cont.]

Ba 778 826 827 H 778 827 N T 778 827 liver hurt me," said a Dajak, "when I heard that my house had burned down." The Malayans speak of sakit hati, "pain in the liver," that is, "angered," and ketjil hati, "piqued"; the Tobělorees of Halmahera, when they hear something shocking, say, "my liver is burning."

Only among a few peoples in the archipelago is the heart itself looked upon as the central seat of mana (Niassans, Kailians of central Celebes).

I 778 826 827 The blood, however, is regarded as one of the principal carriers of much [151] mana; it throbs in the body wherever a pulse is seen or felt. Blood therefore plays an important role when sacrifices have to be made to avert disasters, as a means of driving out sickness, as a symbol of unity. Above all, it is believed to possess purifying powers. For this reason, when a house is dedicated, blood is painted on the beams and posts. Bo [755 778] In case of sickness, the Dajak of Sarawak build a miniature house which they sprinkle with blood and place in the home of the patient; for three days no stranger may enter so that the patient is able to have the full benefit of the power residing in the sprinkled blood, since he has lost so much by his sickness.

I [844] The placenta and umbilical cord possess great magical power for the newborn child, and they are given the name of the child's parents or called his "younger brother" (1).

1. The name for the placenta in various languages of the archipelago means "young brother."

S 782 776 777 778 A Sundanese kiai (teacher) used the following formula as an incantation: "His Majesty, King Djati Koembara, my brother, who was a placenta and is now an angel in the land of the north, promised at the time of my birth to protect me from storms, the detonation of guns, long swords, and spiced foods. I now ask for this protection seven times by day and seven times by night."

I 844 M 778 755 777 The placenta is buried with care; it is preserved during the first year of the child's life (among the Makassarese) for use in case of sickness to supply the missing life force, etc.

2: Wilken--628 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Moluccas OH1

Batak OD5
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6
MinangKabau OD10

Bt
J
MK
MI
I
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[578 cont.]

Makassarese, Malays, Javanese, etc., a [579] piece of paper or lead that has been written on is used. Among the Mohammedan peoples, among whom the belief in amulets is still very strong, they are often maxims from the Koran written on little strips of paper, which, sewed in a piece of cloth, are worn around the neck. They are called djimat, the Arabic asimat. These djimat are preventives against evil spirits, but are likewise protections against all other evil influences. In addition they are used to safeguard houses, gardens, and other possessions.

Mn 777 Among the Malays of Sumatra's west coast, for example, the labu kunduw, a kin of gourd, is hung in the dwelling as pănangkoq setan, devil chaser, and certain leaves are hung on the rice granaries to drive away evil spirits (1).

1. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, p. 84.

Bt 777 782 775 726 A special kind of preventive among the Batak is the pangulubalang, which is made up by a datu from all kinds of components, with the head of an orphaned boy as the principal ingredient. Great power is attributed to this remedy, which is therefore worshiped as a divinity and given offerings. The pangulubalang appears primarily as the spirit of war who fights the enemy as a champion.

Bt 777 713 532 The ordinary amulets of this people are the pagar, which are either worn as personal preventives or are put into an image when they are to protect the premises or the whole village. Such an image is called porpagaran, that is, preventive bearer. The porpagaran protects the village not only against calamities, but also against the enemy in times of war. Then the image is armed with a sword in the right hand and a lance in the left. Similar images are often found on the houses.

Mc I 777 532 There is hardly a people in the archipelago that does not have the custom of protecting persons, houses, and other property by amulets against evil spirits as well as against thieves. We want to point out the peculiar form that these have in the

Bt [586 cont.]
787 is predicted by him by means of two cords, rambu si-porhas = lightning cords, which he throws on a piece of striped cloth and then examines their position.

G In the Minahasa, among the Alfoer and among the Dajak,
Br the heart of a pig is often examined in order to read an omen
787 from it. We cannot go into this any further, since the things from which omens can be read are innumerable, apart from the various kinds of divination.

[587]

Chapter 26. Determining Favorable and Unfavorable Time Periods

Divining Tables, Kotika

Divining Tables, Kotika

I The belief in favorable and unfavorable days and in
777 ominous time periods in general is related to the discussion in the preceding chapter. Since this belief plays a prominent role in the life of the native and is nearly the same everywhere, we shall discuss it in more detail.

Br Bt The Malays call the ominous time periods, times that
Ml seem favorable for accomplishing some special undertaking,
MK kutika, kotika, katika, or kĕtika, a word derived from the
● 777 Sanskrit ghatikā, a certain part of the day. The word occurs in the same sense among the Batak as hatika, among the Dajak as katiku, among the Makassarese as kutika or kĕtika, and among the Buginese as kotika. By kotika is also understood the tables,
Ml figures, etc., from which the time periods are reckoned. There
777 are various kinds of kotika. For instance, the Malays distinguish
805

B [592 cont.]
805 which literally means "hour of death," but is also the name of
777 the first of these time periods. The other four are called Hala =
787 Kala, Sori = Sri, Borma = Berma, and Bisnu = Bisnoe. Apparently mamis indicates Mahaswara or Siva; it is too farfetched, however, to regard this word as a corruption of Maheçvara, as some people do. The same tables are used for the pormamis as for the kotika lima among the Malays.

Besides these five ominous time periods the Batak know the panggorda as the designation for six similar time periods, those used for most kinds of divination and named [593] after the first, gorda = the Sanskrit grdhra, vulture, which the Batak call anggang = rhinoceros-bird. Furthermore, we want to mention the pormesa, twelve other ominous time periods, the names of which have been derived from the Indian zodiac. The first time period, mesa, is the Sanskritic mesha = ram, what the Batak call hambing = goat.

Finally, we must mention the so-called porhalaän, a table of 12 horizontal lines which correspond to the number of months and are intersected by 30 perpendicular lines which divide each month into 30 days. It is thus used for reckoning the days of the month. The name is derived from hala, the Sanskrit kāla = scorpion, that is to say, the constellation of that name. Finally it is to be reported that the word redjang, as rodjang, is also known among them as the designation for the days of the month, and they are consulted as to whether or not they are favorable. In this instance, they generally bear the names of animals (1).

1. Van der Tuuk, Bat. Wdb., see mesa, gorda, hala.

M
777 As among the Batak, the Makassarese and Buginese also
787 have a strong belief in favorable and unfavorable days. The word kotika also occurs here, in the form kotika among the

2: Wilken--644 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia
Makassar OG6
Malays AN5
Ngadju OC9

MK [593 cont.]
777 Makassarese and as kutika among the Buginese. The kotika
787 lima and kotika tudjuh, which are also used among both peoples, are called bilang lima and bilang tudjuh respectively here and are constructed in the same way as the Malayan kind. Besides these kotika, they have others, for example, for traders, for the devotees of cockfights, etc. Of all these, we shall mention only the kotika djohoro = the kotika of Johore (2).

2. Matthes, "Boegineesche on Makassaarsche kotika's, Tijdschr. v. Ind. T.- L.- en Vk., Vol. XVIII, pp. 1-43. ff.

MI The inhabitants of the small state of Johore on the head-
777 land of the Malay Peninsula were formerly so often guilty of
787 piracy that Johorese and pirate became synonymous. For this
579 reason, the Johore kotika, originally of Johorese origin, is a kotika for [594] pirates, which was consulted by them in order to find out whether they should strike on a certain day and, if so, the outcome. The kotika itself has a somewhat peculiar form. It consists of two concentric circles, divided into 12 sectors representing the 12 months. There are thus 24 spaces in all. The meaning of most of them is indicated by a little doll, of which some are represented with a head and others without one. Some spaces are empty. In the calculation, if one should fall on a space with a doll without a head, it is an unfavorable omen; one with a head is a favorable omen. If the kotika should indicate an empty space, the outcome is doubtful.

N The Olo Ngadju Dajak, too, have their kotika, known as
787 katika. The determination of favorable or unfavorable time
805 periods is done here with the balangan, a figure with seven rows of five signs. It is thus a divination table that is half kotika lima and half kotika tudjuh, inasmuch as the days are counted by sevens, but the day itself is divided into five parts.

M 791 756 [637 cont.]
are said to have originated from the Buginese state Loewoe.

The spirits under whose influence they are supposed to stand are more specifically Batara Goeroe and his spouse Wi M [776] Njilo Timo, the daughter of the god of the underworld, who rose from the sea, and their descendants. They are possessed by these spirits, and when they are possessed they often act as doctresses, sanro. Otherwise they perform their services especially during the festivities on such occasions as births, circumcisions, deaths, filing of teeth, marriages, etc. They then perform all kinds of religious ceremonies which consist of dances, singing, scattering toasted rice, etc. On such occasions, they drive off evil spirits by making noise and smoke with certain instruments. We should note, too, that the bissu, like the shamans in other parts of the M [198] archipelago, use a sacred language at their conjurations, one which greatly resembles Old Buginese.

M [782] 2. Offerings. The making of offerings, both small and large, and holding sacrificial festivities is done often.

3. Magic. Sorcery manifests itself here in the wearing of amulets and preventives, as well as in the use of magical M 777 formulas and the belief in dreams and other omens. The way 787 in which ominous time periods are determined by means of 788 kotika has already been mentioned.

M 784 4. Pemali. Among the Makassarese it is called kassipalli, among the Buginese pomali.

I 121 With this we close the discussion of the religions [638] as far as the original Polynesian and Hinduism are concerned. Islam remains to be mentioned, but we shall limit ourselves exclusively to an enumeration of the peoples who profess this religion.

h. Islam

I 779 We shall not discuss the history of the introduction of 771 Islam in the archipelago, because this would take us too far afield (1). Similarly we shall not deal with the value of Islam

576 /10 cont./ One soon learns that as a distinguished guest one cannot sit down just anywhere when entering a house. It is wrong to sit down where the lowest are supposed to sit, because then the host is ill at ease. It is conceited, and that is disliked, if one sits down directly in the highest /prestige/ side of the house. It is good since it is a token of modesty, which is appreciated, if one sits down a little lower than where one would actually be allowed to take one's place. These are all mistakes which are not held against an occasional visitor, but which will be found troublesome infractions if they occur in the routine of daily life.

574 576 One further learns that, once seated, one may not leave if something is being prepared in the kitchen. It is better to be much too late for a subsequent appointment than to offend one's host by departing. When high Dutch civil and military [448] authorities, who were present at the wedding feast of one of the grandsons of the Prince of Goa in 1741, stood up during the rather long-drawn-out meal and said farewell, people spoke disapprovingly about this occurrence for weeks after in the kampongs. The offer of refreshments is a sign on the part of the host that he wants to do his guests an honor, and an early departure hurts him.

576 I learned that to shake hands does not belong to the customary greeting ceremony. Those present during a conversation or upon departure, including the host, will as much as "touch" the [778] hand of a high guest in order by so doing to obtain something of the good and fortunate, which, after all, adheres to every higher person. A Macassarese is embarrassed by a "firm" handshake.

The statement "I am leaving now" (lampama') is customary and gives one an intimate feeling. The same applies to the question addressed to a person one encounters on the way: "Where are you coming from?" A detailed answer is not expected. Indication of the wind direction suffices. The purpose of question and answer seems merely to be the creation of an intimate atmosphere. A stranger is passed by in silence, but one remains on one's qui vive.

471 /44 cont./ In kampong Borongpalala, for instance, the total
55 sawah area amounts to approximately 450 hectares. The area of dry land is very insignificant here. Of these 450 hectares, around 160 hectares are in the hands of residents of Borongpalala, and around 290 are in the hands of people who live outside Borongpalala. Approximately 3 hectares of the latter amount belong to a number of small farmers of the Bontoramba type. The rest, almost 290 hectares therefore, belongs to a few kinsmen of the Prince /45/ of Goa, who in part live in kampong Karuisi 15 kilometers away from Borongpalala, and in part in Bone, 250 to 300 kilometers away. This kampong is clearly acquainted with large landownership. Deputies (koasa) of the large landowners direct operations there and collect the proceeds. These conditions will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Harvest Ritual

241 The tie between kampong residents and their land finds
346 expression at the harvest festival, which is held at a certain
778 place in the kampong territory, "the Lord of the Land" (Patanna pa'rasanganga) so-called. At this spot stands an old mango tree, and at its foot lie a few large, flat stones. Next to it a "little house" (saukang) has been built. It rests on four posts; the floor, 1.5 square meters, is about 1.0 meter above the ground; the walls are composed of completely transparent braiding; atop leaves serve as roof covering. In the center a fifth post extends about 20 centimeters through the floor, and this is called the "lopped-off house post" (benteng polong). Tree, stones, and the little house together form an important element of the sawah ritual. Usually, both before the planting as well as after the harvest, but also on other occasions of the rice growing, offerings are presented there, coupled with simple and essentially household festivities. Only the harvest festival will be described here.

778 /63 cont. / The Parappo

796 The parappo belongs to the essential part of what is offered to the ancestors. The word means: "to offer or give something to a superior." The parappo is an insignificant-looking little bundle of pisang leaves of about the size of one or two fists full. Its contents seems to consist of betel leaves folded in various ways. Each way of folding has its proper name (for instance: poto, tontong lebong, putu rabing, kalomping). A little piece of areca nut and a very small amount of lime (paleo) goes with every betel leaf. The number of these leaves varies according to status. In the Prince of Goa's kin group the number 9 forms the basis of the parappo (1),

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> 1. By the number that forms the basis of the parappo is meant that a parappo consists in one case of 4 poto, 4 kalomping, etc., and in another case of 6 poto, 6 kalomping, etc.

while in the kin group of the head of the adat community it is 7. /64/ In that of kampong people, the numbers 7, 6, 5, and 4 occur.

612 A number of further differences should be pointed out
778 which vary with the related group. At the ritual on the
184 sawah, the number of leaves in some groups is a little smaller
796 than at a wedding or other kin group feast. Four and 6 respectively were the numbers in the Kapala group in Bontoramba. In a few groups of relatives a further distinction was observed between boys and girls. If the number of leaves for a boy is 6, then it is 7 for a girl (1). A distinction

> 1. These numbers were observed at a number of birthday festivals.

612 /64 cont./ is likewise made between the offering presented
778 to the ancestors in the attic and that which -- on the occasion
184 of the same festival -- is delivered into the water. At a
796 festival in the Kapala group the numbers were 6 and 7 respectively.

The Rojong Song

533 The rojong song constitutes another significant element
796 of the ritual. Old women hum the sounds unintelligibly and monotonously; the exact words frequently are not known to them. This song occurs at wedding feasts and other important solemnities in the related group, and it is coupled with the beating of drums (ganrang). The rojong song recorded in Borongloë before the war has disappeared. The woman who gave it to me was overcome by all kinds of misfortune. She was not prepared to repeat it to me.

Food Taboos

612 In a single related group there is awareness, however
262 feeble, that the members of the group may not eat a certain animal (2). In Goa it is still generally known, perhaps,

2. Dr. Chr. Nooteboom drew my attention to this phenomenon for the first time in 1939.

that the members of the karaëng group (the nobility) may not eat the meat of the white buffalo.

In the related group of the head of the Borongloë adat community the realization faintly continues that a certain type of eel may not be eaten. To explain this the following
773 story is told: A woman who had violated a prohibition was
612 punished for this with the task of carrying water in a basket
262 from the river to a certain place. The basket, however, did

793/64 cont. / not hold /65/ water. An eel appeared which curled
612 up inside it and in this way closed off the seams of the basket
262 with the slime of its skin, and in that way the woman was able to carry out her task. Out of gratitude she there upon vowed that she and her descendants would not eat the eel and its descendants.

[184] However, neither in the Kapala group nor in any of the other groups in Bontoramba were people able to produce such a story. Nor were they able to name a certain animal that a number of relatives were prohibited from eating.

Pantasa'

778 In the attics of Makassarese houses one frequently finds
769 a pantasa' (literally, "bedstead"). This is a little house on posts, from 70 to 100 centimeters tall, hung with mosquito netting. It has a small entrance going up to the front of the house (sapana) such as only the nobility possesses. In this little house one can see a small pillow and a little mat.

The care of these pantasa' primarily involves having a candle burn by its side every Thursday evening at sundown (malang Djuma') and always having ready a glass filled with water, a little bowl with betel and areca nuts, and a cup of water for washing one's hands, such as is customary at every meal. It is believed that the ancestors (pattautoaang) descend here. Therefore, care is taken at all times to leave whatever is customarily presented to an honored guest.

In or near these pantasa' is to be found a small closed basket (baku paballe, literally, "medicine basket"). A number of objects belonging to the ritual are kept in it. Next to the pantasa' one finds, in some cases, a large open basket (salosso), where the larger ritual objects are kept.

It is told that formerly almost all the houses had their
[648] pantasa', but that in 1905 the Dutch troops destroyed a great number of them because they were used in blood sacrifices, which always had renewed opposition as a result. It is further

778 /65 cont./ told that members of the Muhammadijah
769 Association agitated against these pantasa', so that many people made no replacement when the old one was broken.

In 1949, 17 of the 133 houses in Bontoramba had a pantasa'. One stood in 10 of the 81 houses of the Kapala group, in 2 of the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and in 5 of the 33 houses of the /66/ Rest group. Several of these were obviously new, that is to say, they had been made one or only a few years ago. In 5 houses, a large standing basket (salosso) with ritual objects was found.

In addition to pantasa' one can also see so-called "andja'" in attics of houses. An andja' is a place on which one puts an offering. It is a hanging bamboo basin tray without turned-up rims. In the same enumeration, it appeared that there were 38 andja' in the 133 houses of Bontoramba, distributed over the three groups as follows: 30 in the 81 houses of the Kapala group, none in the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and 8 in the 33 houses of the Rest group.

778 One who wishes to bring an offering generally prepares
769 more than one parappo; 3 or 4 is customary. A woman
602 declared that at times she prepared as many as 12. The other parappo are then taken to the pantasa' or the andja' of the kinsmen who are believed to deserve them. Thus only a few of the kinsmen who have a pantasa' in their house receive a parappo. According to reports, this is determined by what the ancestors have prescribed. A Makassarese does not like to state the reason why he gives a parappo to some kinsmen and
554 not to others. It is possible to observe, however, that parappo
778 are by preference brought to the houses of those who are
769 appreciated for their personal qualities. And usually these
602 appear to be personalities generally appreciated in the group of relatives. They are the ones who know how to collect the most goods, whose advice is gladly asked, whose pitjuru (1)

1. See p. 242.

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

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Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is concentrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other. The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

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The Ornament-Worship Community

Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

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1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

[113]

2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

114 /67 cont./ In 1940 I thought I was able to indicate the con-
794 nection between ornament and ancestors by assuming that ancestor worship frequently attached itself to an ornament (3).

[113]

3. H. Th. Chabot, "Over the Makassaarsche samenleving en een erfrechtelijke kwestie /Concerning Makassarese Society and a Question of Inheritance/," T.B.G. /Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, erroneously cited; see Bibliography, p. 347. -- Tr./, 1940, pp. 325 ff.

I considered at that time Nooteboom's "certain community" to be the kin group. At present an attempt will be made to determine more closely the relationship between ornament and ancestor worship.

778 The ornament of Borongloë is kept in the attic of the
794 dwelling belonging to the head of the adat community. It is an old flag on which a cock is pictured. Wrapped in a white cloth, the flag is kept in a closed basket in the ancestral house (pantasa').

The worship taking place at this ornament corresponds in
[769] all important points to the ancestor worship described above. The elements and the course of the ritual are the same. The parappo has the same task and a similar composition in this case. The rojong song and ritual objects here find a similar application. Here, too, the entire preparation lies in the hands of the women, and the pinati appears where the ritual concerns the whole group and not just a few relatives. The
[773] tomanurung myth of Borongloë, reproduced by Friedericy in his own words, corresponds in important respects with that of Bontoramba. At the sacred spot of Borongloë, where the ritual takes place on the most important occasions for the group, the stone, the saukang (little offering house), and the trees are again to be found together.

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
714 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the daërah.

778 /69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other
612 ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament.
634 For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community
[726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

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/69 cont./ subordination, the weapons of the men of Borongloë were ritually painted with blood near that ornament, in preparation for the battle.

The history of this related group and its ornament has not become clear (1).

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1. Oral traditions are always fragmentary. Each group of relatives counts only a few men or women who know anything about the history of their kin group; Their knowledge is limited, however, to a few events, and these at the same time are only those which prove the greatness of the group. A regular narrative can never be obtained. Only in a concrete difficult situation does one of the most important members of the group tell how formerly in a similar situation the solution was found, and how, in his opinion, the conditions at present should be viewed and the difficulties solved. The narrator in so doing chooses his words so casually and easily that it is clear that he does not regard himself as tied to a certain text or even to details. On the contrary, one receives the impression

538 /69 cont./ that he improvises and illuminates the present-day state of affairs by the aid of a few data, just as seems to him best for his group at that moment. At the same time, he seems to be completely convinced of the 'objective' correctness of his representation of the historic facts.

612 /70/ The members of these two worship communities are
794 the members of the local group of relatives, a few kinsmen residing outside the kampong boundaries, an occasional follower, and a very occasional slave, as well as possibly also a stranger who for some reason or other joins in the worship.

778 Ornaments are therefore found in the kingdom, the adat
794 community, and in the kampong. Nowhere is the worship community of an ornament sharply delimited. The larger
[554] the actual power of a group of relatives, the larger does the worship community of this group's ornament seem to be.

612 The relationship between the ornaments is a reflection
778 of the actual power relation of the groups of relatives. Two occasions at which this could be observed will be reported.

796 1. At the ritual "purification of the land" (akawarru butta),
778 which took place for the last time in Borongloë a number of
612 years before the Second World War, the head with his kinsmen and followers carried the ornament of Borongloë through the various kampongs of the adat community. In each kampong they spent the night, a buffalo was killed, a celebration was held, and offerings were made at the ornament. In the kampongs where the people possessed an ornament, the

612 /70 cont./ subordination of the latter with respect to that of
798 Borongloë was expressed in the ritual. These festivities
796 strengthened the sense of solidarity within the adat community, and by the wealth displayed on these occasions, they raised the standing of Borongloë both in its own, as well as in others', eyes.

2. A few days before the inauguration of the new prince of Goa in 1947, the ornaments of Goa and of Borongloë encountered each other at a certain place located in Borongloë
[103] by the name of Tamarunang. The following myth is connected with this place.

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1. Pau-pauanna Tamarunang.	The story of Tamarunang.
2. Riolo, riwattu erona appare' kota Karaëngnga ri Goa,	A long time ago, when the Prince of Goa wanted to build a fort,
3. nanrai' assuro angngalle batu ri binangaja ri Songkolo.	he commanded his people to enter the interior in order to get rocks in the river near Songkolo. /71/
4. Naandjo tau angngallea batu narasai naalle batu aganna Barugaja ri Songkolo.	And the people who got the rocks at that time, accidentally brought back a rock such as lies near the Baruga of Songkolo (1).

[344]

1. A baruga (see Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 195) is a festival shed. At the spot designated as "the baruga of Songkolo," no festival shed is in existence, however. The rock which lies there today is the investiture rock of Borongloë.

/72 cont./

539 djaia niareng Tamarunang.

that it should be called "the one not falling off the raft" (Tamarunang).

612 778 796 The explanation of the name is clear. In addition, the relationship of Tamarunang to Songkolo and to Goa is indicated.

In conversations that I had in 1948 concerning the significance of this encounter of the ornaments, the Prince emphasized the fact that it expresses the subordination of Borongloë to Goa. For the rest, the case was presented as being insignificant. As for Borongloë, the head declared that by means of this ritual Borongloë had lent support to Goa, without which this country would have been regarded as severely weakened.

If one is to conceive of the rock in the myth as a symbol of Borongloë, then the independence of Borongloë in relation to Goa is here clearly represented (1).

1. The narrator was the Kapala of Bontoramba.

612 778 A group of relatives without an ornament seems to exercise only little actual power. The relationship of opposition between prominent members of this group appears to be the most important reason for this.

Where an ornament is present, the oppositions existing between prominent members of the related group are not removed. In a number of cases they merely recede into the background behind an appearance of unity. Where the local relationships give rise to it, such oppositions come to the fore, possibly with even greater bitterness. The fraternal struggle of Sidenreng is a classic example of this (2).

2. See pp. 159-161.

Where there is an ornament, two groups of relatives may sometimes merge into one. An example will serve to illustrate this point.

634 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man
612 in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived
621 together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua.
When he became head in that year, the members of both
groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both
he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to
turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to
[361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where
the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest
of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was
somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration,
the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from
Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on
Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with
a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three
kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua,
as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen
from at least two of these groups.

571 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course
612 of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups
of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A
number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have
already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated
related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the
[778] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the
most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit
with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around
the adat community head. The tendency toward separation
is increased by the difficulty of communication across the
Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance
of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of
marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie
[764] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
764 to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

532 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth
612 in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
669 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past," he wrote in 1883 (2).

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

532 /74 cont./ After the subjection of the princes of South
778 Celebes in 1905, this period of the tomanurung had passed,
612 however. Tomanurung were thought to deceive and to disturb
669 the peace. They were no longer given an opportunity to create a federation. In spite of this, however, the belief in the tomanurung did not disappear.

It may be that the Kapala of Bontoramba counts on the possibility of a tomanurung appearing who will unite his presently well-integrated group with a number of neighboring groups into a federation. The group from which the ornament of the federation is derived will, as a matter of course, have the leadership. The Kapala is prepared for this. The image is, as it were, an ornament in statu nascendi /in the nascent state/.

The Sacred Spot of Borongloë

778 A five-minute walk from the head's house leads to a
773 grove, the so-called "Flat Rock," (batu lappara') of Borongloë (3). On it /75/ stood, according to the myth, the

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3. Many call the rock batu napara', which according to Matthes' dictionary (p. 635) means "a smooth rock with the bottom part in the water; a rock that is stretched out flat."

ancestral couple of the present-day head's group of relatives, at the moment when they made their final statements to the people prior to ascending to heaven (1).

1. Friedericy relates this myth in his own words in his dissertation. See there, pp. 506 ff.

346 778 /75 cont./ In 1939, when I came to Borongloë for the first time, a dilapidated little hut had been built over this rock. Around the same time attention seems to have been drawn to this "rock worship" by the Muhammadijah Association. Shortly after this, people of Borongloë, under the leadership of the head of the adat community and the old Imam, constructed a new cottage.

The rock is flat on top. Viewed from above, the greatest length amounts to about 60 centimeters and the greatest width to about 40 centimeters. Everywhere it is from 2 to 3 centimeters above the ground. At the time of the reconstruction, a pointed rock was placed at opposite sides of the flat rock along the extension of the longitudinal axis, at a distance from each other of approximately 80 centimeters. Each of these two rocks jutted about 15 centimeters out of the ground. In combination with the rock, they make an impression of eroded mesas on the visitor. Questioned about this, the head stated that a grave existed here although he was unable to state with certainty whose grave it was.

[769 178] The purpose of placing the two rocks seems clear. Externally, the rock worship gave way to grave worship. The demands of modern times had therefore been met by doing as they did.

634 778 At the climax of their inauguration festival, the two last adat community heads of Borongloë stood on this rock. There they took the oaths of loyalty (aru) of a number of their kapala and followers.

346 778 Right by the rock a little house (saukang) has been built. It stands on posts. The floor forms a rectangle of 1.0 by 1.5 meters; the walls consist of transparent braided bamboo. A fifth post is stuck in the middle of the floor, going right through it and rising about 30 centimeters above the floor. This is called the lopped-off house post (benteng polong). Rock and saukang belong together. Whenever offerings are [782] made there, a parappo is placed /76/ both by the lopped-off house post as well as by the flat rock (1).

782 /76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was
778 unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The
[24 annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place
796] here.

Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably
241 of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere.
634 In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament
778 sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 A summary of the above yields the following result:
602 By worship community we understand a group of people
182 who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

794 602 182 /76 cont./ qualities. After this person's death the grouping again breaks up. The members then affiliate themselves with others, each according to his own choice. There is no continuity.

Between the prominent members of a group of relatives there always exists a relationship of opposition, which is only intensified by the worship communities. There exists no possibility for such a related group to present a durable and powerful unity to the outside world.

A group of relatives with an ornament is more strongly integrated. /77/ Where there is an ornament, a worship community can be found which comprises a number of people in addition to the related group. The size of this community, however, cannot be precisely indicated.

It is therefore uncertain who constitute the worship community of an ornament. Nooteboom's definition of an ornament, given above, could therefore be simplified. An ornament is an object which is worshipped by a community of individuals.

182 794 778 602 In addition to this worship community, there are a number of extremely weak and small worship communities in a group of relatives. They comprise no more than one or several households. Their members turn to their ancestors in their own pantasa' for family or household affairs. In addition, they can also always turn to the ancestors who are worshipped at the ornament.

644 182 778 Ornaments are also in the hands of ordinary kampong people. The royal ornaments are therefore not "inherent to the royal dignity" (1).

1. See Friedericy, op. cit., p. 501.

Neither is royal dignity "exclusively reserved for those who are of purest blood" (1). In that case the principle of

/77 cont./ 1. Ibid.

644 778 182 descent would dominate completely, and that is not the case.

An ornament is supposed to be in the hands of the group member with the purest blood and the best personal qualities. The individual who has the ornament in his possession is therefore believed to have these qualities until it turns out to be otherwise.

One who shows that he possesses the best personal qualities is therefore, according to the Makassarese idea, of high blood.

A prince is regarded as possessing these personal qualities to the greatest degree. However, they do not always find expression.

182 An ornament strengthens the unity of the group. At the same time it furthers the continuity of this unity. But a breakthrough on the basis of personal qualities must always be considered a possibility, in the light of what has been said above.

/78/

Chapter II

Social Status

114 565 In the ethnological literature Makassarese-Buginese society is known as a hierarchical society. Friedericy (1) decided

1. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlands-Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. 4, p. 582.

593
602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
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3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/," Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri', /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
114 great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status, nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

1:chabot
~~Chabot~~ E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.

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The little ancestral house (pantasa') in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END PLATE 3]

[94 cont.]
631 of these territorial institutions is quite different from that of those found in other parts of the archipelago. From olden times on southern Celebes there has been [95] a kind of
643 feudal nobility, the Karaëng among the Makassarese and the Aroeng of the Buginese, with the members of their families, the Anakaraëng (Makassarese) and the Anakaroeng (Buginese). The criterion by which a Karaëng or an Aroeng is recognized as chief or ruler by the population is the possession of the so-called
[293 778] "regalia," which in southern Celebes are called ornaments (in Buginese, aradjang; in Makassarese, kalompowang). [Illustration appears here.] Among these objects there are a few of value, but also a number that are quite worthless, little bones, little pieces of wood, small stones, etc., and an article that is considered the most important, the gaoekang. It is a stone or a little stick that was found by the original owner, long, long ago in a particular
[142 29]

Buginese from Southern Celebes
Photo. Kol. Instituut Amsterdam. Coll. Veen.

[293 778] concealed place, or which he received under mysterious conditions. The worship of these regalia has something of the nature
793 of fetishism; among the prominent Karaëng there are even

[95 cont.]
793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These orna-
[293 ments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of
● 778] the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was
[74] the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his property. [96] His power was extended more and more because he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was prob-
[636 ably the only native jurisdictional community on southern
634] Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people, however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their position from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornament-
[631] ships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.

565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes, the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature
641 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treatment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng, sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became. The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary and could be severed by either side.

[614] Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the
582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy
583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

Halmahera OH12 Bahau OC5
Toradja OG11 Borneo OC1
Nias OD11
Sundanese OE7
Makassar OG6

Ba 778 826 827 H 778 827 N T 778 827 I 778 826 827 Bo [755 778] I [844]

[150 cont.]

liver hurt me," said a Dajak, "when I heard that my house had burned down." The Malayans speak of sakit hati, "pain in the liver," that is, "angered," and ketjil hati, "piqued"; the Tobélorees of Halmahera, when they hear something shocking, say, "my liver is burning."

Only among a few peoples in the archipelago is the heart itself looked upon as the central seat of mana (Niassans, Kailians of central Celebes).

The blood, however, is regarded as one of the principal carriers of much [151] mana; it throbs in the body wherever a pulse is seen or felt. Blood therefore plays an important role when sacrifices have to be made to avert disasters, as a means of driving out sickness, as a symbol of unity. Above all, it is believed to possess purifying powers. For this reason, when a house is dedicated, blood is painted on the beams and posts. In case of sickness, the Dajak of Sarawak build a miniature house which they sprinkle with blood and place in the home of the patient; for three days no stranger may enter so that the patient is able to have the full benefit of the power residing in the sprinkled blood, since he has lost so much by his sickness.

The placenta and umbilical cord possess great magical power for the newborn child, and they are given the name of the child's parents or called his "younger brother" (1).

1. The name for the placenta in various languages of the archipelago means "young brother."

S 782 776 777 778 I 844 M 778 755 777

A Sundanese kiai (teacher) used the following formula as an incantation: "His Majesty, King Djati Koembara, my brother, who was a placenta and is now an angel in the land of the north, promised at the time of my birth to protect me from storms, the detonation of guns, long swords, and spiced foods. I now ask for this protection seven times by day and seven times by night."

The placenta is buried with care; it is preserved during the first year of the child's life (among the Makassarese) for use in case of sickness to supply the missing life force, etc.

1:Alkema & Bezemer--180 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia

Sumatra OD1
Batak OD5

Java OE1
Minangkabau OD10
Makasser OG6
Malays AN5
Borneo OC1

[156 cont.]

J 778 A human being can be a fetish. Native princes are often honored as such. The famous regent of Lebak, in Max Havelaar, was credited with the power to hold back a freshet.

S 643 793 The priest-king Singa Manga Radja, conquered with difficulty in 1901 by Captain Christoffel, was a fetish. He was in his mother's womb for seven years, his tongue was covered with hair, and a word from him was capable of killing men and animals and of devastating a whole region.

J 778 825 777 Animals are also honored as fetishes. The turtle doves on Java, the perkoetoet, are an example. During the day they hang in a cage on a bamboo pole near the house and in the evening they are brought indoors. We heard once that in Bandung such a bird was purchased for 120 guilders because it was just the color that is so popular. Even the wings of a dead perkoetoet are gladly bought and preserved as fetishes.

J [441 293 842] Fetishes, above all, are objects that have been handed down by the ancestors to following generations, the so-called poesaka.

Among these poesaka, regalia and weapons, especially [157] the kris, are primary. The regalia of Jogjakarta, for instance, can cause a childless couple to be blessed with children. It is said of the regalia of Minangkabau that a person whose shadow fell on them would drop dead as a result. It is believed that the regalia of southern Celebes have special power; they have already been discussed fully on pages 108 and 109.

Mi 778

Ma 778

Ml 777 773 There are all sorts of strange stories in the native folklore about the kris poesaka. The Hang Toeah, a Malayan story that takes place in Malacca, is an example. The hero of the story kills a great number of people with a miraculous sword.

Br 778 425 Other poesaka are also well known as fetishes. Among the Dajak [Dyak] there is a kind of holy jar, belanga or tempajan (martavanen). Sometimes the Dajak pay as much as 4,000 guilders or more for such a jar, and even the sherds of one have a high value.

Bt 778 751 A well-known fetish in the Batak country was the pangoeloebalang, a crude stone image that was placed at the entrance to a village to protect it against calamity.

[417 cont.]

565 number of titles for the other princes and royal persons, but we
643 shall not discuss them here. The most common title for a noble
554 person who does not belong to the royal family is daëng among both peoples. This title originally indicated someone of high birth, but later it was assumed out of self-conceit and lost much of its importance. Buginese and Makassarese who have a right to this title, however, are very proud of it, and when they have risen to some office, they would rather be addressed as daëng than by their official title. Daëng is also a title for women. A native always addresses his wife and older sisters by it, unless they are of royal blood, thus are karaëng. Another noble title, although less exalted than daëng, is the Makassarese [418] kare. We have already seen how people from the common class are addressed.

643 Just as we have noted for the Javanese and Sumatran
293 sovereigns, every ruling sovereign here has his decorations, called kalompuang, or the so-called ornaments. They consist of various objects, such as long krises, guns, shields, badju rante = coat of mail, betel boxes with cuspidors, parasols, etc. Among all the objects, however, one is the most important. It is called gangkang and is generally a strange sort of thing that according to tradition was found in a mysterious way where the seat of the state was established. Thus, there is a gangkang that is a wild tuber of peculiar shape; another one is a small golden
793 image, and in still another one can recognize an old, worn-out
778 paintbrush. All these ornaments, and the gangkang in particular, are venerated; feasts are even given in their honor. Also, priests are appointed to take care of them.

643 The sovereign derives his authority from those ornaments.
778 For example, to remove the sovereign during a revolt, an at-
669 tempt is made to gain possession of the ornaments. If this succeeds, he has been virtually deprived of his authority.

[636 cont.]
752 southern Celebes, derived from the pre-Islamic period, is that of
776 Karaëng Lowe = Great Lord, which occurs primarily in the south-
ern districts. Karaëng Lowe is usually worshiped there under the
symbol of two stones that have the shape of male and female
● 778 genitals. In some localities, these symbols are stored in small
782 houses especially built for them, where the sacrificial rites are
conducted by a priestess, pinate. Elsewhere they are found in
caves or even in the open, so that everyone has free access to
them. Besides those symbols, trees and huge stones are also re-
garded as residences of Karaëng Lowe. Also, in every house,
generally in the loft, there is a small niche for offerings dedicated
to Karaëng Lowe, in which, however, the symbols are lacking;
at all the places dedicated to him vows and offerings consisting of
young coconuts, betel, burning native candles, chickens, buffalo,
gold, etc. are made to him, and in some areas a great annual
three-day festival is celebrated in his honor. The greatest of these
796 celebrations takes place in Gantanrang Keke, a place located
three hours away from Bantaeng. People stream there from all
regions of southern Celebes and amuse themselves with cockfights,
dice games, etc.

776 The worship of Karaëng Lowe is probably a survival from
778 the Hindu period; he is viewed as identical with Siva, who, as
we have said, was worshiped as the god of fertility and procreative
power under the symbols of the linga or of the linga and yoni, the
male and female genitals in conjunction. The stones with which
[637] Karaëng Lowe was worshiped have the same form and thus
point to the Siva cult; in this case it was brought to southern
Celebes by Hindu-Javanese. Now a few words about the other
principal characteristics of the worship in connection with the gen-
eral sketch.

791 1. Shamanism. We have already discussed the occurrence
756 of this on southern Celebes in detail. It is to be recalled that the
shamans here are called bissu = the Sanskrit bhikshû = mendicant
monk, but we want to add a few remarks.

The bissu actually belong to the Buginese regions. They

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, 203
and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting 666
on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems 624
that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the 596
head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his
clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs.
Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like
Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc
splits.

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van 778●
Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, 565
kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the
karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he
was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave.
As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next 574
door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and
the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people
around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a
broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-
Heekeren.

The store hasa brick underwall, and a house above. It
appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and
berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always ac-
cepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim
talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked be-
tween ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United 872
States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim 346
said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in 494
a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen 198
the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it ap-
peared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual 435
style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used
Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling,
but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth
grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further
schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong,
[i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa,
and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is
quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather
far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later.
That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I 212
asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim
said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general.
He added that there was a press in Makassar.

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Ar[illegible]ne from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 l[illegible] big house in the kampong. His family is still there [illegible]ding slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regardi[illegible] he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher [illegible] the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law [illegible]t). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
● 778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them
178 gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

House status marks: little is known about the rules con- 342
cerned with the number of piles, but much is known about 114
the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written 554
in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me 565
say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now
too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew 773
most of the names and events in the legends of origin, includ- 591
ing the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose.

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline 177
in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the paka- 535
rena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices 527
came in. For example, one of the men said that they were 574
having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between 186
Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite 173
ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is 778
only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language 197
spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much 241
of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and 262
it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

000 down from father to son within the ruling family. He said that Ternate once ruled over most of the Moluccas and up into the Philippine Islands. Tidore ruled mainly over New Guinea. Batjan, the other sultanate, was small and less important. This Sultan is a remarkable man and I will talk further with him when I read over my notes on Halmahera.

764 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Sixth day: I had to leave
346 at eleven in the morning to go to Bone. I went at once to
177 the graves of the radjas nearby and at Kale Goa. I noted that all of the tombs of the hundred-year ago type ("beehive") had an urn on top. I also noted that the mosques around here and also the shrine buildings have urns on top. (Later, in Watumpone, I noted that a mosque had, instead of the urn, a stone decoration which looked like an urn) This urn business must be a survival of the old mortuary use (or could it be a mere imitation of the onion shape of Byzantine decoration, which an urn approximates?). I had seen the beehive tombs near the Shrine of the Pigrimage the day before, as well as the large cemetery of regular graves. A bit further on I saw another mosque, and near it many more beehive tombs. I went into several of them.

764 Then I went on to Kale Goa, and on the plateau stand many
782 older type tombs (see photographs), of rough stones, with
778 low doors. And I also noted even older ones, near stone heap mounds. An old man said that the latter were from Hindu times, the former from the time of Datu ri Bandang, in the early seventeenth century, who was the introducer of Islam here. In one of them I saw people sitting crouched down. Several of them were from Pangkadjene, which is quite a distance away, and they had come to make requests. All this is amazing. Then, on a slight, rectangular, earth mound was the coronation stone of Goa. It is small and flat and low. It fell from heaven. Over it is a small gnarled tree which never grows nor diminishes. Nearby is a small fence around another larger and rounder stone which also fell from the sky. There is one beehive tomb here (photograph).

773 I then walked down a little valley to a small kampong, the
778 old man telling me stories about Tumanurung [a legendary figure of unknown origin who married Karaëng Bayo. The couple became mythological founders of the Goa nobility--Analyst] and others the whole time. We reached a well which evidently also features in the cycle of the legend. Nevertheless, it is being used at the present time, and there was a woman there washing a white buffalo with water. I forgot to say that under the round stone is the dried-up well where Goa warriors used to wash for invulnerability before

before going into battle. It is said that the water rises in it whenever Goa goes to war. Thus it rises no more. From then on, it was quite a walk to another well and to a fenced-in area where there were three stones in a row. They were also low and flat. It was on the center one that the real Tumanurung, a beautiful girl, suddenly appeared. It was the population of this kampong who discovered and talked with and received her. 773 778

Then I went back to the car and went off to Bone. I find these Makassarese here very cooperative and polite. The atmosphere in the kampong is good. I got the results of the kampong census typed up by Nunuhitu, and later made up a preliminary reckoning. It is only for three of the kampongs, or rather three of the small kampongs. These are (1) Balombaru proper, (2) Bontotangnga, and (3) Sappabulo. The results are as follows: 609 162

	M	F	Total	
1.	144	143	287	(99+)
2.	32	28	60	(114)
3.	121	134	255	(90-)
Total	297	305	602	(98)

AVERAGE NUMBER PERSONS PER HOUSE [592]

1.	5.6	Houses: 1.	51
2.	4.6	2.	13
3.	5.2	3.	49
Total	5.1		113

NUMBER CHILDREN PER ADULTS

	Adults	Children	Child per Adult
1.	141	146	1.04
2.	36	24	.67
3.	105	150	1.43
Total	282	320	1.14

TRADES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS 162 463

[data for three kampongs, Balombaru, Bontotangnga and Sappabulo--Analyst]

	1	2	3	Total
Goldsmith	32	1	2	36 [sic]
Leather-worker	2	6	7	15
Farmer	-	-	13	13
Shop-keeper	6	2	1	9
Smith	-	1	7	8
Salesman (peddler)	1		6	7

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692
There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f.88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f.12 and a commoner might pay
567 f.22 or f.44. They said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
[588] must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate. One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese this

789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier, and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some) marriage between higher women and lower men. To compensate for this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Tomarilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something between the states. There are frequent marriages in the noble class between the states, and thus it is something like the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ĕppa, lima, ĕneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

764 hundred years old and may show that Mohammedanism here
174 came in a little later than in Goa. These tombs seem to date from the period of conversion to Mohammedanism, judging from the dates, especially in Goa. In this cemetery there are also modern, ordinary graves.

The Kepala kampong said that before the war there were many fine urns on the tombs, but the Dutch controleur had taken them. Later on van Heekeren told me that the Japanese took a lot of these urns too.

346 We went to look at the old and the new mosques. Both have
174 urns on top, as in Goa. The one on the old mosque has blue and white figures on it; the one on the new mosque is brown, apparently of a solid color. I asked van Heekeren, and he said that all mosques have these urns, even in the Paloppo and Luwu areas. He says that these urns are of Chinese origin and were formerly used to hold the ashes and charred bones (i.e., some of the bones) of the cremated bodies, before Islam came in. Van Heekeren is sure that there is not very much Hindu influence here; the urn burial trait is not
[126] Hindu but merely pre-Islamic Makassarese and Buginese. I took some photographs and gave some polaroid prints to the Kepala kampong, of him and his wife in Hadji dress, with their little daughter (perhaps one and a half years old, who waves when you say dag [hello or good-bye--Analyst]).

000 While we were talking about slaves an old fellow came in and stood at the foot of the stairs mentioning something to the Kepala kampong. He was the slave of the assistant chief (seriang). They talked in a very low whisper.

838 Talking with Andi, I brought up the homosexual matter
793 again. He maintains that homosexuals are numerous here.
778 The official ones are attached to the aradjang and at the head of them is the puang matoa, chief of the bissu. When the aradjang is taken out, the bissu from many kampongs gather in Watampone and dance. I asked if every wanua has an aradjang. They do not. However, there are some kampongs that have them. The bissu handle and take out these lesser aradjang too. This also would bear research.

838 Andi went on and on about the scandalous behavior of the
548 ordinary homosexuals (tjalabai). They dress and act like women and are found everywhere. There are many in Watampone. They swish and flirt and stick rolled up handkerchiefs in their blouses to imitate breasts. Andi says that many men are crazy about them and spend lots of time and money to have sex with them. He was surprised that I had seen none. I do remember at the pasar malam that I had seen a "girl" in a bright red blouse (kabaya), and a well painted face. "She"

I boasting pattern in the United States and Indonesian culture.
635 He said that they will give their "platform" in incidental
668 speeches and on wall posters.
666 All of this is not too clear. Anyway, I see that Stefel, like Riekerk, thinks that the "radical" tendency in elections is encouraging. At least some Dutch officials seem to want to have "radicalism" here. Stefel says that the absence of political parties in general is a sign of political immaturity only; they will come.

M Makassar, October 11, 1949: I had a talk with Rahim. He
304 showed me photographs of circumcision, with tooth filing and
565 hair cutting as well, taken in kampong Borongkaluku of dis-
881 trict Borolloe. This is under Gallarang, one of the nine bate
•778 of Goa.. This kampong is eighteen kilometers east of Makassar
852 on the way to Malino. In the pictures there were three chil-
535 dren being fixed, all of nobility. Two of them were girls, one was a boy. Also their youthful lower-class followers participated, wearing very elaborate, decorative dress too. Only nobles can afford to have these great feasts. There is a big procession, with people carrying all sorts of magical objects. This goes to the holy stone of Songkolo' (there are only three in all Goa), which is near Borongkaluku in the district of Borolloe. The stone is in a fenced-in bamboo place, like the stone at Kalé Goa. Here a man does a kris dance before an open door of the flat stone sanctuary. A woman does a holy dance in the same place. These are fine photographs. They also show a mother having her first teeth filing. This is done ceremonially only, with a gold ring. She has clamped between her teeth a piece of wood. A fowl is being held by the operator who smears the blood from it on her teeth. Then there are photographs of the boy and the two girls (look to be about 8 to 5 years old) being "filed". (Here again it is only mock filing with a gold ring; after a few years they will get the real filing with a stone). They also have pieces of wood clamped in their teeth. Other photographs show these same children getting their hair locks cut off. There is a wonderful picture of a boy's penis being clamped and cut (supercision) and another showing the bloody scar on the top of the penis. This is done with a steel knife. There is also a photograph of one of the girls being cut, but her vulva is behind a cloth sheet and the operator is working on it underneath, so that from the picture one cannot see what is going on. Another photograph shows the Mohammedan prayers being offered at one side and a pagan stick offering on the other.

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs. M 304 881 852

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heaven ones. This explains a difficult point. M 565 173 793

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace. M 778 793

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former. M 562 609

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime. C 669 643

behind where there were many houses for his many slaves. That house had horns on the gables. The sunat feast lasted six days and five buffaloes had been killed for food as well as many fowls. Many fancy cakes were served which had been left over from the feast. I saw the boy who had been cut and he is said to be thirteen, although he looked much younger. I asked about the repeated cutting, up to seven times, and Saleh said that this is usual. He looked wise at this moment, and sizing up the boy, said, "I think it isn't finished with this fellow and that he will have to be cut again!" M 881 [342] 304 565 343

I asked about the gaukang, and they agreed that the radja and the nine bate must have them. As for the others, for example the karaeng, some have them and some do not; but formerly they must all have had them. M 778 565

I asked about the charms, the djimat, and they said that there are still plenty being used in the kampong. M 751

We finally drove to the seaside where there was a bathing beach and bath houses. They say that there are many Dutch who come here and pay a fee. It is owned by the local karaeng. M 529

I had a talk with Emanuel, a student of van Voll, and ter Haar's former assistant. He looked like an Indo [i.e., Eurasian]. He is trying to get through a uniform marriage law for Christians in all of East Indonesia. He admitted that this is a difficult task because the families are so often mixed, and the settlement of property is likewise very confused. 000

I asked Emanuel about the divorce pronouncement by a man. He agreed that it was normal for a man to say it three times in order for it to become a full divorce. If it is said only once or twice the couple can remarry, but if it has been said three times it is final. He said, however, that there are two other forms in Indonesia (he said that ter Haar mentioned this). One form is when a woman gets a man to agree to give talak by offering him a settlement. This is in line with true Mohammedan law. The other kind is peculiar to Indonesia. It occurs when a woman complains to the judge that she has offered a man settlement for the requested talak, but the man has refused. The man is then called to the judge, and if he is still unwilling and all is in order, the judge himself may pronounce talak. I 586 592 C 586 592

I had a talk with engineer Resink, who is here for the Economic Affairs Department. He is an "Indo" and talks about "us" Indonesians. I get the impression he is a radical I 668

7:Alisjahbana E-3 (1952-1953)1954 OB1 Indonesia OB1
(ca. 1900) Sundanese OE7
Makassar OG6

I 554 778 293

consisted of many objects, such as kris (creases), banners, spears, shields. A group of golden ornaments, called the upatjara, were carried in a procession at the celebration of Garebeg. (See above.) These regalia were collectively called pusaka. Almost each item had a specific function, such as to avert epidemics, droughts, etc.[3]

M 778 554 293

The regalia of the Buginese and the Makassarese, called the gaukang were believed to have similar characteristics. Here it was a general belief that the regalia was the basis of the ruler's power. Without these regalia, a Makassarese or Buginese ruler would not be able to come to power.[4]

S 554 778 293

The regents, the highest nobility in the Prijangan, also possessed regalia. Ordinarily it consisted of kris, betelnut-sets, statues, shields, umbrellas, etc. and it was hereditary within the family. These hereditary ornaments were called pusaka too; a special room was customarily kept apart for them. Although these pusaka were treated with reverent care, the Makassarese and Buginese concept of the regalia's power did not exist.

Dutch sources pointed out that during the early contacts with the native chiefs, the pusakas were displaced on almost all occasions. In some areas they were also carried in a procession with the aim of blessing the tjatjah. In some areas the water with which the pusaka was cleaned was believed to possess curing power.

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3. J. P. Duyvendak, Inleiding tot de Ethnologie van de Indonesische Archipel. (Groningen/Batavia: J. B. Wolters, 1946).

4. H. J. Friedericy, "De Standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie, vol. 90 (1933), pp. 488-602.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia
Ambon OH4
Bali OF7
Makassar OG6

Am 621 613

except for the surviving nuclear families, or lineages, which maintain possession of groves of trees. These have in some instances been converted into arbitrarily formed land-owning units by reason of European or "negory" authority.

MK 621 778

9. *The gaukang.*—In South Celebes there is an interesting institution known as the "gaukang" (also as kalompoan and arajang). This is the representation and symbolization of the vital spirit or soul of a regional community in a particular object of supernatural qualities.[22] The original fetish could be a stone, a gnarled branch, a flag, lance, plow or some other object. Later on, other elaborate accessories were sometimes added to the original one, and in some instances these secondary fetishes became substituted in the place of the original.

In breaking off from a parent, new communities became independent in their own right, even though they had no fetishes of their own. They did, however, remain second-rate in general status. Even in the Mandar states, where patrilineal sub-clans are described as being groups of importance, the communities are territorial, as elsewhere. The governor is the guardian of the fetish. There is great variety in the names and functions of the assistants and sub-chiefs. Originally each fetishistic community had its own council (hadat), and although war and the principalities, alliances and Dutch administration have had a great deal of influence on South Celebes social organization, underneath it all the regional community is the cell and primal form of social structure.

Bl 621 602

10. *The Balinese desa.*—The "desa," as the villages of Bali are called, is a community based purely on geographical contiguity. It is true that a kinship relation does bind the little-known religious societies of Bali together, but the members of these cults are scattered throughout a number of villages, and their function is limited to the joint worship of a deified progenitor and the maintenance of a temple for him. The reckonig of the relationship is patrilineal, except for some "old style" desa.[23]

Bl 621 794

The "desa" is a community which depends in the first place upon a common duty and will to keep the village grounds clean for the gods, and to carry on the sacrifices and other religious ceremonies called for by custom. There is considerable variation between the

[22] [The Dutch call this social complex "het ornamentschap." This would have to be translated "ornamentship." In English, a more effective equivalent would be "community fetishism."]

[23] [The distinction between "old" and "new" style desa is described by van Vollenhoven, *Adatrecht*, vol. I, pp. 464ff.]

T
M /127 cont./
648 In everyday life the Datoe of Loewoe' meant nothing to
M the Toradja. In no case was he considered. The Datoe was
643 brought into play only against strangers. In their contacts with
the Government, before it vigorously asserted itself, all over-
T tures were rejected with an appeal to the Datoe. Our attempts
114 to open schools among the Toradja failed in the first years, be-
648 cause the people did not want to know anything about this novelty,
871 from which they expected only disadvantages for their social
177 life. In order to cut off all discussion of this matter they hid
M behind the Datoe, who certainly would not approve if his sub-
648 jects obtained schooling while he himself did not yet have any.
643 Whenever the Toradja saw an advantage in some new thing,
they did not think of consulting the Datoe about it.

M The Datoe of Loewoe' was actually only the keeper of the
648 gaoekang (literally "things, implements, ornaments"), or
643 aradjang ("signs of greatness"), the fetishes in which the strength
[778] of the country is preserved, the regalia. As heirlooms of the
T deified ancestors they make the possessor the direct deputy of
648 these ancestors; this person thus stands on the same level as the
ancestors. Then the Toradja also said of the Datoe: "He is our
T god (lamoa)." That the Datoe left them to their lot and never
[622] concerned himself about them they found precisely "god-like"
and "ancester-like" of him because in this way he left their adat
T untouched. And this is the task of every Chief.

M The Toradjas were loyal subjects of the Datoe, precisely be-
648 cause of the superstitious respect that they had for him. The Datoe
M was said to have white blood in his veins. The mysterious power
643 that emanated from his person was considered so great that an
[826] ordinary Toradja could not look at him without getting a swollen
753 stomach and dying. The story is told of two Lage chiefs who
778 wished passionately to see the Datoe. They actually succeeded
761 in making their way to him, but the one died already on the
return journey and the other three months after he reached home.

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/127 cont./

Because of this superstitious fear, it did not even occur to the people to oppose the wishes or the commands of the Datoe. It was told that whenever the Datoe came to punish rebellious tribes, his army was preceded by swarms of wasps which put the rebels out of action before there was an encounter. The Datoe had power over the success or failure of the harvest. Whenever people opposed him, the rice in the cooking pots would change to worms. This /128/ power over the crops that was ascribed to him was the reason that many Toradja continued to deliver their tribute to the Datoe after the Government had already prohibited this, because they thought that through their show of respect their fields would prosper. Whenever now and then there was resistance to Loewoe', this was not aimed at the Datoe, but at the Chief of one of the little realms that made up Loewoe'. There was ascribed to the Datoe another feared weapon with which he held his subjects in check. Namely, he could bring a contagious sickness over the land; he had nine of these sicknesses at his disposal. The Datoe was said to have inherited this power from one of his ancestors called La Dondorio. The tradition connected with this is too remarkable for it not to be reported.

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14. The story of La Dondorio and the To Ngojoe.

La Dondorio went to seek supernatural power (mempepali asi-asi) on the other side of the ocean. At sea he met someone in a proa, who said to him: "La Dondorio, do not go to the inhabitants of yonder island; only women are there; if a man comes to them, they go at him in order to unite with him; they tear him from one another's arms so that he dies. They are the To Ngojoe, who are called this because they have the wind for a husband. When the wind sweeps over their dwelling place, they all go to sit with their faces in the direction from which the wind comes. If a man comes to them, then they cover (naowoeti) him, and the one with whom he mates becomes pregnant; but if the child is a boy, they sit upon him so that he dies. Therefore there are no men on the island."

M /128 cont./
• 778 When La Dondorio had listened to this tale, he considered
539 how he could escape the danger: If the women take me as a
643 mate, I shall not come away alive; let me thus manage on my way to get a supply of penes. Where he got them from is not known, but he continued his journey with a supply of male genitalia in his boat. When he was approaching the coast of the island, the To Ngojoe saw that a man was coming to them. They came out of their houses and rushed to the shore and ran to meet him in the sea, for he would oblige whoever reached him first, and the others would have to fight over him.

La Dondorio saw them approaching and he said to the penes: "These are the To Ngojoe, who want to climb into our ship. When they have come close, you must fly up and every one must enter into the arse (tanta'i, but the vulva is surely meant) of each of them, so that they cannot approach me." The genitalia did this so that every one of the To Ngojoe was satisfied. With other men the women stormed their vessel so that it sank and the man drowned.

When all were satisfied, one of the women said to La Dondorio: "You, La Dondorio, are truly a clever man, for you are the only one who is leaving here alive. Therefore we wish to give you something to show our affection for you. We shall give you a protective charm such that all your descendants shall have power over the means that we give. /129/ When you make use of it, it will have effect; so also when your descendants make use of it." In this way La Dondorio received the nine sicknesses.

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648 In former times people were very afraid of them. When a
753 contagious sickness prevailed in Poe'oe-mboto, it was thought that
M it had been sent by the Datoe, and then rice and chickens were
648 collected in order to go and pay him honor (mepoee). The
643 people were convinced that the Datoe had released one of the nine sicknesses because he was angry at something or other. The sicknesses that La Dondorio had brought along were of all sorts: stomach-ache, headache, fever. The people then went

2: Wilken--198 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

[162 cont.]

MI 538

Many of the later sjair deal with historical subjects of recent times, for example: the Sjair pĕrang Batawih = history of the capture of Batavia by the British in 1811; Sjair pĕrang Bali or Sjair Djendral Michlis (Michiels), a poem about the third Bali expedition and the death of General Michiels; Sjair Kompĕni wolanda bĕrpĕrang dengan Tjina, a poem about the struggle between the Company and the Chinese and the murder of the Chinese under Governor General Valckenier.

MI 538 779

We now come to the prose, which includes, first, religious writings and works on Mohammedan jurisprudence. All these come from the Arabic and were written by Mohammedan priests or under their influence. They consist in large part of explanations of the Koran, teachings on the dogma and rites of Islam, and rhetorical prescriptions and adaptations of writings of Arabian jurists. Many of them were drawn up in Atjeh. The Saribu masail or masaila, the thousand questions, is one of the foremost among them. This work is known throughout the Mohammedan world. It contains a thousand questions that were submitted by a learned Jew, Abd'oellah bin Salām, to Mohammed, who answered them with the help of the angel Gabriel, whereupon Abd'oellah and his followers embraced Islam. The questions covered all kinds of subjects, such as religion, geography, astronomy, etc., actually a hodgepodge of all kinds of nonsense. The work is known throughout the Indies, and there is a translation in Buginese. It seems to have been translated originally from the Persian. Another work of some reputation is the Mirror of the Studious, miratu'l-tollab. It also bears a Malayan title, Tjermin sĕgala marika jang mĕnuntut elmu faqih pada mĕmudahkan sĕgala hukum sjai Allah, which is translated as "Mirror for those who want to study jurisprudence [163] in order to facilitate the administration of justice according to the Law of God." This should adequately show its content. It, too, was written by a priest on Atjeh and was compiled by him according to the abridged writings of the Shafiitic sect.

MK [538 779]
MI 671 795

782, 231

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

/For description of the sacrifice of buffaloes at death and other feasts, see also category 764./

241 /45 cont./ When all the sawahs have been completely harvested, the day for the ritual is set. This is the job of the [793] pinati (1) of Bontoramba, who is also the person who carries

1. Pinati is the title of the functionary who is usually charged with the execution of the ritual. Compare B.F. Matthes, Wb., p. 111.

out the actual ritual on that day. Around ten o'clock in the morning, those who wanted to take part in this harvest ritual [821] had already begun to gather at "the Lord of the Land." The ritual must take place before the sun begins to descend again, because, so it is believed, the rising of the sun benefits the growth of the rice. The women brought bowls of offerings 241 with them. Every house is expected to bring an offering, it is •782 said, and one proceeds from the assumption that everyone is interested in the harvest. When the ritual began, I counted only 45 offering bowls from 42 different houses. Thirty-four of these 42 /46/ houses belonged to the Kapala group, 1 was occupied by members of the Mangenre group, and 5 belonged to the Rest group. Two bowls were from people outside Bontoramba who owned land in this region.

The second offering bowl from one and the same house, in two out of three cases, was designated for the second family living in that house.

In the three out of five cases in which the Rest group brought 471 an offering bowl, it appeared that no one from the house con- 241 cerned had been recorded in the land-tax register. One of these 782 concerned a follower who brought the offering for the sawahs of his master, who lived elsewhere; the second concerned one who worked sawahs belonging to a kinsman residing in Buttadidi; the third case is that of one of the kampong functionaries who

471 /46 cont./ had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his participation in the life of the kampong at this communal festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
[626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated, this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
773 "Lord of the Land," the following story was told. /47/

1. Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga," niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land," called Besenga.
2. Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

346 778 /75 cont./ In 1939, when I came to Borongloë for the first time, a dilapidated little hut had been built over this rock. Around the same time attention seems to have been drawn to this "rock worship" by the Muhammadijah Association. Shortly after this, people of Borongloë, under the leadership of the head of the adat community and the old Imam, constructed a new cottage.

The rock is flat on top. Viewed from above, the greatest length amounts to about 60 centimeters and the greatest width to about 40 centimeters. Everywhere it is from 2 to 3 centimeters above the ground. At the time of the reconstruction, a pointed rock was placed at opposite sides of the flat rock along the extension of the longitudinal axis, at a distance from each other of approximately 80 centimeters. Each of these two rocks jutted about 15 centimeters out of the ground. In combination with the rock, they make an impression of eroded mesas on the visitor. Questioned about this, the head stated that a grave existed here although he was unable to state with certainty whose grave it was.

[769 178] The purpose of placing the two rocks seems clear. Externally, the rock worship gave way to grave worship. The demands of modern times had therefore been met by doing as they did.

634 778 At the climax of their inauguration festival, the two last adat community heads of Borongloë stood on this rock. There they took the oaths of loyalty (aru) of a number of their kapala and followers.

346 778 Right by the rock a little house (saukang) has been built. It stands on posts. The floor forms a rectangle of 1.0 by 1.5 meters; the walls consist of transparent braided bamboo. A fifth post is stuck in the middle of the floor, going right through it and rising about 30 centimeters above the floor. This is called the lopped-off house post (benteng polong). Rock and saukang belong together. Whenever offerings are made there, a parappo is placed /76/ both by the lopped-off house post as well as by the flat rock (1). [782]

782 /76 cont. / 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 778 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The [241 746] annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place here.

Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably 241 of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere. 634 778 In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 602 182 A summary of the above yields the following result:

By worship community we understand a group of people who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

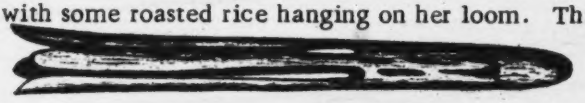
Batak OD5
Borneo OC1
Makassar OG6
Sumbawa OF28
JAVA OE1

[506 cont.]

I 286 and folktales are associated with it in all kinds of ways, which clearly indicates how highly this art is regarded by the people. The art of weaving is one of the most ancient possessions of the Malayan-Polynesian race.

In his De weefkunst in Nederlandsch Indië [The Art of Weaving in the Netherlands East Indies], Jasper gives some examples of popular belief and practices that are connected with this branch of industry.

J 286 [777] [507] Ikat work, according to the Javanese, is a secret art that can be practiced only by someone possessing the true èlmoe (magic wisdom). The weaver in Padang-Pandjang has a little bag with some roasted rice hanging on her loom. This



A Shuttle Cylinder
Photo. Jasper and Mas Pirngadie

I [782] keeps her from making mistakes. In Kota-Gedang a chicken is killed when a piece of weaving is finished. The person who ordered it and the weaver each get half. In the Toba lands Bt 283 when the thread is dyed, the spirit of the deceased grandfather 769 or father of the weaver is called upon so that the work will not 777 be a failure. In some of the coastal areas of Borneo's southern and eastern divisions, sarongs that are woven with a special Br 755 checked pattern are supposed to possess the power of healing the 777 sickness of whoever wears them. In southern Celebes some weavers M 782 know a little prayer, whose translation is: "May I work You (the loom) so swiftly that my seat does not have time to get warm or the rice pot to boil over. Such is the blessing of Allah."

I 777 When a piece of fabric is finished and has to be cut, if it is for personal use, it is put near a pot of water so that it remains cool and brings luck to the wearer, male or female. S 789 On Sumbawa a plate with water, rice, and banana is placed on the

[635 cont.]

776 A consequence of the latter is that the belief in good and evil spirits is also found among the Buginese and Makassarese. They are referred to by a few general designations that were adopted in former times from the Hindu-Javanese. Generally speaking, the tutelary spirits are called rewata in Makassarese, dewata in Buginese, the Hindu-Javanese dewata, the Sanskrit devâta. Another category is called sangiyang, the well-known Hindu-Javanese sanghjang. Among them Sangiyang Sarri, the same as Dewi Sri, deserves special mention. She is the spirit of the rice and is identified with it.

At the head of the spirits stands Batara Goeroe = Siva, often simply called Batara, who, as the name indicates, is likewise of Hindu-Javanese origin.

754 Among the evil spirits--popokang among the Makassarese, pappo among the Buginese--a primary role is played by those whose heads wander around at night while the trunk remains in bed. Here they are always women. If there is a woman at court who is thought to be a popokang, she is immediately made a slave and sentenced to pound kemiri continuously as a means of preventing her from going out at night and doing harm. Besides these, there are the pontijana, the spirit of women who died
766 in childbirth. If a woman dies in childbirth, an egg is put un-
775 der each of her armpits, her hands are pressed tightly against
754 the body, and some needles are stuck inside her clothing.
845

We shall not discuss the other spirits, because they were already mentioned in the general sketch.

769 [636] The worship of the souls of the deceased deserves
775 special consideration since the sanctity of the crocodiles, which
825 is found in many places on southern Celebes, is connected with
● 782 it. It is believed that the souls reside in these animals after
824 death. In the eastern districts, in Boeloekoempa, eels are regarded in the same way. Like the crocodiles, at the sound of metal cymbals, they come on land and feast on the chicken-
782 drumsticks that are given to them, especially by women who
776 yearn for the joys of motherhood. The most peculiar worship on

[636 cont.]

782 southern Celebes, derived from the pre-Islamic period, is that of
776 Karaëng Lowe = Great Lord, which occurs primarily in the southern districts. Karaëng Lowe is usually worshiped there under the symbol of two stones that have the shape of male and female
778 genitals. In some localities, these symbols are stored in small
782 houses especially built for them, where the sacrificial rites are conducted by a priestess, pinate. Elsewhere they are found in caves or even in the open, so that everyone has free access to them. Besides those symbols, trees and huge stones are also regarded as residences of Karaëng Lowe. Also, in every house, generally in the loft, there is a small niche for offerings dedicated to Karaëng Lowe, in which, however, the symbols are lacking; at all the places dedicated to him vows and offerings consisting of young coconuts, betel, burning native candles, chickens, buffalo, gold, etc. are made to him, and in some areas a great annual three-day festival is celebrated in his honor. The greatest of these
796 celebrations takes place in Gantanrang Keke, a place located three hours away from Bantaeng. People stream there from all regions of southern Celebes and amuse themselves with cockfights, dice games, etc.

776 The worship of Karaëng Lowe is probably a survival from
778 the Hindu period; he is viewed as identical with Siva, who, as we have said, was worshiped as the god of fertility and procreative power under the symbols of the linga or of the linga and yoni, the male and female genitals in conjunction. The stones with which [637] Karaëng Lowe was worshiped have the same form and thus point to the Siva cult; in this case it was brought to southern Celebes by Hindu-Javanese. Now a few words about the other principal characteristics of the worship in connection with the general sketch.

791 1. Shamanism. We have already discussed the occurrence
756 of this on southern Celebes in detail. It is to be recalled that the shamans here are called bissu = the Sanskrit bhikshû = mendicant monk, but we want to add a few remarks.

The bissu actually belong to the Buginese regions. They

M 791 756 [637 cont.]
are said to have originated from the Buginese state Loewoe.

The spirits under whose influence they are supposed to stand are more specifically Batara Goeroe and his spouse Wi Njilo Timo, the daughter of the god of the underworld, who rose from the sea, and their descendants. They are possessed by these spirits, and when they are possessed they often act as doctresses, sanro. Otherwise they perform their services especially during the festivities on such occasions as births, circumcisions, deaths, filing of teeth, marriages, etc. They then perform all kinds of religious ceremonies which consist of dances, singing, scattering toasted rice, etc. On such occasions, they drive off evil spirits by making noise and smoke with certain instruments. We should note, too, that the bissu, like the shamans in other parts of the archipelago, use a sacred language at their conjurations, one which greatly resembles Old Buginese.

M [776] M [198]

2. Offerings. The making of offerings, both small and large, and holding sacrificial festivities is done often.

M [782]

3. Magic. Sorcery manifests itself here in the wearing of amulets and preventives, as well as in the use of magical formulas and the belief in dreams and other omens. The way in which ominous time periods are determined by means of kotika has already been mentioned.

M 777 787 788

4. Pemali. Among the Makassarese it is called kassipalli, among the Buginese pomali.

M 784

With this we close the discussion of the religions [638] as far as the original Polynesian and Hinduism are concerned. Islam remains to be mentioned, but we shall limit ourselves exclusively to an enumeration of the peoples who profess this religion.

I 121

h. Islam

We shall not discuss the history of the introduction of Islam in the archipelago, because this would take us too far afield (1). Similarly we shall not deal with the value of Islam

I 774 771

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

764 Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photo-
graph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave
stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and
small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are al-
most not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site
of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose)
on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the
house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died
last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that al-
though these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally
"slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photo-
graph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together
his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the
Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
●782 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
412 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers,
etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young
ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son
follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths
now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop
found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This be-
longed to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large
knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows
really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a
student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map)
743 [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss
758 Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum
and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless
the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows.
These dwelling places are much better than native houses.
There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the
children especially get leprosy, and that when children are
born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thousands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

the latter there are ten graves of former radjas who were also holy men. One was especially important. Over the door was a sign in Arabic telling about the dates and lives of the men there buried. The dates are from 1600 to 1700, the Golden Age, of course. Busses are loaded going to this place, and the area itself is thronged. The people buy oil cakes and bring real flowers and lay these on the graves. The graves are thick with flowers. Then the people make their request, for example, for a child to get over an illness. I saw at least two Chinese there and I was told that plenty of them come to make requests. I did not go to the Kale Goa place with the graves today as it was too late. I will go tomorrow morning. I had little time to go into religious matters, but these matters are very strongly held here. I will cover these notes later on. 764 782 563 755

I took Saleh to meet Nunuhitu, the translator and typist. 124

Ternate and the Moluccas: I met the Sultan of Ternate in the club, where he stayed until 3 A. M. He touched no alcohol. He said that if he were in the United States he might drink, but not in Indonesia. He is a very little fellow, his clothes being too large for him, and is in the room next to me at the hotel. He is very keen and speaks English very well. He was in Australia during the war and spent quite a bit of time with the Americans. He even has a familiarity with American slang, for example, merry-go-round. A Dutchman said that he is 100 per cent Nederlander, and he spoke thus, but evidently not a stooge. He says he knows that he will have to yield to the folk here soon, but admits that other radjas are often not of the same disposition as he is. He has an intelligent progressive mind evidently, and although he works with the Dutch, he knows why. That is, he realizes that the Indonesians need their help. He is a member of the East Indonesia Senate. Evidently there are very few in this body, and they are the highest only. Thus the Tidore sultan is not in this body, but in the House of Representatives. The Sultan said that the siwa and lima were old Ternate and Tidore customs originally. Ternate, in the old days, was divided into nine negri or tribes, and everywhere rule among the people was divided into nine divisions. This is no longer true on the island, but he knows that it once was this way. He says that two of the original nine negri still exist. Tidore originally was divided into five negri and wherever the local adat was extended it was so organized. I asked him how he knew about this, and he said that his father had told him. His family has been in direct ruling line for 600 years and these old things are passed 000

000 down from father to son within the ruling family. He said that Ternate once ruled over most of the Moluccas and up into the Philippine Islands. Tidore ruled mainly over New Guinea. Batjan, the other sultanate, was small and less important. This Sultan is a remarkable man and I will talk further with him when I read over my notes on Halmahera.

764 346 177 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Sixth day: I had to leave at eleven in the morning to go to Bone. I went at once to the graves of the radjas nearby and at Kale Goa. I noted that all of the tombs of the hundred-year ago type ("beehive") had an urn on top. I also noted that the mosques around here and also the shrine buildings have urns on top. (Later, in Watumpone, I noted that a mosque had, instead of the urn, a stone decoration which looked like an urn) This urn business must be a survival of the old mortuary use (or could it be a mere imitation of the onion shape of Byzantine decoration, which an urn approximates?). I had seen the beehive tombs near the Shrine of the Pigrimage the day before, as well as the large cemetery of regular graves. A bit further on I saw another mosque, and near it many more beehive tombs. I went into several of them.

764 782 778 Then I went on to Kale Goa, and on the plateau stand many older type tombs (see photographs), of rough stones, with low doors. And I also noted even older ones, near stone heap mounds. An old man said that the latter were from Hindu times, the former from the time of Datu ri Bandang, in the early seventeenth century, who was the introducer of Islam here. In one of them I saw people sitting crouched down. Several of them were from Pangkadjene, which is quite a distance away, and they had come to make requests. All this is amazing. Then, on a slight, rectangular, earth mound was the coronation stone of Goa. It is small and flat and low. It fell from heaven. Over it is a small gnarled tree which never grows nor diminishes. Nearby is a small fence around another larger and rounder stone which also fell from the sky. There is one beehive tomb here (photograph).

773 778 I then walked down a little valley to a small kampong, the old man telling me stories about Tumanurung [a legendary figure of unknown origin who married Karaëng Bayo. The couple became mythological founders of the Goa nobility--Analyst] and others the whole time. We reached a well which evidently also features in the cycle of the legend. Nevertheless, it is being used at the present time, and there was a woman there washing a white buffalo with water. I forgot to say that under the round stone is the dried-up well where Goa warriors used to wash for invulnerability before

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed [791]
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that 554
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 782●
They said that women have two stones, and men only one! 796
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

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At the time when the people in this area still made their clothes out of foeja /beaten tree bark/, they fetched from this hill the stones from which were made the little hammers (ike) with which the tree bark was flattened. The headman under whose leadership the move had taken place bore the name of Samba-langi, "covering the sky." The village was strong because it was surrounded by three earthen walls. Samba-langi continued to be invoked for a long time by people from Wotoe who brought buffaloes to Lake Poso: "Samba-langi, give us health, and do not let the buffaloes die on the way."

Now the story goes that the son of Samba-langi, once when he was bathing in the Kalaena, saw maize leaves and other refuse floating in it. This convinced him that there must be people living upstream. He followed the river upstream and came to the country now known as Saloe-maoge. There he saw a bamboo container hanging on a sugar palm, in which palm wine was collected. The people of Lampenai drank some of the liquid and then placed salt and sugar at the foot of the tree as the price for the enjoyment. After that they returned home.

When Samba-langi learned of the vicissitudes of his son, he ordered him to go back to the land upstream and to try to contact the inhabitants of Saloe-maoge. After they had again placed salt and sugar at the foot of a tree, they hid in the bushes in order to see who came to get these delicacies. Before long there appeared a man who was totally naked and who fled immediately when the coastal inhabitants showed themselves. Nevertheless eventually they managed to establish contact with the man and his fellow tribesmen. Coastal and mountain inhabitants made friends with each other. When the question came up as to who was the younger (inferior) and who the older (superior), the mountain people said to the people from the coast: "Of course you are our superiors, and we shall show you honor, because you wear trousers and a jacket, while we wear only a loincloth."

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Steaming

Steaming (barumbung) is a ritual which prepares bride and groom for their future union. At that time they are still each in his own house. Under the house a pot with water is placed on [801] the fire, and seven different kinds of leaves are placed in it. The steam is conducted upward through a hollow bamboo pipe toward a hole in the floor in the hindmost part of the house. The bride (or the bridegroom) is seated above this hole, completely wrapped in a sarong. The bride's mother scatters puffed rice over her and moves the incense vessel around her, three times one way and once the other. While doing so, she mumbles a spell. When the bride has sat in this way for some time and has perspired profusely, she is bathed. This is repeated for three days on end. It is believed that in this way even the evil that is deep within her will come out with the sweat so that only the good will remain. It is hoped that thus she will be able to face the coming period of uncertainty in the best possible condition.

Plucking the Eyebrows

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The plucking of eyebrows (bubu') is likewise done before the couple is brought together. On this occasion the bride's mother removes the hairs which would make the eyebrow "not good." It is believed that a person's character is revealed in
826 his glance, and also by the features around his eye. In view of
828 the fact that even an exchange of words between young men
[834] and women is prohibited, the casting of glances is practically the only thing that can be done with impunity. The slight arching of an eyebrow and lowering of the eyelids have their significance. To be greedy of eye (balala matana) is regarded
585 as an inferior quality of a young man. In this ritual the im-
826 portance of the eye and the play of the eyes accordingly finds
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2. Wilken--648 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Buru OH8 Hova FY5 Gorontalo OG4
Land Dyak OC8 Makassar OG6
Sundanese OE7 Javanese OE5
Moluccas OH1 Malays AN5
Halmahera OH12 Batak OD5

I 784 192 [597 cont.] The Polynesian word is tabu (1) which also occurs in the

1. Kern, de Fidji-taal [The Fiji Language], pp. 174 and 242.

Malay Archipelago, but here pĕmali, which is synonymous with it, is more generally used. The radical is pali, from which pĕmali is formed by the infix ĕm, through which it becomes a condition word. These words, pali and the form pĕmali and pamali, are G 784 used more in the western part of the archipelago, although it also occurs on northern Celebes, but it was perhaps imported Bt there by Malays. Pali means "illicit, forbidden," and occurs as MK such among the Olo Ngadju in Borneo's southeastern division. JV

M1 [598] The Malays, both those of the Riouw-Lingga Archi- HV pelago and those of Sumatra, more often use the form pĕmali, 784 whereas the Javanese generally pronounce it pamali. Among the Buginese it is again pĕmali, but among the Makassarese kassipalli. The Dairic-speaking Batak use kĕmmali, the Hoewa [Hova] of Sn Madagascar fadi, in which the f = p, di = li.

LD Besides pali, there are also a few other terms. Among the Bt 784 Land Dajak of Sarawak porik is used, among the Toba robu (1),

1. robu = pali; see Kern, op. cit. p. 174.

among the Sundanese bujut. The last is used interchangeably with pamali. It seems, however, that pĕmali is more common and bujut is used more specifically for individual persons or families (2).

2. Tijdschr. v. Ind. T. L. en Vk., Vol. XXVII, pp. 100 ff.

Bu H1 M 784 As we have noted, pĕmali occurs in the eastern part of the [77] archipelago, but was probably introduced there by Malays. Among

M 791 756 [637 cont.]
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848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes. i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thousands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar
OG6

291
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Bissu of Segeri during their dance, in which they are in a trance and attempt to press a kris into the body. Pages 208-209.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 10]

175 648 602 /135 cont./ 1. See Chapter 3, third part.

led them to turn away from the other population groups. The separatist tendencies of the time; which here assumed a political form, have their basis here.

Expectation of Salvation

668 In South Celebes expectations of salvation display a number of characteristics which in various points agree with the phenomena described above in this chapter. That is the reason for treating them here. The general traits are the following.

A man or a woman prophesies that the days of the exist- [787] ing rule are numbered. All princes, Dutchmen, foreign Easterners /136/ will be killed or go away. Natural disasters and eclipses of the sun are close at hand; taxes will no longer have to be paid, and feudal services will no longer have to be performed (1). The person who makes these forecasts

1. There arose "a commotion because a certain Baso Oewa Taéna, who also called himself Baso Daëng Magassieng, predicted an eclipse of the sun, during which Battara Gowa (Sangkilang) would appear and would marry his daughter to him, Baso. After streams of blood had flowed and all Europeans and foreign Easterners had been removed, a mighty

2: Wilken--633 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Batak OD5
Javanese OE5
Makassar OG6
Malays AN5
Gorontalo OG4
Borneo OC1

J [583 cont.]
775 and in full consciousness can say, "Allah ana ing aku" = Allah
785 is in me. One should keep in mind that, however philosophical
788 this may sound, all these nglemu peling, like the other ngelmu, merely consist of rapal, and these consist only of sounds have often have no sense. It need hardly be mentioned that not every Javanese possesses ngelmu. Only the privileged have them. But enough about the ngelmu. It should be noted, however, that they play an important role in the life of the Javanese.

h. Prophecy

I Another expression of sorcery is divination, [584] pre-
787 dicting the future, understanding the inclination of the spirits
MK from all kinds of omens. We have seen that when the shamans
M are possessed they are consulted about the future. It is primarily
J the soothsayers, however, who reveal this after consulting cer-
G tain omens or by means of other kinds of sorcery. We shall now
Br discuss how they do this.
Bt
787 First of all, the belief in dreams is general in the archipelago, not only among the pagan peoples, such as the Batak, Dajak, and Alfoer, but also among the Mohammedan Javanese, Malays, Buginese, and Makassarese. The future is inferred from the dream (1), and whenever something is to be undertaken

1. Meded. v. w. het Ned. Zend. Gen., Vol. IV, p. 126. Low, Sea Dyjak religion, p. 219. Veth, Java, Vol. III, p. 269. Journ. Straits Branch Asicatic Soc., 1884, p. 300. De Groot, Les fetes annuelles des Chinois [The annual festivals of the Chinese], p. 593.

special attention is given to dreams. Some dreams are so simple that they can be explained by anyone. For the explanation of puzzling dreams, however, mediation by the soothsayer is

Borneo OC1 Makassar OGG
Hova FY5 Malays AN5
Javanese OEE
Gorontolo OGH
Batak OD5

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[584 cont.]

called upon. Among some peoples, there is a peculiar way of trying to make ominous dreams powerless, namely, by giving a representation of what was dreamed. This puts the spirits on a false scent, outmaneuvers them, as it were. This is done especially in case of illness. Let us give a few examples. If a Batak dreams that someone thrashed him, on the following day he will ask an acquaintance to hit him a few times in order to escape the actual thrashing (2). The same notion is found among

2. Van der Tuuk, Bataksch leesboek, p. 104, note 2. Niemann, "Godsdienst der Bataks," Bijdragen op. cit., passim.

the Alfoer of the Minahasa. They try to make not only dreams harmless this way, but also other bad omens. If one dreams, for example, that a house is burning down or understands from certain omens that there will be a fire, a small house is built and set afire. This is regarded as the realization of the dream or of the bad omen. [585] This custom also exists among other peoples, for example, among the Dajak (1) and the Hoewa

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1. Tijdschrift v. Ned.-Indië, 1846, Vol. III, p. 159. Niemann, "Letterkunde der Batak [Literature of the Batak]," Bijdragen op. cit., pp. 245 ff.

[Hova] on Madagascar; the latter, as is known belong to the Malay race.

i. Oracle Birds and Ominous Signs (2)

2. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche [Ethnographic Parallels and Comparisons], 1878, p. 17.

B [592 cont.]
805 which literally means "hour of death," but is also the name of
777 the first of these time periods. The other four are called Hala =
787 Kala, Sori = Sri, Borma = Berma, and Bisnu = Bisnoe. Apparently mamis indicates Mahaswara or Siva; it is too farfetched, however, to regard this word as a corruption of Maheçvara, as some people do. The same tables are used for the pormamis as for the kotika lima among the Malays.

Besides these five ominous time periods the Batak know the panggorda as the designation for six similar time periods, those used for most kinds of divination and named [593] after the first, gorda = the Sanskrit grdhra, vulture, which the Batak call anggang = rhinoceros-bird. Furthermore, we want to mention the pormesa, twelve other ominous time periods, the names of which have been derived from the Indian zodiac. The first time period, mesa, is the Sanskritic mesha = ram, what the Batak call hambing = goat.

Finally, we must mention the so-called porhalaän, a table of 12 horizontal lines which correspond to the number of months and are intersected by 30 perpendicular lines which divide each month into 30 days. It is thus used for reckoning the days of the month. The name is derived from hala, the Sanskrit kâla = scorpion, that is to say, the constellation of that name. Finally it is to be reported that the word redjang, as rodjang, is also known among them as the designation for the days of the month, and they are consulted as to whether or not they are favorable. In this instance, they generally bear the names of animals (1).

1. Van der Tuuk, Bat. Wdb., see mesa, gorda, hala.

M
777 As among the Batak, the Makassarese and Buginese also
787 have a strong belief in favorable and unfavorable days. The word kotika also occurs here, in the form kotika among the

2: Wilken--644 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia

Makassar 066
Malays ANE
Ngadju OC9

MK [593 cont.]
777 Makassarese and as kutika among the Buginese. The kotika
787 lima and kotika tudjuh, which are also used among both peoples, are called bilang lima and bilang tudjuh respectively here and are constructed in the same way as the Malayan kind. Besides these kotika, they have others, for example, for traders, for the devotees of cockfights, etc. Of all these, we shall mention only the kotika djohoro = the kotika of Johore (2).

2. Matthes, "Boegineesche on Makassaarsche kotika's, Tijdschr. v. Ind. T.- L.- en Vk., Vol. XVIII, pp. 1-43. ff.

MI The inhabitants of the small state of Johore on the head-
777 land of the Malay Peninsula were formerly so often guilty of
787 piracy that Johorese and pirate became synonymous. For this
579 reason, the Johore kotika, originally of Johorese origin, is a kotika for [594] pirates, which was consulted by them in order to find out whether they should strike on a certain day and, if so, the outcome. The kotika itself has a somewhat peculiar form. It consists of two concentric circles, divided into 12 sectors representing the 12 months. There are thus 24 spaces in all. The meaning of most of them is indicated by a little doll, of which some are represented with a head and others without one. Some spaces are empty. In the calculation, if one should fall on a space with a doll without a head, it is an unfavorable omen; one with a head is a favorable omen. If the kotika should indicate an empty space, the outcome is doubtful.

N The Olo Ngadju Dajak, too, have their kotika, known as
787 katika. The determination of favorable or unfavorable time
805 periods is done here with the balangan, a figure with seven rows of five signs. It is thus a divination table that is half kotika lima and half kotika tudjuh, inasmuch as the days are counted by sevens, but the day itself is divided into five parts.

M 791 756 [637 cont.]
are said to have originated from the Buginese state Loewoe.

The spirits under whose influence they are supposed to stand are more specifically Batara Goeroe and his spouse Wi Njilo Timo, the daughter of the god of the underworld, who rose from the sea, and their descendants. They are possessed by these spirits, and when they are possessed they often act as doctresses, sanro. Otherwise they perform their services especially during the festivities on such occasions as births, circumcisions, deaths, filing of teeth, marriages, etc. They then perform all kinds of religious ceremonies which consist of dances, singing, scattering toasted rice, etc. On such occasions, they drive off evil spirits by making noise and smoke with certain instruments. We should note, too, that the bissu, like the shamans in other parts of the archipelago, use a sacred language at their conjurations, one which greatly resembles Old Buginese.

M [776] M [198]

2. Offerings. The making of offerings, both small and large, and holding sacrificial festivities is done often.

M [782]

3. Magic. Sorcery manifests itself here in the wearing of amulets and preventives, as well as in the use of magical formulas and the belief in dreams and other omens. The way in which ominous time periods are determined by means of kotika has already been mentioned.

M 777 787 788

4. Pemali. Among the Makassarese it is called kassipalli, among the Buginese pomali.

M 784

With this we close the discussion of the religions [638] as far as the original Polynesian and Hinduism are concerned. Islam remains to be mentioned, but we shall limit ourselves exclusively to an enumeration of the peoples who profess this religion.

I 121

h. Islam

We shall not discuss the history of the introduction of Islam in the archipelago, because this would take us too far afield (1). Similarly we shall not deal with the value of Islam

I 779 771

/177 cont./
Water Sprinkling (appasili)

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Appasili (1) is the name of the ritual in which water is

1. See B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 597.

sprinkled over the object of the ritual, a thing or a person, by means of a number of leafy twigs which have been tied together. It is done at various moments of the wedding festival. Thus, water is sprinkled on the vessels that will be used during the festive meals and during the /178/ setting up of the chief pole of the pannjambungi (1). It occurs also at preparations that

[342]

1. The pannjambungi is the extension which is built onto the front part of the actual house on the occasion of a wedding festival. During this time it serves as the men's quarters and as a place where the male guests are received. At such a time the house proper, including the front room (kale balla'), is reserved for the women. I hope to be able to describe this part of the house in greater detail later. W.H. Rassers has already repeatedly pointed out the great interest attaching to this part, the last time in his study, "Inleiding tot de bestudeering van de Javaansche kris /Introduction to a Study of the Javanese Kris/," Mededeeling der Kon/inklijke/ Ned/erlandsche/ Akad/emie/

[114]

585 /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen,
● 788 Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde,
[114] N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/
/New Series/, Vol. I,
no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 The person who performs this ritual is frequently the
[593] "bride's mother," (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjamburigi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven
824 different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but some-
[801] times variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 824 789 1. These names are rapidly recited, one after the other, when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

M 791 756 [637 cont.]
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M [782] 2. Offerings. The making of offerings, both small and large, and holding sacrificial festivities is done often.

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833 /173 cont./ The characteristics of being not good, if the not wanting emanates from the woman, are the same as when the man is the one who /174/ refuses sexual intercourse. The two women whom I was able to observe, however, lead me to suggest that the reason for their refusal is the idea that they regard themselves as too good for their husbands.

The Makassarese attitude with respect to these phenomena is different.

585 An informant named the "tete" as, in his opinion, one of the most important aspects of the wedding feast. Tete literally means "bridge." The bringing together of man and wife is regarded as a period of temporary uncertainty, and it is hoped that from this a state of lasting security will arise. Ritual is performed because it is believed that it promotes the coveted cessation of insecurity. There is always a positive [824] and a negative aspect present. This finds expression, among other things, in the names of leaves and wood types used in the ritual. Some of these have the meaning of "becoming larger," "increasing," while others mean "fending off" and "holding back."

833 We have already mentioned that the environment accepts a kawe kawe as he is. One does not have the idea that it is his fault that he is the way he is. Similarly, it is accepted of a man or woman that he (she) does not want to be "good" with his (her) marriage partner.

It is believed possible that the one who refuses sexual 833 contact has been affected by a spell /sprenk/. But people can 789 never say with certainty who it was that spoke it at best; it is only possible to suspect people of it. One proceeds from an interest that this person is believed to have in seeing the marriage fail, and one combines this with conduct observed in him or her of which it is stated that it deviates from the customary and therefore might have a special (in this case, bad) significance.

833 /174 cont./ Such a person is kept isolated from attempts
789 which are applied to make the marriage a success nonetheless.
683 In view of the fact, however, that one can never be sure that a certain individual has not uttered a spell against the prospering of the marriage partners, one never hears of stronger reactions, such as the meting out of punishment.

833 Even though it is accepted of a man or woman that he
832 (she) does not want to have any sexual intercourse with his (her) spouse, one does not simply rest satisfied with this situation. After the actual wedding feast is /175/ over, one searches for ritual in order even yet to bring about the desired result.

In addition to many well-known and easily observable traits, the ritual generally has details which differ with every individual who performs it. These details need not be apparent. What makes the ritual a success in a certain case may be present precisely in the nonobservable details. It is never possible to know beforehand which detail it is that will bring success.

Different people accordingly test their powers in a case where the marriage partners are not good together. The ex-Imam of Borongloë was successful a number of times, after others had failed, when a few years after the marriage was concluded, he repeated the Moslem rite. This is called "marrying anew" (nikka' poleang). This ritual was unknown in a number of regions in South Celebes. Personal initiative in clearly observable ritual matters is to be found here.

585 The wedding festival consists of a multiple ritual of which the subordinate elements are performed over a period of time from 3 to 14 days and in a more or less fixed sequence.

Several actions that are forbidden in everyday life are here performed for the first time, surrounded as they are by ritual. As such we should mention the first touch of the woman by the man, the first meal together, being bathed together, and wearing a single sarong together. The older

585 /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen,
788 Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde,
[114] N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/
/New Series/, Vol. I,
no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

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824 recited, one after the other,
● 789 when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

585 /178 cont./ "The medicinal plants
824 bowagang palili, parempasa',
789 and lowe are all able to
defend against evil." Palili
means: "cause to get out of
the way" (Ibid., p. 223)
Parempa' means: "to ward
off" (Ibid., p. 1[illegible]2). Of
"lowe," Matthes states that
it is an old name for the
"nagasari," a shrub that was
also used for fences (Ibid.,
p. 373). The word buagang
has the same meaning. When
a kampong head, after a theft,
turned to someone with the
[672] words, "If the thief is found
in your house, you yourself
will also be punished," the
reaction was: "buagang,"
that is to say, "May that
misfortune not overcome me."

the meaning of "gay" and "sweet" respectively.

585 The water used for sprinkling comes from a pot. In the pot
it has already undergone ritual treatment. At the bottom of
the pot there lie some money, a number of betel leaves folded
[824] in a special way (kalomping), and an appropriate number of
pieces of areca nut. This water has been made pure (badji',
literally, "good"). The burning /179/ incense vessel
(padupaang) has been moved around it, puffed rice (bente) has
been scattered over it, and a spell has been uttered during the
ceremony. The object of the ritual is now sprinkled with this
"good water" while a spell is uttered again.

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692
There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 ● 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate. One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese this

●789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier, and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage between higher women and lower men. To compensate for this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Tomarilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something between the states. There are frequent marriages in the noble class between the states, and thus it is something like the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ĕppa, lima, ĕneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

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13. The power and prestige of the Datoe of Loewoe'.

We have never noticed any kind of policy of the Datoe toward the East Toradja. If the subjects (palili) simply fulfilled the above-named obligations, he did not bother further with their internal affairs. He calmly let the tribes wage war with one another. If the Toradja experienced molestation on the part of Mori or Sigi, they went to the court to complain about it, but real help was never granted. For example the Datoe never made an effort to rescue the East Toradja from the molestation that was done to them by the mountain tribes of the West Toradja. The Datoe, after listening to the complaint, handed them one or another miraculous remedy, through whose magic action the enemy would be driven back.

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The last time the Datoe helped his subjects in this way was in 1903. On the north shore of Lake Poso the Toradja had damaged and thrown into the water a memorial that had been erected there in memory of Chief Engineer R. Fennema, who had perished in the Lake in 1897. That is, the people believed that the continuous drought that scourged the country at the time was the result of the wrath of the spirits, because they (the Toradja) had admitted the Hollanders into the country. The administrative officer at Poso now asked for damages for the destruction of the memorial, but the people wanted to pay less than was asked. When the messengers of the administrative officer had returned to Poso, the Toradja thought that the soldiers would come and shoot them. They reinforced their villages and sent /127/ a few men to Loewoe' in order to inform the Datoe of the threatening danger and to ask him for help. The Datoe gave the envoys one bullet and a little bamboo container of gunpowder, enough for one shot, along with the message: "Fire this bullet with this powder at the Hollanders if they attack you, and they shall all flee from you." In the meantime, however, the request from the Government had been met, so that the bullet and powder were no longer necessary. The chief of Towale carried these objects afterwards as talisman.

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Because of this superstitious fear, it did not even occur to the people to oppose the wishes or the commands of the Datoe. It was told that whenever the Datoe came to punish rebellious tribes, his army was preceded by swarms of wasps which put the rebels out of action before there was an encounter. The Datoe had power over the success or failure of the harvest. Whenever people opposed him, the rice in the cooking pots would change to worms. This /128/ power over the crops that was ascribed to him was the reason that many Toradja continued to deliver their tribute to the Datoe after the Government had already prohibited this, because they thought that through their show of respect their fields would prosper. Whenever now and then there was resistance to Loewoe', this was not aimed at the Datoe, but at the Chief of one of the little realms that made up Loewoe'. There was ascribed to the Datoe another feared weapon with which he held his subjects in check. Namely, he could bring a contagious sickness over the land; he had nine of these sicknesses at his disposal. The Datoe was said to have inherited this power from one of his ancestors called La Dondorio. The tradition connected with this is too remarkable for it not to be reported.

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14. The story of La Dondorio and the To Ngojoe.

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La Dondorio went to seek supernatural power (mempepali asi-asi) on the other side of the ocean. At sea he met someone in a proa, who said to him: "La Dondorio, do not go to the inhabitants of yonder island; only women are there; if a man comes to them, they go at him in order to unite with him; they tear him from one another's arms so that he dies. They are the To Ngojoe, who are called this because they have the wind for a husband. When the wind sweeps over their dwelling place, they all go to sit with their faces in the direction from which the wind comes. If a man comes to them, then they cover (naowoeti) him, and the one with whom he mates becomes pregnant; but if the child is a boy, they sit upon him so that he dies. Therefore there are no men on the island."

Batak ODS
Makassar OGG
Malays ANS

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198 [568 cont.]
787 shrill tones with the accompaniment of drums. The chief balian
533 sings a line, which is repeated in chorus by her assistants. This
I [535] singing is called manandak. During the conjuring there is also dancing, babigal.

BT Among the Bataks, too, there are special languages for con-
198 juring the spirits. Among them a distinction is even made be-
787 tween the language that is used to call the begu into the body of
786 the sibaso and the one spoken by him in the state of possession. The former is called hata pangaraksaon, language of circumlocution, and the latter hata-ni-begu-sijar, the language of the spirit who came down. The latter language is also a paraphrasing one, by which it clearly shows to what extent it is the one of a spirit. For example, if objects are referred to in the conversation, they are not indicated by their ordinary names, but by flowery names derived from their properties as though they [569] were animated beings, for example: instead of api = fire, one says si-adji-ma-hirlo-hirlo = prince flickerer; instead of pat = leg, si-mandjodjak, stepper; instead of tarik-ni-gordang, drum cords, si-radja-martalindan = prince tied crosswise to one another, etc.

MK The bissu of the Buginese and Makassarese use a similar
198 language that greatly resembles the old Buginese language,
791 which still is found in some ancient poems.

I One can say that, generally speaking, all the peoples of
198 the archipelago use a special language when conjuring the
787 spirits. We shall now illustrate by a few examples what happens at such conjuring.

c. Conjuring the Spirits

MI We choose for this the previously mentioned trubuk con-
791 juring in Brouwer Strait. For the inhabitants of the various
226 [787] villages along the strait this is a principal means of livelihood.

[636 cont.]

782 southern Celebes, derived from the pre-Islamic period, is that of
776 Karaëng Lowe = Great Lord, which occurs primarily in the southern districts. Karaëng Lowe is usually worshiped there under the symbol of two stones that have the shape of male and female
778 genitals. In some localities, these symbols are stored in small
782 houses especially built for them, where the sacrificial rites are conducted by a priestess, pinate. Elsewhere they are found in caves or even in the open, so that everyone has free access to them. Besides those symbols, trees and huge stones are also regarded as residences of Karaëng Lowe. Also, in every house, generally in the loft, there is a small niche for offerings dedicated to Karaëng Lowe, in which, however, the symbols are lacking; at all the places dedicated to him vows and offerings consisting of young coconuts, betel, burning native candles, chickens, buffalo, gold, etc. are made to him, and in some areas a great annual three-day festival is celebrated in his honor. The greatest of these
796 celebrations takes place in Gantanrang Keke, a place located three hours away from Bantaeng. People stream there from all regions of southern Celebes and amuse themselves with cockfights, dice games, etc.

776 The worship of Karaëng Lowe is probably a survival from
778 the Hindu period; he is viewed as identical with Siva, who, as we have said, was worshiped as the god of fertility and procreative power under the symbols of the linga or of the linga and yoni, the male and female genitals in conjunction. The stones with which [637] Karaëng Lowe was worshiped have the same form and thus point to the Siva cult; in this case it was brought to southern Celebes by Hindu-Javanese. Now a few words about the other principal characteristics of the worship in connection with the general sketch.

791 1. Shamanism. We have already discussed the occurrence
756 of this on southern Celebes in detail. It is to be recalled that the shamans here are called bissu = the Sanskrit bhikshû = mendicant monk, but we want to add a few remarks.

The bissu actually belong to the Buginese regions. They

M 791 756 [637 cont.]
are said to have originated from the Buginese state Loewoe.

The spirits under whose influence they are supposed to stand are more specifically Batara Goeroe and his spouse Wi Njilo Timo, the daughter of the god of the underworld, who rose from the sea, and their descendants. They are possessed by these spirits, and when they are possessed they often act as doctresses, sanro. Otherwise they perform their services especially during the festivities on such occasions as births, circumcisions, deaths, filing of teeth, marriages, etc. They then perform all kinds of religious ceremonies which consist of dances, singing, scattering toasted rice, etc. On such occasions, they drive off evil spirits by making noise and smoke with certain instruments. We should note, too, that the bissu, like the shamans in other parts of the archipelago, use a sacred language at their conjurations, one which greatly resembles Old Buginese.

M [776]

M [198]

M [782] 2. Offerings. The making of offerings, both small and large, and holding sacrificial festivities is done often.

3. Magic. Sorcery manifests itself here in the wearing of amulets and preventives, as well as in the use of magical formulas and the belief in dreams and other omens. The way in which ominous time periods are determined by means of kotika has already been mentioned.

M 777 787 788

M 784 4. Pemali. Among the Makassarese it is called kassipalli, among the Buginese pomali.

I 121 With this we close the discussion of the religions [638] as far as the original Polynesian and Hinduism are concerned. Islam remains to be mentioned, but we shall limit ourselves exclusively to an enumeration of the peoples who profess this religion.

h. Islam

I 779 771 We shall not discuss the history of the introduction of Islam in the archipelago, because this would take us too far afield (1). Similarly we shall not deal with the value of Islam

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the [791]
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 554
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 782
They said that women have two stones, and men only one! 796
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

241 /45 cont./ When all the sawahs have been completely harvested, the day for the ritual is set. This is the job of the
[793] pinati (1) of Bontoramba, who is also the person who carries

1. Pinati is the title of the functionary who is usually charged with the execution of the ritual. Compare B.F. Matthes, Wb., p. 111.

out the actual ritual on that day. Around ten o'clock in the morning, those who wanted to take part in this harvest ritual
[821] had already begun to gather at "the Lord of the Land." The ritual must take place before the sun begins to descend again, because, so it is believed, the rising of the sun benefits the growth of the rice. The women brought bowls of offerings
241 with them. Every house is expected to bring an offering, it is
782 said, and one proceeds from the assumption that everyone is interested in the harvest. When the ritual began, I counted only 45 offering bowls from 42 different houses. Thirty-four of these 42 /46/ houses belonged to the Kapala group, 1 was occupied by members of the Mangenre group, and 5 belonged to the Rest group. Two bowls were from people outside Bontoramba who owned land in this region.

The second offering bowl from one and the same house, in two out of three cases, was designated for the second family living in that house.

In the three out of five cases in which the Rest group brought
471 an offering bowl, it appeared that no one from the house con-
241 cerned had been recorded in the land-tax register. One of these
782 concerned a follower who brought the offering for the sawahs of his master, who lived elsewhere; the second concerned one who worked sawahs belonging to a kinsman residing in Buttadidi; the third case is that of one of the kampong functionaries who

769 /62 cont. / out in the same sequence in every instance. They will be briefly reported here.

[793] By donning a white headdress, the pinati makes himself distinguishable as the one who is going to bring about contact [777] between the living and their ancestors. The throwing of rice, usually in puffed form (bente), over the offerings is done because it is believed that rice brings good luck. The pinati sprinkles a circle of drops of oil around the offerings with the little oil bottle. After he has placed incense in a burning incense vessel, with the latter, he describes the same circle, first three times counterclockwise and then once clockwise. This done, he places the offering, the "parappo" (1), prepared

1. See p. 84.

by himself, inside the circle next to the offering bowls. Both the puffed rice as well as the parappo is momentarily held over the incense vessel each time for purposes of purification, so that whatever enters it will always be pure. An imaginary circle thus separates that which is brought into contact with the ancestors from the rest of the world. The pinati then places a few fingers of his right hand as it were against the circle and mumbles for a few moments. In so doing, the ritual is concluded.

What he mumbles is kept secret by the pinati. At the same time he always communicates the factual events to the ancestors. Thus, at the time of planting: "We have come here to report to you that we are going to plant; if we obtain a good harvest we will offer the best of it to you." Or at the harvest festival: "Here I bring you the best of my harvest."

The Pinati

62 The Pinati of Bontoramba was a kinsman of the Kapala.
793 His standing was high in his related group because of his personal qualities. He functioned as a regulator of marriages and

612 /62 cont. / always had a leading role at the conferences
793 concerning the expenses of the wedding feast, and so forth, which always precede the marriages. He knew the wedding song and was a valued expert on, and healer of, diseases. The title of such a functionary is sanro. With one single exception, he was called in for help in all these matters only by the members of the Kapala group. He further managed the harvest festival, which involved the entire territory /63/ of Bontoramba and in which, for that reason, members of other groups also took part. In ordinary life he did not distinguish himself either in clothing or outward appearance from other residents of Bontoramba.

796 He himself prepares the essence of what is offered, the
462 parappo. The further preparation of the ritual, which is very detailed and consumes a great deal of time, is carried out by the women. Each and every one of the women is better informed about ritual matters than the men. The preparation of the offerings, the hallowing of the water to be used at the ritual, the hallowing of the bowls and dishes from which they will eat, the finding of leaves of a special, prescribed nature necessary at the ritual, the making of the candles (kandjoli), all these are elements of the ritual taken care of by the women. They are also not activities familiar to every one of them. The names of the leaves and the arrangement of the offerings have their own significance. In these things one may not make a mistake. An informant once characterized the situation by saying, "Islam is the religion of the men, ancestor worship that of the women." Whenever there is no pinati present, therefore, one will see one of the older women taking his place. At small festivities concerning a /nuclear/ family, the women frequently conducted the ritual themselves. The pinati functions where the entire community is involved in the festival.

554 /123 cont./ he hears everything that goes on. In his turn he
602 derives from his kapalaship the standing necessary to exert
622 influence within his group.

With the members of the other groups, his influence in
622 many cases extends only so far as is necessary to carry out the
[602] tasks enjoined on him by officials of the Inland Administration via the Self-government and adat community heads. This, therefore, frequently concerns administrative matters, but in view of the fact that administration and the exercise of actual power are not separated here, his influence is very great. For the residents of the kampong territory, the kapala is the man to whom they must pay their taxes. He is the one who regulates community labor, with whom the request for the clearing of a new plot of land must be registered in the first instance, from whom an aspirant kampong /124/ resident must request permission to settle, to whom guests staying overnight must be reported, and so on.

He must be known therefore in all such daily matters. He is the link between the residents of his kampong and the adat community head. Accordingly, it is important for all kampong residents to be on friendly terms with him. His influence soon ceases with non-kinsmen. He does not enter into affairs which are important to them as kinsmen. If he makes an attempt to extend his influence further, opposition arises. The opposition between the various group of relatives in one and the same kampong territory finds expression, among other things, in the exercise of the function of gurukampong.

793 The gurukampong is the lowest religious official in the hierarchy in which the kali stands at the top for the entire realm and in which the imam is subordinated to the kali for affairs inside the adat community. In his turn, the gurukampong is again subordinated to the imam for matters concerning the residents of his kampong. His task is to make the imam acquainted with births and deaths, marriages, and cases of people who want to get a divorce. He lends a hand at a birth,

793 /124 cont./ burial, and grave visits insofar as Moslem ritual must take place there.

602 793 The gurukampong therefore deals directly with the intimate kin-group life, and for that reason people prefer a kinsman to fulfill his function. A group of kinsmen living together in one kampong territory, in addition to the Kapala group, consequently has its own guru (1). In one kampong territory one finds,

> 1. In Bontoramba, the Mangenre group (18 houses) has its own guru. A number of other Buginese residing there are also helped by this man. The others, Makassarese, in cases when they require it, ask for help from the guru of the Kapala group.

therefore, in many cases one or even two gurus working for their own kin groups, in addition to the actual gurukampong. They try to enter into direct contact with the imam. This provides them with an independent position toward the guru of the Kapala group. Sometimes (as in Bontoramba) the kapala permits this. The guru of the Kapala group must then content himself with that. But the kapala and his guru, as well as the imam, can oppose this attempt. [622]

/125/ Where the Kapala group is not the only one in the kampong but by far and away the largest, a struggle can frequently be observed, even though it has not yet assumed any distinct form. Wherever two almost equally large groups live next to each other in a single territory, the struggle comes more clearly to the fore. An example of this is to be found at the election of a new kapala. Election takes place, according to the election regulation of 1927, by the majority of votes of the able-bodied men. The struggle is conducted, on the one hand, through attempts to attach the kampong residents who do not belong to either of the two competing groups of relatives to one's side, and, on the other hand, by strengthening the tie with the adat community head; or, if this is possible, 621 622 666

838 /154 cont./ on roads. Her kinsmen accepted these transgressions of the sex prohibitions without further ado. Apparently they did not think of the forbidden contact situation in which she found herself.

838 ●793 644 From a description by Matthes, it appears (1) that in his

1. B. F. Matthes, Over de Bissoe's of Heidense Priesters der Boegineezen /Concerning the Bissu or Heathen Priests of the Buginese/.

time (around 1870) a number of bissu lived at several courts of the princes. These were men who dressed and behaved partly like women. They took care of the ornaments and performed the ritual belonging to them. One old bissu, a senile man, who was only charged with guarding the ornaments [178] still lived in the palace of the Prince of Goa in 1939. At that time women were already performing the ritual. In 1949, he seemed to have died. The guarding services had then also passed into the hands of the women.

178 838 644 The disappearance of the bissu at the courts could, among other things, be a consequence of the dawning realization that, according to Moslem law, homosexuality is prohibited. The reason that they had disappeared as much as a generation ago at one court and, at the other court, continued to exist until recently could possibly be found in the differences in strictness of religious ideas held by various princes.

838 793 /155/ Only in the little place of Segeri, 75 kilometers north of Macassar, can a number of bissu still be found to this day. There they take care of the ornament and perform the ritual pertaining to it. A number of them are married and live in their own house with wife and children. They dress

838 /155 cont./ and behave in everyday life completely like
793 normal men. At the performance of the ritual, however, their dress and behavior is half-male and half-female, like that of other bissu. The latter, the unmarried ones, live together in the ornament house.

In 1948 the then assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes supplied me information which might clarify why kawe kawe prefer to occupy themselves with the ornament ritual. According to the description of the ritual, performed at the inauguration of the new head of the bissu (Puang Matoa), one of them leads the new head to the ornament of Segeri, a plow, and at this point he makes an announcement the significance of which the assistant reproduced as follows: "It is neither known of the person who is here brought to the sacred object and who touches it, nor of the object, who is the man and who the woman. If the sacred object is a man, then this person is a woman, and vice versa" (1).

1. The Buginese original of this announcement could not be obtained.

From this it would appear that it is believed that the ornament and the head of the bissu must be of different sex, that the sex of the ornament is unknown, and that, therefore, only a person who can be either man or woman can be the head of the bissu. The general occurrence of this, albeit merely vaguely conscious, belief could explain the attraction
[554] of the kawe kawe to the ornaments. There they found a social recognition which they lacked elsewhere.

838 Dr. Slot, who has examined a number of these bissu for their physical characteristics, reports that their sexual organs were completely normal; there was no question of hermaphroditism. A number of secondary sex characteristics can be called feminine. Among these he reports a hyperextendability of the elbow, little muscular development, and broad hips (2).

121 /157 cont./ demanded of them in a certain culture, and that
838 therefore there are among them those "who have voluntarily given up the struggle to conform to the masculine role and who wore female attire and followed the occupations of a woman."

It appears that in Makassarese society a number of male
838 individuals at an early age turn away from those of their own sex and attach themselves to the girls. They adapt themselves to these /158/ in clothing and behavior. The older ones accept the fact that they are different from other boys. When they get older, they continue in their attitude. This entails certain consequences with respect to their sexual life.

Sexual contact with their female peers is regarded as out of the question. A kawe kawe is accepted as a matter of course into the group of women. If a kawe kawe comes from outside and is not yet known, then the men and old women at first watch him carefully, so I was told. In case of sexual contact with a woman, the kawe kawe is, among other things, threatened with expulsion from the group of women. Consequently, he would have to spend his time regularly in the group of men where he does not feel at home emotionally. It is possible that this fact restrains him from attempting sexual contacts with one of the women. To satisfy his sexual needs, he is therefore dependent on men.

I am not acquainted with any cases of men who became kawe kawe after they had passed puberty. The social separation of the sexes at that time may already be too great for the transition to be regarded as still possible.

838 One does find the phenomenon that men at the courts
●793 partly dress and behave like women, in an institutionalized
644 way, for the ornament ritual. The possibility of the kawe kawe to be both man as well as woman -- in social life --, is here an imperative.

A kawe kawe tied to this institution is called a bissu. Even a "normal" married man seems to be capable of being

838
793/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

178 The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance
838 of the bissu institution, however, At present, insofar as they
548 did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

114 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and
589 women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated
885 who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

1. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 54.

585 /190 cont./ the bridegroom goes up the steps and into the house. At the high side of the house in the front room the bridal bed is usually made up. On this the bride is seated with her back turned to the entrance. Behind her the bridegroom takes his place. Immediately after this, the Moslem wedding ceremony (nikka') is performed.

The Imam of the adat community who performed the 793 wedding ceremony here described recorded in Makassarese in 585 detail the points of the ceremony that he considered the most [115 126] important, after the ceremony had taken place. The translation of his report follows here.

'When I was about to marry Rahimi and Sija I asked 585 Rahimi's best man what the name of the bridegroom was, and Bandong (2) answered: 'the name of the bridegroom is Rahimi.'

2. The best man's name.

"Thereupon I asked: 'What is the name of his father and of his mother?' And then Bandong answered: 'Rahimi's father is called Palu, and his mother is called Sati. Both are still alive; they live in Bontobaddo (3).' /191/

3. Name of a section of kampong Bontoramba.

"Then I further questioned Malla (1): 'What is the name

1. Name of the bride's father.

of the bride?' And Malla answered: 'The name of the bride is Sija; I am her father, her mother is called Sani; she is deceased.'

"Thereupon I again asked Malla: 'What is the amount of the sunrang?' And Malla said: 'Twenty-four reals.'

127 /248 cont./ At this point we shall examine a number of registers to see for what purposes it is possible to use figures taken from them and for what purposes they cannot be used; if possible we shall at the same time give the reasons for our opinion.

The following registers were found in the adat community:

1. birth registers
2. death registers
3. marriage registers
4. divorce registers
5. land-tax registers
6. Indonesian notary registers
7. registers of reported misdemeanors
8. sentences handed down by courts of law
9. community labor registers
10. overnight registers
11. registration registers
12. school registers

Birth Registers

[193] 217 163 114 The imam of the adat community maintains the birth registers according to instructions passed on to him by the Kali of Goa. In the columns appear next to each other the names of the father, the mother, and the child; the kampong where the birth took place; a record of the fact whether the birth took place at night or during the day, the date of birth, and the sex of the child.

/249/ Notification is made when the child is a few weeks old. If the child dies before registration, the latter ordinarily does not take place, therefore. During a stay of six weeks I observed two such cases. These registers therefore cannot supply any reliable figures concerning infant mortality.

114 /249 cont./ There is no punishment for failure to register.
163 The reason that people do not like to register a child that has
217 just been born is the belief that this would bring about misfortune
because it is conceived as an expression of arrogance or pride.
[777] For the same reason a newborn child is wrapped in old rags.
751] There is no certainty that the births recorded in a year represent the correct number.

A woman by preference has her first child in the house of her
[844] parents, especially if she herself was also born there. Many children are therefore registered in a kampong where their parents no longer live and from which it again "moves" a few months after birth.

A child does not receive a name directly at birth for the
[553] same reason that a child's birth is not directly reported. All boys are referred to as Baso or Batjo, all girls as Basse or Batje. In this semianonymity the child is considered safe. Only years later does it receive a name of its own, which, however, is not recorded in the register. A certificate of birth is not submitted.

Death Registers

114
217 In the death registers that are likewise maintained by the
165 imam for the entire adat community (around 14, 000 inhabitants),
the following data are found reported in parallel columns: the
[793] name of the deceased, his sex, his age; the kampong in which he died, whether he died during the night or during the day, the date of his death, the final illness, and sometimes a few remarks concerning heirs and estate.

The reasons indicated for the death are very much those of
[761] a layman; the imam bases them upon complaints uttered during the final illness; stomach-ache, coughing, sometimes old age, are found recorded in this category. /250/

Thus, these registers must also be handled with care. Neither age nor reason for death can be regarded as reliable.

[94 cont.]
631 of these territorial institutions is quite different from that of those found in other parts of the archipelago. From olden times on southern Celebes there has been [95] a kind of
643 feudal nobility, the Karaëng among the Makassarese and the Aroeng of the Buginese, with the members of their families, the Anakaraëng (Makassarese) and the Anakaroeng (Buginese). The criterion by which a Karaëng or an Aroeng is recognized as chief or ruler by the population is the possession of the so-called
[293 778] "regalia," which in southern Celebes are called ornaments (in Buginese, aradjang; in Makassarese, kalompowang). [Illustration appears here.] Among these objects there are a few of value, but also a number that are quite worthless, little bones, little pieces of wood, small stones, etc., and an article that is considered the most important, the gaoekang. It is a stone or a little stick that was found by the original owner, long, long ago in a particular
[142 291]

Buginese from Southern Celebes
Photo. Kol. Instituut Amsterdam. Coll. Veen.

[293 778] concealed place, or which he received under mysterious conditions. The worship of these regalia has something of the nature
793 of fetishism; among the prominent Karaëng there are even

[95 cont.]

793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These orna-
[293 ments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of
778] the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was
[774 the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and
other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were
reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had
the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his
property. [96] His power was extended more and more because
he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this
gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was prob-
[636 ably the only native jurisdictional community on southern
634] Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and
given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people,
however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their posi-
tion from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornament-
[631] ships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form
larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as
well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.
565 — From this it follows that among the Buginese and
Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes,
the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom
formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among
the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature
644 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because
many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treat-
ment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng,
sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became.
The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural
work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In
exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client
in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary
and could be severed by either side.

[614] Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the
582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy
583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

[417 cont.]

565 number of titles for the other princes and royal persons, but we
643 shall not discuss them here. The most common title for a noble
554 person who does not belong to the royal family is daëng among both peoples. This title originally indicated someone of high birth, but later it was assumed out of self-conceit and lost much of its importance. Buginese and Makassarese who have a right to this title, however, are very proud of it, and when they have risen to some office, they would rather be addressed as daëng than by their official title. Daëng is also a title for women. A native always addresses his wife and older sisters by it, unless they are of royal blood, thus are karaëng. Another noble title, although less exalted than daëng, is the Makassarese [418] kare. We have already seen how people from the common class are addressed.

643 Just as we have noted for the Javanese and Sumatran
293 sovereigns, every ruling sovereign here has his decorations, called kalompuang, or the so-called ornaments. They consist of various objects, such as long krises, guns, shields, badju rante = coat of mail, betel boxes with cuspidors, parasols, etc. Among all the objects, however, one is the most important. It is called gangkang and is generally a strange sort of thing that according to tradition was found in a mysterious way where the seat of the state was established. Thus, there is a gangkang that is a wild tuber of peculiar shape; another one is a small golden
793 image, and in still another one can recognize an old, worn-out
778 paintbrush. All these ornaments, and the gangkang in particular, are venerated; feasts are even given in their honor. Also, priests are appointed to take care of them.

643 The sovereign derives his authority from those ornaments.
778 For example, to remove the sovereign during a revolt, an at-
669 tempt is made to gain possession of the ornaments. If this succeeds, he has been virtually deprived of his authority.

the room, and the children looked on from here and there. 156
The Imam was remarkably poised, as are all these folks. 562
Van Heekeren remarked that it is a natural noblesse and 576
courtesy, and added that he believes this is not to be found among the boers of Holland but that it does exist in England. The Imam listened politely as Rahim explained what we were interested in, and van Heekeren and I broke in from time to time in Malay. They spoke Makassarese which has many [197] words which are easy to understand as it is similar to Malay. I think I could learn it in a short time. Both Rahim and van 123
Heekeren said that the reason we went to see these leading people [i.e. the local karaëng and imam--Analyst] was that later, if we had not, they might be against me, for they would hear of me and say, "Why didn't he come to see me too?," therefore it seems wise to see every key man first and pay the proper respects to them. Rahim said that this 793 ●
Imam is modern. Also, he is the leading religious man in 624
the district. The organization runs something like this. At the head is the karaëng, and together with him is the head imam of the mosque (like mukim Atjeh?). There is also a secretary in the district. I wonder if there is a district council or if there are other officers? Then, in each kampong, there is a chief, a Mohammedan teacher, and possibly other officers (?). The karaëng, in all important questions, asks for the advice of the kampong chiefs. They speak to the elders. Of the latter there is no set number, and no formal council. Thus there is a notable difference from Java and Sumatra. These elder, noted men in each kampong (Rahim said there are perhaps ten in Balombaru) give their opinion, and the chiefs then pass on the opinion to the karaëng.

The wife of the Imam served us coffee and native cake 609
which was heavy but good. We sat in chairs, of which there 574
were plenty. Rahim explained our plan forcefully and well. 352
The Imam got it all, and seemed well impressed. The point 156
was made that Indonesia is an important place and should be better known in the United States. The Imam remarked favorably on the native living of both Cense and Chabot, who, when [114] in the kampongs, ate with their hands. Cense was evidently like a father to them. I noted that Rahim told the story regarding my reading in the literature that the Makassarese were supposed to be hard folk and then about the people giving me bananas on the way back to Makassar from Malino. The Imam was impressed and amused. This is a good story for me as it shows the necessity of more knowledge. I am constantly impressed by the self possession of this Imam.

M tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at
175 large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the
565 people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]
[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and
● 793 their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession
838 of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst]
231 This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any
881 bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati.
304 But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there
574 for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the
182 Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I re-
771 minded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own
181 idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them
178 gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals *and transvestites formerly.* They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692
There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
● 793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f.88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f.12 and a commoner might pay
567 f.22 or f.44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684 588] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

771 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here
178 were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very
182 rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for
776 the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them (maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata. Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paeppo, but called them popo, as did the Makassarese. In all spirit cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also
[861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the "spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala
838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which
●793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo-
548 sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over,
535 it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an
[759] aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example, to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry, etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed [791]
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that 554
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 782
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 796
They said that women have two stones, and men only one!
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

C 563 Buludua which is on the side road from the main Watumpone-Makassarese highway. Later I talked with Thierens, and was astonished to have at last found the Toala. There is in the western part of Bone, on the border of Parepare and Barru, a wanua called Telu Limpoe, which is Sarasin's name for the three tribes of the Toala. They are under the Sulewatang of Telu Limpoe, a young and able lad. I must go by the poor road westward from the Watumpone-Sindjai highway, and then walk a distance. Remarkable, by checking Denzo's To Patuntung area with Thieren's Telu Limpoe area I find that they are just about the same. This is a puzzle. Are they Toala, or were they To Patuntung? If so, why no temples and stones and pinati and K. Lowe? My guess is that there are To Patuntung and To Patuntung. Those like the Toala were so remote and primitive that they lack even the Hinduist influence of the real To Patuntung. But one thing is clear. In the mountains here there must be any number of small groups of people like this. Exploration would find them and I could do it if I had the time. Now I begin to see why the Toala matter may well be just the lowest point on the scale of the non-Mohammedan remote peoples in the mountains of South Celebes.

M ●793 692 622 In regard to the judicial system of Bone, Thierens explained a number of items. For questions of a religious nature, the first one to whom the people in the kampong go is the religious teacher, the guru. If nothing can be decided, the case goes to the imam of the wanua. If it is still no go, it goes to the Sjarat of Bone, on which are the various kali. If the case is still undecided, it goes to the Hadat Besar, a supreme court which handles both religious and other cases. As for civil and criminal cases, they start with the kepala kampong. If more than f.100 is involved, or the case cannot be decided (i.e., one of the parties is not satisfied), it then goes to the Hadat Ketjil, the court of the wanua, which has the kepala wanua and two of the kepala kampongs on it. If this is still ineffective, it goes to the 695 Hadat Besar in Watumpone. And still further one can appeal to the resident of Celebes, or, and some do, to Batavia. The 661 tradition is that any man can appeal cases. And in this one 668 matter they are open and brave (berani). They will appeal. 212 In fact, Thierens said that his office dealing with civil and criminal matters is deluged with letters and every one must be answered. Also he added that when he is in the office in Makassar he gets letters too, as a man with an appeal will send copies of a letter to the local office, the state

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included 541
ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat 728
the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. 642
Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), 634
Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba,
and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over.
This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who [562]
sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English. Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the [793] ●
opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre- [838]
Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were
plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong. He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the 567
Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in 554
the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of his status.

764 hundred years old and may show that Mohammedanism here
174 came in a little later than in Goa. These tombs seem to date from the period of conversion to Mohammedanism, judging from the dates, especially in Goa. In this cemetery there are also modern, ordinary graves.

The Kepala kampong said that before the war there were many fine urns on the tombs, but the Dutch controleur had taken them. Later on van Heekeren told me that the Japanese took a lot of these urns too.

346 We went to look at the old and the new mosques. Both have
174 urns on top, as in Goa. The one on the old mosque has blue and white figures on it; the one on the new mosque is brown, apparently of a solid color. I asked van Heekeren, and he said that all mosques have these urns, even in the Paloppo and Luwu areas. He says that these urns are of Chinese origin and were formerly used to hold the ashes and charred bones (i.e., some of the bones) of the cremated bodies, before Islam came in. Van Heekeren is sure that there is not very much Hindu influence here; the urn burial trait is not
[126] Hindu but merely pre-Islamic Makassarese and Buginese. I took some photographs and gave some polaroid prints to the Kepala kampong, of him and his wife in Hadji dress, with their little daughter (perhaps one and a half years old, who waves when you say dag [hello or good-bye--Analyst]).

000 While we were talking about slaves an old fellow came in and stood at the foot of the stairs mentioning something to the Kepala kampong. He was the slave of the assistant chief (seriang). They talked in a very low whisper.

838 Talking with Andi, I brought up the homosexual matter
● 793 again. He maintains that homosexuals are numerous here.
778 The official ones are attached to the aradjang and at the head of them is the puang matoa, chief of the bissu. When the aradjang is taken out, the bissu from many kampongs gather in Watampone and dance. I asked if every wanua has an aradjang. They do not. However, there are some kampongs that have them. The bissu handle and take out these lesser aradjang too. This also would bear research.

838 Andi went on and on about the scandalous behavior of the
548 ordinary homosexuals (tjalabai). They dress and act like women and are found everywhere. There are many in Watampone. They swish and flirt and stick rolled up handkerchiefs in their blouses to imitate breasts. Andi says that many men are crazy about them and spend lots of time and money to have sex with them. He was surprised that I had seen none. I do remember at the pasar malam that I had seen a "girl" in a bright red blouse (kabaya), and a well painted face. "She"

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs. M 304 881 852

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heaven ones. This explains a difficult point. M 565 173 793

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace. M 778 793

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former. M 562 609

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime. C 669 643

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

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Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is concentrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other. The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

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The Ornament-Worship Community

Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

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1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

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2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

114 /67 cont./ In 1940 I thought I was able to indicate the con-
794 nection between ornament and ancestors by assuming that ancestor worship frequently attached itself to an ornament (3).

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3. H. Th. Chabot, "Over the Makassaarsche samenleving en een erfrechtelijke kwestie /Concerning Makassarese Society and a Question of Inheritance/," T.B.G. /Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, erroneously cited; see Bibliography, p. 347. -- Tr./, 1940, pp. 325 ff.

I considered at that time Nooteboom's "certain community" to be the kin group. At present an attempt will be made to determine more closely the relationship between ornament and ancestor worship.

778 The ornament of Borongloë is kept in the attic of the
794 dwelling belonging to the head of the adat community. It is an old flag on which a cock is pictured. Wrapped in a white cloth, the flag is kept in a closed basket in the ancestral house (pantasa').

The worship taking place at this ornament corresponds in
[769] all important points to the ancestor worship described above. The elements and the course of the ritual are the same. The parappo has the same task and a similar composition in this case. The rojong song and ritual objects here find a similar application. Here, too, the entire preparation lies in the hands of the women, and the pinati appears where the ritual concerns the whole group and not just a few relatives. The
[773] tomanurung myth of Borongloë, reproduced by Friedericy in his own words, corresponds in important respects with that of Bontoramba. At the sacred spot of Borongloë, where the ritual takes place on the most important occasions for the group, the stone, the saukang (little offering house), and the trees are again to be found together.

794 796 602 /68/ Those who worship the ornament together form the "worship community." The ornament of Borongloë is worshipped in the first place by the head of the adat community and his relatives. Sometimes relatives living outside the adat community also take part in it. In the second place, followers and slaves of the head and his relatives also take part in the ritual. In the third place, there are the other subjects living in the adat community territory, and in the fourth place, there are those who live outside Borongloë who are not related to the head but who wish to participate for other reasons.

In practice the first two categories, quantitatively speaking, always form the largest contingent at the festivals. The third category at the same time should be the most numerous, [622] but here one is satisfied with representation. The kampong head represents his kampong. Hence, all kampong heads are present at all important Borongloë festivals. Occasionally, they may send a statement that they were prevented from attending or else an observer.

The ornament of Goa is worshipped in an analogous manner first of all by the kinsmen of the Prince, regardless of whether they live in Goa or not; secondly, by the followers and slaves of the Prince and of his kinsmen; thirdly, by all (other) subjects of the Prince residing within Goa. This group is referred to when it is said that "the entire people of Goa" [634] was present at a festival that was regarded as concerning the whole of Goa. At such festivals, the heads of the adat communities attend to represent their regions. Finally, the ornament is worshipped on such occasions by those who, although not related to the Prince and living outside Goa, nevertheless wish to take part in the festival.

[554] The size of the worship group is therefore larger in a stronger group of relatives. The ornaments of the most powerful provinces, such as Bone, Luwu, and Goa, are worshipped all over South Celebes.

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
794 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa respectively have become president and vice-president of this body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly throughout the daërah.

/69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other
778 ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament.
612 For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region
634 constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession of a related group which in former times had a stronger position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo. They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group. At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship. In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual subordination of the former to the latter was made known by this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community
[726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

538 /69 cont./ that he improvises and illuminates the present-day state of affairs by the aid of a few data, just as seems to him best for his group at that moment. At the same time, he seems to be completely convinced of the 'objective' correctness of his representation of the historic facts.

612 /70/ The members of these two worship communities are
794 the members of the local group of relatives, a few kinsmen residing outside the kampong boundaries, an occasional follower, and a very occasional slave, as well as possibly also a stranger who for some reason or other joins in the worship.

778 Ornaments are therefore found in the kingdom, the adat
794 community, and in the kampong. Nowhere is the worship community of an ornament sharply delimited. The larger
554 the actual power of a group of relatives, the larger does the worship community of this group's ornament seem to be.

612 The relationship between the ornaments is a reflection
778 of the actual power relation of the groups of relatives. Two occasions at which this could be observed will be reported.

796 1. At the ritual "purification of the land" (akawarru butta),
778 which took place for the last time in Borongloë a number of
612 years before the Second World War, the head with his kinsmen and followers carried the ornament of Borongloë through the various kampongs of the adat community. In each kampong they spent the night, a buffalo was killed, a celebration was held, and offerings were made at the ornament. In the kampongs where the people possessed an ornament, the

782 /76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 778 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The [24 796] annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place here.

Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably 241 of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere. 634 778 In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 A summary of the above yields the following result:

602 182 By worship community we understand a group of people who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

794 /76 cont./ qualities. After this person's death the grouping
602 again breaks up. The members then affiliate themselves with
182 others, each according to his own choice. There is no continuity.

Between the prominent members of a group of relatives there always exists a relationship of opposition, which is only intensified by the worship communities. There exists no possibility for such a related group to present a durable and powerful unity to the outside world.

A group of relatives with an ornament is more strongly integrated. /77/ Where there is an ornament, a worship community can be found which comprises a number of people in addition to the related group. The size of this community, however, cannot be precisely indicated.

It is therefore uncertain who constitute the worship community of an ornament. Nooteboom's definition of an ornament, given above, could therefore be simplified. An ornament is an object which is worshipped by a community of individuals.

182 In addition to this worship community, there are a num-
794 ber of extremely weak and small worship communities in a
778 group of relatives. They comprise no more than one or
602 several households. Their members turn to their ancestors in their own pantasa' for family or household affairs. In addition, they can also always turn to the ancestors who are worshipped at the ornament.

644 Ornaments are also in the hands of ordinary kampong
182 people. The royal ornaments are therefore not "inherent to
778 the royal dignity" (1).

1. See Friedericy, op. cit., p. 501.

Neither is royal dignity "exclusively reserved for those who are of purest blood" (1). In that case the principle of

571 /120 cont./ Opposition is inherent in the relations of men among each other. In the family the relation between father [593] and son -- and to a lesser extent that between brothers -- is strongly formalized. As a result, opposition within the family is greatly reduced in force.

Opposition is observable between relatives and especially between the prominent members of one group of relatives.

554 The relation between a high and a low and, likewise, 561 between an old and a young man, is also formalized. To con- 571 tradict a higher or an older man is prohibited. To speak in his presence soon becomes a sign of discourtesy. The manner in which these social relations are conducted makes a stiff impression.

571 Opposition is further observable between groups of relatives. Where there is an ornament, the worship communities are in opposition to each other. There is opposition between kampongs, between adat communities, and among the wealthy.

Within all these groupings, there are always latent oppositions present. They are merely not always noticeable.

571 Worship communities consequently do not always conduct 643 themselves as a unit (3). The opposition can frequently be [794]

> 3. A realm, that is to say, a local administrative and political unit, and the worship community around the ornament belonging to the prince of that realm, coincide to a great extent.

traced back to the family of the prince, for instance, if the individual who has been appointed prince on the basis of his descent, does not, at the same time, possess the personal /121/ qualities necessary for the effective exercise of his office.

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81.	nakatjinnai Somba, napammattikang iloro' Bate-salapang.	which even the Prince himself will covet and for which the mouths of the members of the Royal Council will water.
82.	Bunting nilekkakko paleng tunipalele bellakang;	Now you will really go away, bride (1), you will change houses;

[591 795]

1. Here the one who speaks turns to the bride. It is a custom that after the Moslem marriage ceremony the couple goes to the house of the bridegroom's parents, at least for a few days.

83.	niërang ri bori'maraëng, pa' rasangang nampa nuondjo'; bori nampa nula'bakki.	you will be brought to another land, the land which you will enter for the first time; the land toward which you are traveling.
84.	Nukamma todong djonga,	You resemble a deer that anxiously peers over the hedge,
85.	mattoa' ri sampa' *mangagajangan tunumalo.*	which shyly looks at the passersby.
86.	Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea: Nampa' ʼlampa riballakku, nakudjoli pakkibukku, nakugulung tapperekku kupattantuna, kalengku lammantang puli.	The song of the bridegroom goes: Now I am leaving my house, now /189/ I am locking my door and rolling up my mat, because I am convinced that I shall not return.

South Celebes: Kuurman said that the league of three (Bone, Soppeng, Wadjo) was the most powerful unit here. It is headed by Bone. In the past, Goa was next to Bone, or at times vice versa. Now the Bone ruler is the kepala daerah, and Goa furnishes only the second man. (There must be an interesting psychological relationship here.) C 634

[Makassar] Abdul Rahim is not a Christian. He is a Mohammedan. But he told me that he was not too devout, as he sees good in all sects. He reads the Bible, for example. He is evidently one of the people in Makassar who belongs to a kind of "ethical culture society" which studies and discusses all religions, taking good points from each. I have heard about this in various quarters and wonder if they are mostly natives, mostly Christians, or what. M 115 795

Second trip to Balombaru, Tuesday, August 16th, 1949: When we left there last Friday, I asked when we should go again; maybe Saturday or Sunday? He [Abdul Rahim, the author's assistant--Analyst] said "No, Monday." Maybe this was so he could find an assistant, but I wonder if it may not have been to give the people a chance to talk the project over. I doubt the latter. Anyway, we went there and tried to see the Karaëng, but he was not in yet. Incidentally, I had to see the people today, as tomorrow is Independence Day and everything will be closed. There were lots of people in the Karaëng's office and a distribution of clothing was going on. But there were also many people coming in to see about something, possibly taxation. They all had a paper, which may have been a form or a type of bill. There was much talk regarding money, and I thought this was like the government in general. As a rule there is always some charge. I left from the Karaëng's place saying that I would return later and went to the Kepala kampong [head of the native village]. He lives in a pretty good house such as all notables seem to own. It is built in native style. He is a fine lad, young, good looking, pleasant, and gay. He is also well dressed. In the house there were also several others. I sat to the right of the Kepala kampong at the table. Rahim sat in front of him. The lad who is to be my assistant sat to the left of the Kepala kampong, and then there were about three other individuals sandwiched in. Everyone was ready to talk and the whole atmosphere was informal and impressively pleasant. Around the room sat young lads, girls and women. One older boy spoke up once or twice and received no rebuke. Everything was serene and there was no squabbling. Children behaved very well. The Kepala kampong has, I think, four or five children. M 124 576 855

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed [791]
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
]day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 554
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 782
They said that women have two stones, and men only one! 796
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

OG11 Toradja OG11
Western Toradja OG12
Makassar OG6 •
Mandar

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[The Basin of the Poso]

When the

/40 cont./ Mandarese returned to their land, they gave a multicolored flag to the To Kadomboekoe and said the following: "You are now Mohammedans, and if your descendants eat the meat of pigs we shall fine them 40 young female slaves." The grandfather of Papa i Melempo, who was Chief of the tribe when the Government came, was the last Mohammedan. Tampabanda (as he was called) lies buried near the former village of Aboki, and in his grave was also placed the only Koran in the country. The To Kadomboekoe claim that they returned to Heathenism because there was no one who could teach them to recite from the Koran.

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On their way back, the Mandarese must have traveled across the area called Ampibabo (on the west side of Tomino Bay), which until a few years ago recognized the sovereignty of Mandar (Tjenrana). A few of the To Kadomboekoe followed the Mandarese there and had descendants in Ampibabo, so that even now there is kinship between the two regions. When the above-mentioned flag had become unusable in 1895 because of age, it was taken to Ampibabo, and through the intercession of the Chief of this place a new one was obtained from Mandar. The To Kadomboekoe, however, did not recognize in any respect whatever the supremacy of Mandar.

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32. The history of the To Pajapi.

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Now it still remains for us to speak about the inhabitants of the district that lies to the west of the Poso River. Part of this land was formerly inhabited by a Toradja tribe, the To Pajapi, which has now as good as disappeared from Central Celebes, except for a small remnant. The history of this tribe is a sad one.

The To Pajapi (pajapi is the name of a tree) are a Toradja tribe about which the Bare'e speakers can not tell much. This is probably to be explained by the fact that they belonged to the West Toradja group, as the linguistic investigation determined.

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/47 cont./

8. Mingka antu sallang batua alolokintu timboranna pa'rasanganga ri poko taipaja;	But this stone will later move to the south of the country, to the mango tree. /48/
9. Punna andjoremmondjo batua papparekang tomma' balla', nasalloa' andjoremma' antu lammantang.	When the storm arrives there erect a house for me so that I will be able to live there.
10. Le'baki appasang allannja' tommi.	When he had said this, he ascended to the sky.

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The story appears to be a short edition of the tomanurung stories familiar all over South Celebes. These are stories concerning people descended from the sky (1). In this case

1. See Friedericy's discussion, pp. 469ff and 506 ff.

the narrator has also given an explanation of the name Besenga in the same story. This combination is customary.

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Now we shall try to give a description of this brief harvest ritual (2).

2. For a description of the essentials of the ritual, see pp. 81, 82.

Around half past twelve in the afternoon, the Pinati thinks that it is time to begin. He sits down under the mango tree next to the stone lying there, with his face turned to the south. About 40 bowls with offerings have been placed on top of this stone and next to it, as close together as possible. All of these contain glutinous rice with a hard-boiled egg pressed into

241 /48 cont./ it and half a baked chicken (djangang panggang)
796 on top of it. The Pinati winds a white cloth around his own headdress and places incense in the already burning incense vessel. Beside him stand a glass of water, a little bowl with
[264] water for washing his hands, and another little bowl with some betel and areca nuts, like those which are put next to the meal of honored guests. They are for the recipient of the offerings that are about to be made. Furthermore, there is a little bottle of oil and a little basket with puffed rice (bente) by his side.

Now he first places his hand on the stone and mutters briefly. Then he takes the little bottle of oil, holds it momentarily in the smoke above the incense vessel, and drips a circle of oil counterclockwise onto the stone, which is flat on top. Inside this circle he places, one after the other, three handfuls of puffed rice. Each hand is first held for a moment above the incense vessel. Now the Pinati takes the incense vessel in his right hand, and with his left hand he smokes the stone three times. Then he moves his right hand /49/ with the vessel over the stone, three times counterclockwise, and once after that clockwise. Then the incense vessel is put down again, and the Pinati quietly places a few fingers of his right hand against the stone, again briefly mumbling a few sentences.

Now he takes up the incense vessel again and describes a circle with it around the stone and all the bowls placed on top and to the side of it. A number of women help in passing the vessel around, taking special care that the incense vessel travels around all the bowls. In this manner it is passed around from hand to hand, three times one way, and once the other way. After each trip around, it thus returns to the hands of the Pinati, who then briefly smokes the stone, essentially to mark the point from where it started. After this he successively opens two parappo (1), holding them momentarily above the

1. See p. 84.

241 /49 cont./ incense vessel, and then lays them down on the
796 stone next to each other. The Pinati moves the incense vessel again, now three times one way and once the other, in a circle above the two parappo, and then puts it down by his side. In so doing, this part of the ritual is completed. For a moment the Pinati remains quietly seated. From the time he dropped some incense into the vessel to this moment, seven minutes have elapsed.

Now he sits down in the saukang, facing north. A small number of bowls with offerings are placed around the lopped-off center post. A few older women occupy the rest of the space in the saukang.

The Pinati provides the incense vessel with fresh fuel, holding the oil bottle over it briefly and dripping it in a small circle on the top part of the post. Within this circle he places three handfuls of puffed rice, each time holding the hand first in the smoke for a brief instant. Subsequently, he moves the incense vessel in a circle three times one way and once the other way over the lopped-off post and throws a few handfuls of puffed rice -- always after having first held them in the smoke above the incense vessel -- over the bowls with food. After that he opens a third parappo, holds this, too, in the smoke for an instant, and then lays it down beside the post. Then he moves the incense vessel again, three times one way and once the other way over this parappo, laying some fingers of his right hand against the top of the lopped-off center post, and mumbling briefly. Again he scatters /50/ a few handfuls of puffed rice over the food bowls and throws a few kernels over his shoulder. With this the actual ritual is concluded. This part of the ritual, which took place in the saukang, was also completed within seven minutes.

241 The bowls with offerings were then taken away and
796 placed before the men, who had arranged themselves in rows
264 on mats, according to their standing. The women kept a
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241 /50 cont./ number of bowls for themselves. They ate in small
796 groups seated around the bowls without any special order
264 according to standing being observed in so doing.
554 Some pinati at the ritual take a few fingers of rice plus the extreme end of a chicken leg (only the bone) from each bowl and place this by the parappo. In this manner something
[769] has been put aside for the ancestors from each house.

Men now let their cocks fight again as they did in the
[541] morning. Meanwhile the Pinati goes around and touches
241 everybody who wants it with a mixture of oil, earth, and finely
796 rubbed rice, as well as something else which is his special secret. The parts of the body suited for this are the forehead, the neck, and the navel. The purpose is to cause these persons
[769] to share in the prosperity (pitjuru') of this ancestor through the earth with which he came in contact (nibarakkakki) (1).

1. It is good practice to take for this purpose earth from as close to the stone as possible and as soon after the conclusion of the ritual as possible (see photograph).

After the meal many stay to watch the cocks for a while. Only gradually do they return home. Only a few pisang and betel leaves, some pieces of areca and rice kernels remain by the stone under the tree and in the saukang next to the looped-off center post. The wind easily drives the dried-up leaves asunder; ants and birds make off with the rest. The oil spots alone remain visible as a sign that the ancestors were honored.

Horizontal Mobility

166 Three aspects of horizontal mobility will be described here. First of all, the relationship of place of residence to place of birth; secondly, the migrations which take place during a unit of time in one certain kampong territory; and

[see End Plate 7.-Ava/7st]

612 /62 cont./ always had a leading role at the conferences
793 concerning the expenses of the wedding feast, and so forth, which always precede the marriages. He knew the wedding song and was a valued expert on, and healer of, diseases. The title of such a functionary is sanro. With one single exception, he was called in for help in all these matters only by the members of the Kapala group. He further managed the harvest festival, which involved the entire territory /63/ of Bontoramba and in which, for that reason, members of other groups also took part. In ordinary life he did not distinguish himself either in clothing or outward appearance from other residents of Bontoramba.

796 He himself prepares the essence of what is offered, the
462 parappo. The further preparation of the ritual, which is very detailed and consumes a great deal of time, is carried out by the women. Each and every one of the women is better informed about ritual matters than the men. The preparation of the offerings, the hallowing of the water to be used at the ritual, the hallowing of the bowls and dishes from which they will eat, the finding of leaves of a special, prescribed nature necessary at the ritual, the making of the candles (kandjoli), all these are elements of the ritual taken care of by the women. They are also not activities familiar to every one of them. The names of the leaves and the arrangement of the offerings have their own significance. In these things one may not make a mistake. An informant once characterized the situation by saying, "Islam is the religion of the men, ancestor worship that of the women." Whenever there is no pinati present, therefore, one will see one of the older women taking his place. At small festivities concerning a /nuclear/ family, the women frequently conducted the ritual themselves. The pinati functions where the entire community is involved in the festival.

778 /63 cont./ The Parappo

796 The parappo belongs to the essential part of what is offered to the ancestors. The word means: "to offer or give something to a superior." The parappo is an insignificant-looking little bundle of pisang leaves of about the size of one or two fists full. Its contents seems to consist of betel leaves folded in various ways. Each way of folding has its proper name (for instance: poto, tontong lebong, putu rabing, kalomping). A little piece of areca nut and a very small amount of lime (paleo) goes with every betel leaf. The number of these leaves varies according to status. In the Prince of Goa's kin group the number 9 forms the basis of the parappo (1),

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1. By the number that forms the basis of the parappo is meant that a parappo consists in one case of 4 poto, 4 kalomping, etc., and in another case of 6 poto, 6 kalomping, etc.

while in the kin group of the head of the adat community it is 7. /64/ In that of kampong people, the numbers 7, 6, 5, and 4 occur.

612 A number of further differences should be pointed out
778 which vary with the related group. At the ritual on the
184 sawah, the number of leaves in some groups is a little smaller
796 than at a wedding or other kin group feast. Four and 6 respectively were the numbers in the Kapala group in Bontoramba. In a few groups of relatives a further distinction was observed between boys and girls. If the number of leaves for a boy is 6, then it is 7 for a girl (1). A distinction

1. These numbers were observed at a number of birthday festivals.

612 /64 cont./ is likewise made between the offering presented
778 to the ancestors in the attic and that which -- on the occasion
184 of the same festival -- is delivered into the water. At a
796 festival in the Kapala group the numbers were 6 and 7 respectively.

The Rojong Song

533 The rojong song constitutes another significant element
796 of the ritual. Old women hum the sounds unintelligibly and monotonously; the exact words frequently are not known to them. This song occurs at wedding feasts and other important solemnities in the related group, and it is coupled with the beating of drums (ganrang). The rojong song recorded in Borongloë before the war has disappeared. The woman who gave it to me was overcome by all kinds of misfortune. She was not prepared to repeat it to me.

Food Taboos

612 In a single related group there is awareness, however
262 feeble, that the members of the group may not eat a certain animal (2). In Goa it is still generally known, perhaps,

2. Dr. Chr. Nooteboom drew my attention to this phenomenon for the first time in 1939.

that the members of the karaëng group (the nobility) may not eat the meat of the white buffalo.

In the related group of the head of the Borongloë adat community the realization faintly continues that a certain type of eel may not be eaten. To explain this the following
773 story is told: A woman who had violated a prohibition was
612 punished for this with the task of carrying water in a basket
262 from the river to a certain place. The basket, however, did

794 /68/ Those who worship the ornament together form
796 the "worship community." The ornament of Borongloë is
602 worshipped in the first place by the head of the adat community and his relatives. Sometimes relatives living outside the adat community also take part in it. In the second place, followers and slaves of the head and his relatives also take part in the ritual. In the third place, there are the other subjects living in the adat community territory, and in the fourth place, there are those who live outside Borongloë who are not related to the head but who wish to participate for other reasons.

In practice the first two categories, quantitatively speaking, always form the largest contingent at the festivals. The third category at the same time should be the most numerous,
[622] but here one is satisfied with representation. The kampong head represents his kampong. Hence, all kampong heads are present at all important Borongloë festivals. Occasionally, they may send a statement that they were prevented from attending or else an observer.

The ornament of Goa is worshipped in an analogous manner first of all by the kinsmen of the Prince, regardless of whether they live in Goa or not; secondly, by the followers and slaves of the Prince and of his kinsmen; thirdly, by all (other) subjects of the Prince residing within Goa. This group is referred to when it is said that "the entire people of Goa"
[634] was present at a festival that was regarded as concerning the whole of Goa. At such festivals, the heads of the adat communities attend to represent their regions. Finally, the ornament is worshipped on such occasions by those who, although not related to the Prince and living outside Goa, nevertheless wish to take part in the festival.

[554] The size of the worship group is therefore larger in a stronger group of relatives. The ornaments of the most powerful provinces, such as Bone, Luwu, and Goa, are worshipped all over South Celebes.

538 /69 cont./ that he improvises and illuminates the present-day state of affairs by the aid of a few data, just as seems to him best for his group at that moment. At the same time, he seems to be completely convinced of the 'objective' correctness of his representation of the historic facts.

612 794 /70/ The members of these two worship communities are the members of the local group of relatives, a few kinsmen residing outside the kampong boundaries, an occasional follower, and a very occasional slave, as well as possibly also a stranger who for some reason or other joins in the worship.

778 794 [654] Ornaments are therefore found in the kingdom, the adat community, and in the kampong. Nowhere is the worship community of an ornament sharply delimited. The larger the actual power of a group of relatives, the larger does the worship community of this group's ornament seem to be.

612 778 The relationship between the ornaments is a reflection of the actual power relation of the groups of relatives. Two occasions at which this could be observed will be reported.

796 778 612 1. At the ritual "purification of the land" (akawarru butta), which took place for the last time in Borongloë a number of years before the Second World War, the head with his kinsmen and followers carried the ornament of Borongloë through the various kampongs of the adat community. In each kampong they spent the night, a buffalo was killed, a celebration was held, and offerings were made at the ornament. In the kampongs where the people possessed an ornament, the

612 /70 cont./ subordination of the latter with respect to that of
778 Borongloë was expressed in the ritual. These festivities
796 strengthened the sense of solidarity within the adat community, and by the wealth displayed on these occasions, they raised the standing of Borongloë both in its own, as well as in others', eyes.

2. A few days before the inauguration of the new prince of Goa in 1947, the ornaments of Goa and of Borongloë encountered each other at a certain place located in Borongloë
[103] by the name of Tamarunang. The following myth is connected
539 with this place.

1. Pau-pauanna Tamarunang.	The story of Tamarunang.
2. Riolo, riwattu erona appare' kota Karaëngnga ri Goa,	A long time ago, when the Prince of Goa wanted to build a fort,
3. nanrai' assuro angngalle batu ri binangaja ri Songkolo.	he commanded his people to enter the interior in order to get rocks in the river near Songkolo. /71/
4. Naandjo tau angngallea batu narasai naalle batu aganna Barugaja ri Songkolo.	And the people who got the rocks at that time, accidentally brought back a rock such as lies near the Baruga of Songkolo (1).

[344]

1. A baruga (see Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 195) is a festival shed. At the spot designated as "the baruga of Songkolo," no festival shed is in existence, however. The rock which lies there today is the investiture rock of Borongloë.

/72 cont./

539 djaia niareng Tamarunang. that it should be called "the one not falling off the raft" (Tamarunang).

612 778 The explanation of the name is clear. In addition, the relationship of Tamarunang to Songkolo and to Goa is indicated.

796 In conversations that I had in 1948 concerning the significance of this encounter of the ornaments, the Prince emphasized the fact that it expresses the subordination of Borongloë to Goa. For the rest, the case was presented as being insignificant. As for Borongloë, the head declared that by means of this ritual Borongloë had lent support to Goa, without which this country would have been regarded as severely weakened.

If one is to conceive of the rock in the myth as a symbol of Borongloë, then the independence of Borongloë in relation to Goa is here clearly represented (1).

1. The narrator was the Kapala of Bontoramba.

612 778 A group of relatives without an ornament seems to exercise only little actual power. The relationship of opposition between prominent members of this group appears to be the most important reason for this.

Where an ornament is present, the oppositions existing between prominent members of the related group are not removed. In a number of cases they merely recede into the background behind an appearance of unity. Where the local relationships give rise to it, such oppositions come to the fore, possibly with even greater bitterness. The fraternal struggle of Sidenreng is a classic example of this (2).

2. See pp. 159-161.

Where there is an ornament, two groups of relatives may sometimes merge into one. An example will serve to illustrate this point.

782 /76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 778 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The [241 796] annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place here.

Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably 241 of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere. 634 In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament 778 sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 A summary of the above yields the following result:

602 By worship community we understand a group of people 182 who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

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Before the commencement of the Dikir on the occasion of the Maulud festival in Laikang. Dikir is men's work; a girl is jokingly chased away. Page 193.

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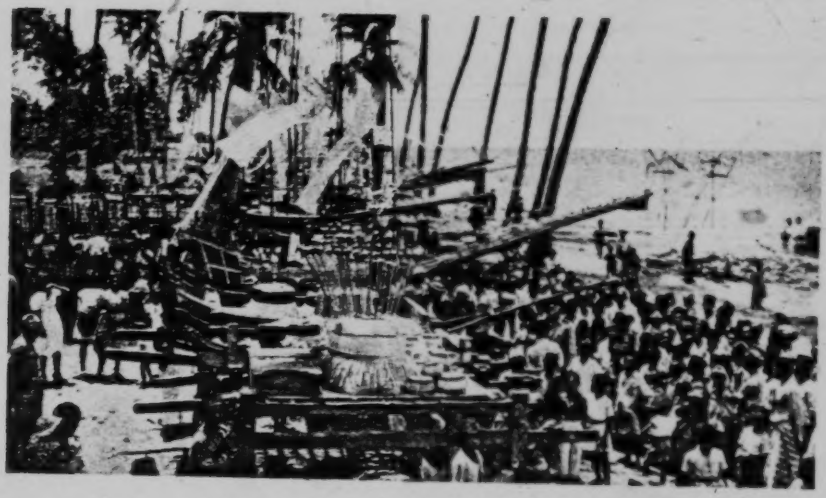

General view of the Maulud festival in Laikang. The scaffolds are sent in by kampongs. In their size and construction the competitive spirit between kampongs finds expression.

[end plate 4]

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Procession from the house of the adat community head of Borongloë to the sacred spot. The buffalo to be slaughtered (with a white cloth on its back), is led along. See, among others, pages 93 and 98.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

The same procession. In the middle, wearing a white headdress, one can see the pinati. (Page 82.) Young men are carrying the objects required for the ritual.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

[end plate 8]

MK [566 cont.]
756 coitus, that they are impotent, which is the reason that in
832 Makassar they are called kweëen, from the Makassarese kawe = impotent. On account of this characteristic, they have free access to the court at all times, even to the rooms of the young princesses. Dr. Matthes does not believe that the female bissu are prostitutes like the Dajak balian, because they are seldom or never pretty enough to make young gentlemen lose their heads over them.

As we have noted, they are principally consulted as doctors or doctresses, sanro.

MK
796 Otherwise, they appear chiefly when festivals are held, for
756 example, in honor of a birth, at funerals, teeth filing, weddings, etc. They then perform all kinds of religious ceremonies, which consist primarily of dancing and singing. They also drive off the evil spirits, for which they use specific musical instruments.

B [567] There are also shamans among the Batak, usually
791 women. They bear the name sibaso. Baso is the Malayan
787 bahasa = word, term; sibaso can therefore be translated as "the word," because the utterance of anyone who is possessed by a spirit is regarded as the word. The spirits who possess the sibaso are in general begu. The descent of these begu is called sijar. They are consulted about all kinds of things, but mainly about illnesses.

MI Shamanism also occurs among the Malays. This comes
787 out most clearly in the conjuring of the trubuk as this is done
226 in Brouwer Strait on Sumatra's east coast. When it is time for the catch and the schools of trubuk do not appear, this is attributed to a supernatural reason and an attempt is made to learn the cause of their staying away as well as the means to make the fish come.

MI
791 At the head of the fish stands a woman, Djindjang radja,
787 who serves as medium during the conjuring. She is possessed
786 by a spirit and in this condition delivers the necessary oracles.

[636 cont.]

782 southern Celebes, derived from the pre-Islamic period, is that of
776 Karaëng Lowe = Great Lord, which occurs primarily in the southern districts. Karaëng Lowe is usually worshiped there under the symbol of two stones that have the shape of male and female
778 genitals. In some localities, these symbols are stored in small
782 houses especially built for them, where the sacrificial rites are conducted by a priestess, pinate. Elsewhere they are found in caves or even in the open, so that everyone has free access to them. Besides those symbols, trees and huge stones are also regarded as residences of Karaëng Lowe. Also, in every house, generally in the loft, there is a small niche for offerings dedicated to Karaëng Lowe, in which, however, the symbols are lacking; at all the places dedicated to him vows and offerings consisting of young coconuts, betel, burning native candles, chickens, buffalo, gold, etc. are made to him, and in some areas a great annual three-day festival is celebrated in his honor. The greatest of these
796 celebrations takes place in Gantanrang Keke, a place located three hours away from Bantaeng. People stream there from all regions of southern Celebes and amuse themselves with cockfights, dice games, etc.

776 The worship of Karaëng Lowe is probably a survival from
778 the Hindu period; he is viewed as identical with Siva, who, as we have said, was worshiped as the god of fertility and procreative power under the symbols of the linga or of the linga and yoni, the male and female genitals in conjunction. The stones with which [637] Karaëng Lowe was worshiped have the same form and thus point to the Siva cult; in this case it was brought to southern Celebes by Hindu-Javanese. Now a few words about the other principal characteristics of the worship in connection with the general sketch.

791 1. Shamanism. We have already discussed the occurrence
756 of this on southern Celebes in detail. It is to be recalled that the shamans here are called bissu = the Sanskrit bhikshû = mendicant monk, but we want to add a few remarks.

The bissu actually belong to the Buginese regions. They

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed [791]
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
]day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 554
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 782
They said that women have two stones, and men only one! 796
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I 517
got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The 181
Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did 167
not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if 186
he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is 178
general and there is not much to say. The death punishment 681
is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even 796
included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric 805
systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They [241]
knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern.(In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: 574
I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and 852
two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of [562]
men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear
part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much 176
new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus 874
chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third 401
grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from 403
bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

[243 cont.]

I X779 such as Padjang-Mataram, Tjirebon, Kediri, Semarang, and others. Of all these kingdoms, Mataram, which became independent around the year 1580, became the most powerful and before long the most important in all Java.

Mo 174 175 797 It is fairly certain that missions on behalf of Islam were also undertaken to the Moluccas from Toeban. According to the Portuguese historian Barros, the Moluccas, too, had come under the influence of Islam some 80 years before the arrival of the Portuguese there (1512). Valentijn relates that the prince of Ternate imported it into his land in 1510.

Ma 175 797 In the kingdom of Goa the prince was converted to Mohammedanism in the beginning of the seventeenth century; his example was speedily followed by the Makassarese and the Buginese; in Macassar in 1540 the Portuguese had found only a few foreigners who were Mohammedans.

J 77 161 At present, the number of Mohammedans in the Netherlands East Indies is about 40 million. The lion's share of them is on Java, and, keeping the few exceptions in mind, it can be called a Mohammedan country.

Ba 77 161 The same can be said of the greater part of Sumatra. An exception is the Batak country, where the majority of the population (about 200,000) was converted to the Christian religion, while only a small minority is still heathen.

Bo 77 161 On the whole, the Dajak [Dyak] on Borneo are animists; [244] only the colonists who came from other places and who live in the coastal regions are followers of Islam.

I X779 The propagandists on behalf of Islam are still people of the same categories as formerly. In addition, however, today there is direct propagation of this religion, and there is quite definitely a polemic being carried on against other religions, in particular against Christianity.

The Government of the Netherlands East Indies also did its share, especially in the Outer Provinces, in advancing the cause of this religion by appointing followers of Islam as officials in non-Islamic districts. Among them, the Mohammedan teachers were frequently assiduous propagandists. Later the Government was more cautious in this respect.

1:Alkema & Bezemer--342 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Ambon OH4
Halmahera OH12
Makassar OG6

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[302 cont.]
lasting success (1).

1. B.J.J. Visser, Onder Portugeesche vlag, de katholieke Missie van Indonesië (1511-1605), pp. 9 ff.

The two methods the Portuguese used, as we have already mentioned, were preaching and the use of force.

The man who did most to spread the Christian religion during the time the Portuguese were in control of the Moluccas was the Jesuit, Francis Xavier. After having been in various other places, especially Goa, he arrived in Malacca in 1545. There he set himself the task of learning the Malayan language. Three months later he thought he knew enough and set out for the Moluccas, where in Hitoe on the island of Ambon, in Ternate, and in Moro (Halmahera) he preached with great success. The method he used is not known, but in all probability it was the same as the one he used in Goa. With a bell in his hand he went through the streets and collected a crowd of people, whom he then invited to become Christians. He tried as best he could to express the Ten Commandments, the Creed, with an exposition of the articles of faith, the general confession of sin, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria in the Malayan tongue and so moved the people that they allowed themselves to be baptized (2).

2. Ibid., p. 41.

He did not stay very long in the Indies. In 1549 he left the Moluccas and, arriving in Malacca, found a number of priests there whom he set to work in the field he had just left.

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Around 1540 the Portuguese brought Christianity to Celebes where two Makassarese princes, who had been baptized on Ternate, wished to persuade their relatives to follow their example. In 1588 the Prince of Batjan was converted to Christianity.

J 785 [634 cont.]
themselves with disgusting food. They go without sleep as much as possible or sleep in a tree or in a cave where there is scarcely room to stretch their tired limbs. In this way they seek death of the self, life in death.

There are other ascetics, however, who do not seclude themselves in the mountains, but continue to live in society, surrounded by the stir of the world. For instance, Mr. Swaving saw one in 1859 at the market in Toeloeng Agoeng in Kediri in a little cubbyhole that was closed off by a muslin curtain. When he asked what it meant, he learned that a Sang tăpă lived there, old in years and famous for his wisdom and piety.

The name dépok distinguishes this kind of hermit from the others who retire from public life.

g. The Religion of the Buginese and Makassarese

MK 797 177 When the Portuguese arrived in the Malay Archipelago, the Buginese and Makassarese were still pagans; not until around the beginning of the seventeenth century was Islam introduced to the southern part of Celebes, by missionaries from Sumatra and Malaya in particular. It quickly took root here to such an extent that it soon became the popular religion and has remained so to this MK 771 day. Both knowledge of this doctrine and the observance of it, however, are very little known among the people [635] and are limited to the external ceremonies. Therefore many traces of MK 174 the former pagan worship remain, and among them there are a few ceremonies that hark back to the Hindu period. As we saw earlier, southern Celebes must also have been a dependency of the ruler of Modjopahit, and consequently Hinduism was introduced there by Hindu-Javanese. MK 771 We shall now briefly discuss this Hinduism, at least as it has been preserved up to the present in a few ceremonies, as well as the ancient Polynesian religion.

123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
181 schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this point. I said that they needed business education, and they saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kampong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it. In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told them about the Javanese using these without giving up Mohammedanism, and although they could see the point they responded in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over Dutch because it is an international language. They said that all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can understand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but

368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case.

6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ĕppa, lima, ĕneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

Regarding sex, Thierens said that the extreme repression of it and the lack of open relations of a social sort between boys and girls here causes a high rate of homosexuality among boys. He said that nearly all boys are so. This may also link with the wandu custom, or at least the prostitute part of it. The boys are used to homosexual practice in youth, and like it. Also, perhaps the women, so bound by adat, are cold. Thus the homosexuals may be an attraction. The whole dead business has paralyzed these people even down to the simple sex matter. I remember the homosexual practices in Bontorio. But that was in the court, where there were girls. Maybe even there it was hard to get girls, and there may have been little in the way of social relationships. I remember that Bontorio had to get his slave girls on the sly. That is what Andi said, things must be kept in the dark. M 831 838 181 154

In regard to the Toala and the To Patuntung, I went to Soppeng on Sunday. We took one route down and another one back. It is in a rather mountainous section but Soppeng itself is a large and attractive town. On the way we could see the remoteness of many of the people here, even those on the road. In Soppeng I met Denzo, the Christian leader. He is young and good looking, much like Lethe in type and manners. His family comes from Saleier, but also from Bone. He was born in Saleier. He was baptized in 1937 although coming from a Mohammedan family. His mother is also a Christian and so is at least one sibling. He said that this resulted in some trouble with his father. By 1939, he had 800 Christians. During the Japanese time this number shot up to 2,000 and now he has about 3,000. This is the only place in the Buginese country where there are Christians. He has a church which is a part of the Protestant Church of Indonesia. But it is not a mission proper. He said that he converted from all classes, including at least one high fellow. He said that there are more women than men which did surprise me. I asked him how to approach women. He said that one must first ask the man. If the man is converted, then one can work on the woman, and usually the whole family becomes Christian. But one may not talk to the woman without the man's consent. Denzo said there was some trouble with the radja and with the nobles and with the fanatic Mohammedans. But after a while there was not so much trouble because they found out the Christians did not break up the adat and so they could not be too bad. Again we see the point that adat comes first, the Mohammedan practices being secondary. M 797 562 M [576] M [181]

Then I asked about the To Patuntung. He said there are not so many of them. They are ten kilometers walk south of C 563

to tjera lima. The Buginese names are: tjitjing, dua, telu, eppe, lima, eneng, and pitu. They have declining degrees of royal blood. Between the tjera lima and the to detjeng, the uppers of the kampong, the line is vague. The latter can usually drag up a bit of royal blood somewhere. Down to tjera eppe (ampat) they are real nobles. 565

Then we got onto the subject of the present Radja. Andi said that he should not be telling me what he was, but that since I wanted to know he would be very frank. Formerly a person of only tjitjing rank could not be a radja. In the really old days this ruling was held to in one hundred per cent of the cases. The present Radja, however, is only of tjitjing rank. The exiled one is ninety per cent ana'matola. This latter fellow is evidently the Goa man who was put in by the Dutch almost twenty years ago, and whom they kicked out after the war for some reason. I get the impression that a lot of gossip goes on about this situation and that the present Radja is well advised to stick close to the Dutch.

Then we talked about the big households of the nobles. Andi's father has thirty in his house, and Andi himself has seventeen. He complains about his inability to support all of them on his salary. I asked him why he does not throw them out. He said that this just isn't done and that a man is proud to have a lot of people in his house. They are mainly nephews, nieces, young siblings and siblings-in-law, and old folks. When the young ones marry, they usually set up their own house. He then asked, "Who would cook, keep house, care for the children, etc?" I commented that one Dutch woman with a babu can do all of this, and he wilted, saying that upper women here just are not that way. Here again we see the entanglement of adat and the "right thing to do." 592 183

Andi said that the radja has many slaves. This is true of other nobles too. There are two kinds of slaves: (1) Those who freely admit that they are slaves, especially if they are slaves of real uppers, because they are usually proud of their masters. Of these there are not so many. (2) Those who get angry when their low origin is mentioned. 567

Thierens said that the Christian leader Denzo in Soppeng is being sent away. Despite his success in converting, Thierens continued, Denzo has been disgraced, because it was discovered that he was loose with women and that he has a girl in every kampong. Thus he has spoiled things 797 831

797 for himself. Could this be a case of railroading? My
831 guess is that this kind of behavior would not be noticed if he were not a Christian leader. I must ask Rahim.

162 [for author's comments on these census figures see
621 p. 195, category 116--Analyst]

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STATISTICS FOR BUKAKA

A. Bukaka, a Buginese Kampong Adjoining Watampone

Total population	1960
Total households	270
Per household	7.26
Males	959
Females	1001
Sex ratio	96.0
Total children	1089 (male 548, female 541)
Minor children	792 (male 408, female 384)
Ratio of children to adult	1.25
Minor children to adult	0.68
Children per household	4.02
Minor children per household	3.34

B. Class of Household Heads

To Detjeng (lower nobles)	46
To Samar (commoners) (included are 14 entered as "unknown," but Andi says they are very probably all commoners)	194
Slave	1
Chinese	10
Arab	14
Javanese	5
Total	270

162 C. Polygyny of Household Heads
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Number of wives	Class	Trade
3 (2)	1 Arab	1 merchant
	1 noble	1 tailor
2 (8)	2 noble	2 smith
	2 Arab	1 merchant
	4 commoner	1 trader
		1 goldsmith
		1 chauffeur
		1 government employee (messenger)
		1 toothmaker
Totals 10	10	10

[The Basin of the Poso]

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On the left shore of the Tomasa, not far from its mouth, there is a piece of land that bears the name of Tana-inoli, "bought land"; Kadomboekoe had ceded this land to Onda'e in former times. The story about this is as follows: Long ago Indo i Kolombio, the female Chief of Kadomboekoe, had invoked the help of Onda'e in order to kill her brother Patasi, /40/ because the latter had made her out to be a witch and declared that she had given birth to a black snake. She promised them for this a reward of two big pigs, which were called Saketo and Poela-tamoengkoe. The To Onda'e accepted the proposal, but they did not carry out the mission immediately because they first went to the coast to make salt. Only after several months had passed did they kill Patasi. When they now came for their reward, it appeared that the two pigs had been slaughtered for a funeral feast which the To Kadomboekoe had celebrated in the meantime. The To Onda'e were displeased at this, but they finally settled for the above-mentioned patch of land.

The To Onda'e never profited from this acquisition. They let the To Kadomboekoe lay out their fields freely on the land given away. In the beginning it may well have happened that To Onda'e traveling through Tana-inoli asked the To Kadomboekoe farming there for a chicken, some rice, and a piece of foeja (beaten tree-bark) for the use of their land, but long before our arrival this was no longer the custom.

The land of Bandoa was also bought from Kadomboekoe by Lage through a Chief who was named Tawoea-mbine. The mountain Siwo belonged to Lage and was sold to the To Wingke-mposo Tawojo-ndisa for one buffalo with six pieces of cotton and one pig with six pieces of cotton.

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In the first half of the last century Mandarese (called To Mene by the Toradja) must have had great influence in Kadomboekoe. How they got there and how numerous they were, no one can tell any more; it is certain that the whole tribe was converted to Islam by them. When the Mandarese returned to their land, they

OG11 Toradja OG11
Western Toradja OG12
Makassar OG6
Mandar

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[The Basin of the Poso]

/40 cont./ When the Mandarese returned to their land, they gave a multicolored flag to the To Kadomboekoe and said the following: "You are now Mohammedans, and if your descendants eat the meat of pigs we shall fine them 40 young female slaves." The grandfather of Papa i Melempo, who was Chief of the tribe when the Government came, was the last Mohammedan. Tampabanda (as he was called) lies buried near the former village of Abokl, and in his grave was also placed the only Koran in the country. The To Kadomboekoe claim that they returned to Heathenism because there was no one who could teach them to recite from the Koran.

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On their way back, the Mandarese must have traveled across the area called Ampibabo (on the west side of Tomino Bay), which until a few years ago recognized the sovereignty of Mandar (Tjenrana). A few of the To Kadomboekoe followed the Mandarese there and had descendants in Ampibabo, so that even now there is kinship between the two regions. When the above-mentioned flag had become unusable in 1895 because of age, it was taken to Ampibabo, and through the intercession of the Chief of this place a new one was obtained from Mandar. The To Kadomboekoe, however, did not recognize in any respect whatever the supremacy of Mandar.

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32. The history of the To Pajapi.

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Now it still remains for us to speak about the inhabitants of the district that lies to the west of the Poso River. Part of this land was formerly inhabited by a Toradja tribe, the To Pajapi, which has now as good as disappeared from Central Celebes, except for a small remnant. The history of this tribe is a sad one.

The To Pajapi (pajapi is the name of a tree) are a Toradja tribe about which the Bare'e speakers can not tell much. This is probably to be explained by the fact that they belonged to the West Toradja group, as the linguistic investigation determined.

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first pay their respects to the Chief. Here all the souls wear yellow clothes. They do no work of any kind, for they obtain what they need by practicing magic (moadi), in the same way that the air spirits (woerake) provide for their needs. Only their water must be hauled up from Rato-ngkasimpo by means of a long rope, for there is no water in Wawo-maborosi because the city lies on a mountain.

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In the general popular version there exists only Rato-ngkasimpo, where a great bustle prevails because there are many death-souls together there. A feast is celebrated daily because every new arrival is welcomed festively. The children there play all day long. The paths run in all directions because of the busy traffic. This is sung about in the following verse:

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Ire'i podo pe'onto, ri Torate lipoe doro; "Here (on earth) it is only a stopping place, but in the Underworld it is a busy (lively) city"; ire'i podo pombale, ri Torate lipoe bangke, "here (on earth) it is only a shaded resting place, in the Underworld it is a large city."

/472/ In general, existence in the Hereafter is called gloomy and dismal, but yet people say that the souls are happy and satisfied there and do not know trouble and grief. This is expressed in a generally known song:

Mapari ri wawo ntana, ri Torate moroeana: "On earth one has a difficult life, in the Underworld it is better";

bemo re'e soesa ndaja, sambela mawongko raja. "there one does not know grief and one enjoys nothing but pleasure."

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In the Wotoe region, where some Toradja have been converted to Mohammedanism, we heard of a dispute between a Heathen and a Mohammedan on the question of where it would be prettier: in Torate, the heaven of the Heathens, or in Soeroega, the Mohammedan place of the blessed. They finally decided to kill each other in order to go to satisfy themselves. Then they stabbed each other to death. When the Chief heard what had given rise to the quarrel, he said: "We shall bury the one who pleaded for Soeroega. We shall let the corpse of the one who claimed that it is prettiest in Torate lie unburied. If the corpse of the first has disappeared by tomorrow,

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Soeroega is better than Torate; if the corpse of the other one has disappeared, then Torate is the best." When the people went to look the next day, the corpse of the Heathen had disappeared, and that of the Mohammedan was full of worms. This convinced the people of the superiority of Heathendom over Mohammedanism.

In Torate the souls keep busy with the same activities as here on earth: one hunts and plants fields. This is also done by the death-souls that do not go to the Underworld, but stay on earth. When people come to a spot where a few trees have fallen, they say: "There angga have planted a field." The rice in Torate, however, is different from that on earth; it resembles the fruits of the tarinti, a reed-like plant with rough leaves like sugar cane. Other crops, such as pisang and sugar cane, are like those of human beings. It is also claimed, however, that the rice in Rato-ngkasimpo only rarely thrives because of the many buffaloes which the relatives give to a dead person to take along; these animals often ruin the plantings, so that the inhabitants of Rato-ngkasimpo usually suffer from want. This, however, benefits the human beings, for if the rice in the Underworld were to thrive, that on earth would fail. For this reason the living must diligently continue to bring food to the graves for the dead; for if the dead are hungry they take the rice soul (tanoana mpae) from the human beings and then it requires much effort to get it back again. At the harvest feast (mompadoengkoe) the leader customarily covers a pile of rice with an old-fashioned cloth (bana) and calls back the rice soul: "O rice soul that is lost on the way to Rato-ngkasimpo, come back to me again." Any negligence in the performance of the rites in connection with rice cultivation might have as a consequence that the rice soul would go to Rato-ngkasimpo.

/473/ An important point about which people are concerned is the food that the dead might consume. In the many stories of people who visit the Underworld it is said that the rice and the fish or the meat that the dead eat look like the rice and the fish on earth; but in reality their rice is nothing but earth, and their side-dishes rotten wood. It often happens in the stories that living persons who visit their deceased relatives in the Underworld are given, upon their

778 /63 cont./ The Parappo

796 The parappo belongs to the essential part of what is offered to the ancestors. The word means: "to offer or give something to a superior." The parappo is an insignificant-looking little bundle of pisang leaves of about the size of one or two fists full. Its contents seems to consist of betel leaves folded in various ways. Each way of folding has its proper name (for instance: poto, tontong lebong, putu rabing, kalomping). A little piece of areca nut and a very small amount of lime (paleo) goes with every betel leaf. The number of these leaves varies according to status. In the Prince of Goa's kin group the number 9 forms the basis of the parappo (1),

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1. By the number that forms the basis of the parappo is meant that a parappo consists in one case of 4 poto, 4 kalomping, etc., and in another case of 6 poto, 6 kalomping, etc.

while in the kin group of the head of the adat community it is 7. /64/ In that of kampong people, the numbers 7, 6, 5, and 4 occur.

612 A number of further differences should be pointed out
778 which vary with the related group. At the ritual on the
184 sawah, the number of leaves in some groups is a little smaller
796 than at a wedding or other kin group feast. Four and 6 respectively were the numbers in the Kapala group in Bontoramba. In a few groups of relatives a further distinction was observed between boys and girls. If the number of leaves for a boy is 6, then it is 7 for a girl (1). A distinction

1. These numbers were observed at a number of birthday festivals.

585 /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen,
788 Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde,
[114] N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/
/New Series/, Vol. I,
no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 The person who performs this ritual is frequently the
[593] "bride's mother, " (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven
824 different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but some-
[801] times variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 1. These names are rapidly
824 recited, one after the other,
789 when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

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Steaming

Steaming (barumbung) is a ritual which prepares bride and groom for their future union. At that time they are still each in his own house. Under the house a pot with water is placed on [801] the fire, and seven different kinds of leaves are placed in it. The steam is conducted upward through a hollow bamboo pipe toward a hole in the floor in the hindmost part of the house. The bride (or the bridegroom) is seated above this hole, completely wrapped in a sarong. The bride's mother scatters puffed rice over her and moves the incense vessel around her, three times one way and once the other. While doing so, she mumbles a spell. When the bride has sat in this way for some time and has perspired profusely, she is bathed. This is repeated for three days on end. It is believed that in this way even the evil that is deep within her will come out with the sweat so that only the good will remain. It is hoped that thus she will be able to face the coming period of uncertainty in the best possible condition.

Plucking the Eyebrows

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The plucking of eyebrows (bubu') is likewise done before the couple is brought together. On this occasion the bride's mother removes the hairs which would make the eyebrow "not good." It is believed that a person's character is revealed in
826 his glance, and also by the features around his eye. In view of
828 the fact that even an exchange of words between young men
[834] and women is prohibited, the casting of glances is practically the only thing that can be done with impunity. The slight arching of an eyebrow and lowering of the eyelids have their significance. To be greedy of eye (balala matana) is regarded
585 as an inferior quality of a young man. In this ritual the im-
826 portance of the eye and the play of the eyes accordingly finds
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588 /229 cont./ case. The Imam therefore took into account
[583] the possibility that the wali would withhold his consent for this reason. The consent was given nevertheless. That Rappung was a valued worker in the kin group was probably a factor of some influence on the decision. Thereupon, the Imam, in agreement with Rappung, set the day and hour for the wedding.

Just before the time agreed upon, at about eight o'clock in the evening, the woman was taken to the Imam's house. She went directly up the back stairs and waited in the woman's rooms. A little later, Rappung arrived in the company of his gurukampong and two of his kinsmen. Shortly thereafter the Imam's son-in-law also arrived. The latter was to act as witness together with the gurukampong. At the conclusion of the solemnity both received 0.25 gulden for their part in it.

212 The Imam produced the carefully locked-away registers
588 and wrote in these with a pen especially filed for the writing of Makassarese letters. In so doing he asked the customary
● 805 questions: "How old are you?" Rappung did not know. "How old were you at the fall of Goa?" (1) was one of the questions

1. 1905.

designed to help him find the answer. "One year!" "How old is Djawi?" At the fall of Goa she apparently had not yet been born. "How old was she at the time of the Spanish influenza epidemic?" (2) "At that time she was not around

2. 1919.

yet either." The Imam assumed that she was probably born shortly thereafter and, basing her age on that, entered it in the register. February 27, 1940 was recorded as the date of the marriage, although the marriage was performed on the evening of the 26th (nine o'clock in the evening).

Javanese OE5
Bali OF7
Makassar OG6
Malays AN5
Atjehnese OD4

J 805 [348 cont.]

Still other time-periods were formerly in use among the Javanese, a six-day period and a nine-day period, and to these the Hindus added another, one of eight days.

B 805 [241] B [296] On Bali the solar year regulates agricultural work, with attention given to the position of Orion and the Pleiades. The months have 29 or 30 days. For ordinary purposes, however, such as calculating age or the occurrence of religious festivals and family celebrations, use is made of oton, periods of 210 days, that is, 6 X 35 (see above) or 30 X 7 days (30 woekoe). There are many different kinds of division into weeks on Bali, one, two, three, etc., up to ten-day weeks. Most of them, however, are used only to calculate favorable and unfavorable days. In order to distinguish all these different weeks from one another, use is made of a calendar-plank, a tika, which is divided by incised vertical lines into thirty columns. These vertical columns are cut by seven horizontal lines to make 210 little squares, the number of days in one oton. The first day of the seven-day week, Radité or Reditt, falls in the bottom horizontal row on the right, the second in the same square in the row above it, etc. Thus, the days of this week are easily found on the calendar. To find the weekdays of the nine- and six-day weeks, a number of little gashes are made in the calendar, or little sticks are used to mark a certain day or days of these weeks. Six other little signs are used to mark the favorable and unfavorable days.

MK MR 805 [349] Of the remaining Mohammedan peoples of the archipelago, the Buginese and Makassarese, as well as the Malayans, use the Mohammedan calendar and the customary Mohammedan numbering of the year. This is the case, too, on Atjeh. The A 805 [92] Atjehnese names for the months are corrupted Arabic names, but in addition they have a second name derived from some custom or Mohammedan festival connected with the month in question. Thus, the eleventh month is called meu-apèt, which comes from the Javanese Apit. The eight-year cycle, with three leap years, is also used on Atjeh; the leap years are the second, fifth, and seventh. As on Java, the years of the cycle are designated by

Sundanese OE7 Javanese OE5 Malays AN5 Kei OH13 Atjehnese OD4 Nuforese OJ22 Makassar OG6 Nias OD11 Batak OD5

A 805 243 [350 cont.] month, so that the period between two keunòng and the period between two new moons differ. One works on the principle that the keunòng falls two days earlier each consecutive Mohammedan month, and the small deviation is corrected from time to time. Among the Atjehnese the names of the various keunòng are associated with certain natural phenomena that occur during the period of a particular keunòng, or with various activities in connection with agriculture or shipping, etc., which have to be done or left undone at that time, or some festivity that is held then" (De Atjèhers, Vol. I, p. 275).

I 805 Among the Mohammedans, each new period starts at sunset, so that actually it is the nights that are counted. This custom was not first brought to the archipelago by the Mohammedans, however, but already existed there before the coming of Islam. It is easily explained by the significance of the moon, which is seen only at night, in regulating time in connection with its phases. Dr. Wilken found the custom of counting by nights among the Noefors [Nuforese] of Geelvink Bay on New Guinea, the Makassarese and Buginese, the Niassans and Batak, the people of Bolaang-Mongondou, the Sundanese, the Javanese, and the Malayans, although among the two last-named peoples it is more or less obsolete and has been preserved only in some expressions. To the tribes named by Dr. Wilken we would add the inhabitants of Kei, who count the days from sunset to sunset and reckon by nights, thus saying: "in so many nights," or "so many nights ago."

My J S B MK NF Ni 805 K 805

I 805 The division of the day can be treated identically for all the peoples of the archipelago. A division of the day into a certain number of equal periods does not occur anywhere, and there are no traces of telling time by means of sundials or clocks. Generally the various periods of the day are indicated by the different events or acts that usually take place in a certain period, or they are expressed by [351] the position of the sun (or, during the night, by the position of the moon); sometimes both methods are combined. This means of keeping track of time is still used by even the most civilized peoples of the archipelago; among the Islamic peoples

I [77]

2: Wilken--237 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Ceram OH9 Makassar OG6
Moluccas OH1 Batak OD5
Borneo OC1
Gorontalo OG4
Buru OH8

[199 cont.]

I 805 The Mohammedan peoples have officially adopted the Arabic chronology, and where Christianity has been introduced, our chronology is used, as well as by chiefs and prominent people everywhere for their correspondence. The Buginese and MK 805 Makassarese, even though using the Mohammedan chronology, do not follow the Great Cycle, but more generally the Small Cycle of eight years, of which three, here the 2nd, 5th, and 7th years, are leap years. In former days, they reckoned by solar years of 12 months, of which 8 had 30 days and 4 had 31. In a leap year the twelfth month had 32 days. We should also note that formerly, as on Java, the five-day pasar week was also present here, and consequently, even today, a pasar is held every fifth day (2).

2. Matthes, Boegineesch Woordenb.
see abuweng.

Mo C Bt Br G Bu 805 [442] The peoples who have adopted neither Islam nor Christianity, the Batak, the Dajak, some tribes of northern Celebes, the inhabitants of Buru, Ceram, the rest of the Moluccas, etc., have no regular chronology, no regular division of the year into months and weeks. The seasons are indicated according to the state of the paddy or djagung crop. In mentioning some event that has taken place, one says during the ripening of the padi, at the time of the djagung harvest, and the like. In a sense this time reckoning is regulated, because these activities in the fields take place at regular times, [200] and a year generally passes between one sowing period and the following one. The sowing period is generally determined by the phases of the moon. If there is a division into months and weeks, the latter are always pasar weeks.

The time of day is indicated by the position of the sun; that of night, by the phases of the moon and the crowing of the cock. The measure for short lengths of time is the cooking time of rice, such as one cooking, two cookings, three cookings

I [666 cont.]
805 quite popular in the Malay Archipelago and about which Dr. Wilken published a paper in 1886 from which the information below has been taken.

M Among the Indonesian peoples who count by nights, we name
805 first the Buginese and Makassarese. In Buginese, for example, in giving the days of the month one says for the first, si-wĕnnina ulange, that is, one night of the month, or si-wĕnni ompóna ketĕnge, literally, one night of the becoming visible of the moon, for the third, ri-tĕllumpĕnnina ulange, that is, in the third night of the month, or tĕllumpĕnni ompóna ketĕnge, literally, three nights of the becoming visible of the moon, etc. For "what date is it?" one uses sijampennini ulange? literally, which night of the month is it?

Moreover, in some cases the Buginese use the word "night" where we would say "day." This is apparent from the expressions wĕnni-batowa = big nights [667] and wĕnni-baitjú = little nights, with which the days that are dedicated to the memory of a deceased person are indicated.

We further point to the word petumpĕnnijang, corresponding to the English word "sennight" as in ripitumpĕnnijangi máelóna múni gĕnrange, literally, it lasted seven nights until the drum was to be beaten, that is, seven days before the beating of the drum, etc. There is also the peculiar designation barĕ tĕllumpĕnni, literally, the west monsoon of three nights, that is, that part of the west monsoon during which the rains continue almost incessantly without pause for three days, which, according to the native, is the case at the beginning of the season. The barĕ tellumpĕnni is followed by the barĕ pitumpĕnni and the barĕ patappulo wĕnni, the west monsoon of seven days and that of 40 days (literally nights).

S This way of counting is no less complete among the Sundanese.
805 In daily life the word peuting = night is usually used instead of "day." Examples of this are also found in the literature, such as Geus meunang tudjuh peuting kandjĕng radja kulĕm sekeudeung, that is, already seven days (literally, seven nights) had passed and the prince slept for a moment.

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I 517
got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The 181
Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did 167
not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if 186
he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is 178
general and there is not much to say. The death punishment 681
is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the 796
common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even 805
included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They [241]
knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: 574
I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and 852
two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of [562]
men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much 176
new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus 874
chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third 401
grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from 403
bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

241 /45 cont./ When all the sawahs have been completely harvested, the day for the ritual is set. This is the job of the [793] pinati (1) of Bontoramba, who is also the person who carries

1. Pinati is the title of the functionary who is usually charged with the execution of the ritual. Compare B.F. Matthes, Wb., p. 111.

out the actual ritual on that day. Around ten o'clock in the morning, those who wanted to take part in this harvest ritual had already begun to gather at "the Lord of the Land." The [821] ritual must take place before the sun begins to descend again, because, so it is believed, the rising of the sun benefits the growth of the rice. The women brought bowls of offerings with them. Every house is expected to bring an offering, it is 241 782 said, and one proceeds from the assumption that everyone is interested in the harvest. When the ritual began, I counted only 45 offering bowls from 42 different houses. Thirty-four of these 42 /46/ houses belonged to the Kapala group, 1 was occupied by members of the Mangenre group, and 5 belonged to the Rest group. Two bowls were from people outside Bontoramba who owned land in this region.

The second offering bowl from one and the same house, in two out of three cases, was designated for the second family living in that house.

In the three out of five cases in which the Rest group brought 471 an offering bowl, it appeared that no one from the house con- 241 cerned had been recorded in the land-tax register. One of these 782 concerned a follower who brought the offering for the sawahs of his master, who lived elsewhere; the second concerned one who worked sawahs belonging to a kinsman residing in Buttadidi; the third case is that of one of the kampong functionaries who

Gorontalo OG4
Malays AN5
Javanese OE5
Batak OD5
Makassar OG6

I 172 [85 cont.]

(Palembang and Benkulen). These objects are often stone wedges, which were probably used for cleaving wood or as cutting or chopping tools and as axes and similar tools. The raw materials from which these axes and chisels were made are basalt and trachyte for the roughest tools, while for the finer and hardest tools finely polished silicates, such as jasper, flint, agate, etc., were used.

I 172 174 It is well known that a number of similar stone objects has been found in different places in Europe, stemming from the time when in our part of the world, too, the working of metals was still unknown.

When the origin of the stone tools was less well understood than it is now, they were regarded as products of atmospheric fire and thus were called thunderstones and thunderbolts (1),

MK Bt J M G I 172 821

1. Lubbock, Pre-historic times, p. 427.

names that are still generally found among the peoples of the Malay Archipelago who still regard them as products of thunderstorms. A few examples will not be amiss here. Objects such as chisels, axes, wedges, etc. are called thunder or lightning stones, watu-ing-kilat by the Alfoer of the Minahasa, gigi-guntur in Malay, huntu-gĕlap in Javanese, sait-ni-porhas in Batak, isi-gutu in Buginese, gigi-gunturu in Makassarese, and batu-lintar among the Malays of Malacca.

G I 779 821 These stones, regarded as of supernatural origin by the natives, are treated with superstitious respect. On north Celebes, for example, these stones are used for conjuring rain. In times of prolonged drought, the stones are wrapped in special leaves and put in a pot with water, which is left standing in the yard during the night in the hope that it will cause rain. In conformity with this conception concerning the origin of these stones from prehistoric times, the natives pretend that such objects [86] are always found in or in the vicinity of trees that have been struck

585 /179 cont./ expression. At the moment, so important for the
826 individual, when he meets his marriage partner, "the eye and
832 its environment" must be as good as possible, as one informant expressed it. /180/

585 Awaiting the Karuntigi Leaves

Awaiting the karuntigi leaves (amatamata karuntigi) (1) is,

1. B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 246.

in the first place, regarded as an important social event. On this occasion the bride (and likewise the bridegroom, each in his own house) sits on the wedding bed. It is the eve of the Moslem wedding. Many guests are present. Next to the bride a sister or cousin, as well as the bride's mother and a number of other older women are seated. All of them are in festive dress. They help the bride, fan her with cool air, move a hand, place a leg differently, or change the position of her head, so that she will not get any cramps in these parts of her body. For a bride must remain seated passively, completely immobile, and
[534 with downcast eyes. The incense vessels burns, the drums are
533] beaten, and rojong songs are hummed. Before her stand a number of little bowls. One of these contains the finely cut leaves of the karuntigi (2), a second contains oil, a third powder,

[824]

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2. The leaves, it is always stated, are of a reddish color. Red is the color of fire and life. Personally, I have never been able to observe anything but an ordinary green color. The leaves are chewed beforehand.

and a fourth water.

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampong wears one. However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it. In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles. Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem to be alternates of all sorts. They call me padika tuan, as I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone. (This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Makassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was formerly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when approaching their superiors or when passing them. They squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with them. They wait until they are asked a question. And every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the Kepala kampong meets me or says goodbye he holds our right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very best place. The Kapala kampong and other common guests sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked the Kepala kampong who was waiting in the car to come onto the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

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/125 cont./

A considerable time after Bantjea and Rato had bought themselves free, a delegation from Waiboenta came to Bantjea to ask why tribute was no longer brought (mepoee) to Waiboenta. The answer ran: "Because you sold us to the To Bada', from whom we have again liberated ourselves." Then the envoys from Waiboenta concluded a treaty of friendship with Bantjea. On the side of Bantjea it was Talintoe who concluded the treaty; on the part of Waiboenta, La Bada appeared. Both ran some distance into the Lake. Then La Bada plunged his kris into the water and said to Talintoe: "Open your mouth." When the latter had done this, La Bada let the water drip from his kris into the mouth, while he said: "If you, To Bantjea, forget our agreement, your bodies will pass away just like this water which flows into your body" (ane ndisaja posintoewoe pai Waiboenta, da marege koromi ewa karege noe oee, anoe moili ri ra ngkoromi). Talintoe did the same to La Bada with his sword. Having reached dry land again, La Bada set up a stone at the foot of the hill on which the village lay. Both parties then took an egg in their hands and La Bada said: "If you, To Bantjea, break our treaty, your bodies shall pass away like this egg." At the same moment he dashed the egg to pieces against the stone. Talintoe did the same. -- This stone is still found in place; no honors are paid to it and no sacrifices are brought to it. All that happens is that now and then the weeds are removed a few meters around the stone.

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[823]

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Since this time the relations between Bantjea and Waiboenta have always been good. Gradually the To Bantjea began to go along with the other Toradja in offering their tribute to the Datoe of Palopo by way of Wotoe. There was no special motive for this, unless it is to be sought in the expectation that in this way the harassments of Wotoe might come to an end.

833 /173 cont./ The characteristics of being not good, if the not wanting emanates from the woman, are the same as when the man is the one who /174/ refuses sexual intercourse. The two women whom I was able to observe, however, lead me to suggest that the reason for their refusal is the idea that they regard themselves as too good for their husbands.

The Makassarese attitude with respect to these phenomena is different.

585 An informant named the "tete" as, in his opinion, one of the most important aspects of the wedding feast. Tete literally means "bridge." The bringing together of man and wife is regarded as a period of temporary uncertainty, and it is hoped that from this a state of lasting security will arise. Ritual is performed because it is believed that it promotes the coveted cessation of insecurity. There is always a positive [824] and a negative aspect present. This finds expression, among other things, in the names of leaves and wood types used in the ritual. Some of these have the meaning of "becoming larger," "increasing," while others mean "fending off" and "holding back."

833 We have already mentioned that the environment accepts a kawe kawe as he is. One does not have the idea that it is his fault that he is the way he is. Similarly, it is accepted of a man or woman that he (she) does not want to be "good" with his (her) marriage partner.

It is believed possible that the one who refuses sexual 833 contact has been affected by a spell /sprenk/. But people can 789 never say with certainty who it was that spoke it at best; it is only possible to suspect people of it. One proceeds from an interest that this person is believed to have in seeing the marriage fail, and one combines this with conduct observed in him or her of which it is stated that it deviates from the customary and therefore might have a special (in this case, bad) significance.

585 788 [114] /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen, Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde, N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/ /New Series/, Vol. I, no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 [593] The person who performs this ritual is frequently the "bride's mother, " (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 824 [801] The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but sometimes variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 824 789 1. These names are rapidly recited, one after the other, when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

585 /178 cont./ "The medicinal plants bowagang palili, parempasa', and lowe are all able to defend against evil." Palili means: "cause to get out of the way" (Ibid., p. 223) Parempa' means: "to ward off" (Ibid., p. 122). Of "lowe," Matthes states that it is an old name for the "nagasari," a shrub that was also used for fences (Ibid., p. 373). The word buagang has the same meaning. When a kampong head, after a theft, turned to someone with the words, "If the thief is found in your house, you yourself will also be punished," the reaction was: "buagang," that is to say, "May that misfortune not overcome me."

824 789

[672]

the meaning of "gay" and "sweet" respectively.

585 The water used for sprinkling comes from a pot. In the pot it has already undergone ritual treatment. At the bottom of the pot there lie some money, a number of betel leaves folded in a special way (kalomping), and an appropriate number of pieces of areca nut. This water has been made pure (badji', literally, "good"). The burning /179/ incense vessel (padupaang) has been moved around it, puffed rice (bente) has been scattered over it, and a spell has been uttered during the ceremony. The object of the ritual is now sprinkled with this "good water" while a spell is uttered again.

[824]

585 /179 cont./ expression. At the moment, so important for the
826 individual, when he meets his marriage partner, "the eye and
832 its environment" must be as good as possible, as one informant expressed it. /180/

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[534 with downcast eyes. The incense vessels burns, the drums are
533] beaten, and rojong songs are hummed. Before her stand a number of little bowls. One of these contains the finely cut leaves of the karuntigi (2), a second contains oil, a third powder,

[824]
[822]

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and a fourth water.

/186 cont./

585 539

62. Nukana-kanami sallang saraka ripamminangngang;	You will recite the formulas of the bed;
63. tappau'-pau'mi pole bungabunga rikatinroannu.	the flowers in the bed spread their scent.
64. Nusipoke-poke genre, nusita'ba' rappo toa;	You will extend to each other the folded betel leaves, and you will throw ripe areca nuts to each other;
65. nusipattoa-toai, nusipa'loaloai, nusipattjammo-tjammoi;	you will grow old together, and you will live together until you are forgetful and toothless;
66. sitanro takkang, sibuttju' pa'dengka-dengka.	until you will give each other a cane and until you throw an areca pounder toward each other. /187/
67. Lino-linopi anging, pakkeke mappasisa'la'.	Only after everything has become quiet (when the wind has died down), will you be separated by death.
68. Numammana'-mana' sarre,	You will get children just like the sarre plant (1),

[824]

1. Names /sic/ of plants that are well known for their many offshoots and rapid increase.

69. numa'borong unti-djawa,	you will form a forest of of pisang djawa,
70. numattju'la' ase-bakka'.	you will have offshoots just like the rice plant that is called ase-bakka'.

585 /192 cont./ a seated position. The one who reaches him first
524 receives a "pitjuru," a luck-bringing object, sometimes in the form of a coin or ornament. However, care is always taken that the woman wins. On the other hand, she is not allowed to win directly. If she or her husband is very close to the one who knocked, another one will knock who is seated at the other side of the circle, and then they must again push themselves thither. But once the highest guest has knocked upon the ground, no one knocks anymore. He does this only when the man does not have a chance of getting to him first, so that the bride therefore receives the pitjuru from him. "Amèsu" is, therefore, as it were, a game in which the young couple compete with each other, but whose outcome is already fixed from the outset. It is com-
[654] pared to a cock fight. It only takes place when there are high guests present at the festival. It is pleasant for the person who gives the festival if "amèsu" takes place, for that means that he had /193/ high guests, and that means that he is in their favor. For the young man, this pushing competition is un-
[522] pleasant because he always loses to his bride, and people openly make fun of this.

The First Joint Meal

585 The day after the nikka', man and wife for the first time "eat" together. Ritual and play are here closely interwoven. There is no question of ordinary eating. One of the older women takes a handful of rice with coconut oil and sugar, briefly holds this above the incense vessel, mumbles a spell over it, and then gives this to the young woman to eat. Coconut oil, that is to
[824] say, fat, is a symbol of wealth; sugar is a symbol of love and sweetness. She is told to bring this handful of food momentarily to her mouth, and then to offer it to the young husband seated next to her. The people around watch to see how he reacts. If he opens his mouth quickly, this means that he likes her. "Your cock is conquered," the men at that point laughingly

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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During the festive meal in the pannjambungi, the men sit in rows according to their prestige. Pages 195-196 and 243. In the foreground one can see, among other things, the coconuts, whose contents will be poured over the bridal couple at their first common bath. Page 265.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 6]

[635 cont.]

776 A consequence of the latter is that the belief in good and evil spirits is also found among the Buginese and Makassarese. They are referred to by a few general designations that were adopted in former times from the Hindu-Javanese. Generally speaking, the tutelary spirits are called rewata in Makassarese, dewata in Buginese, the Hindu-Javanese dewata, the Sanskrit devâta. Another category is called sangiyang, the well-known Hindu-Javanese sanghjang. Among them Sangiyang Sarri, the same as Dewi Sri, deserves special mention. She is the spirit of the rice and is identified with it.

At the head of the spirits stands Batara Goeroe = Siva, often simply called Batara, who, as the name indicates, is likewise of Hindu-Javanese origin.

754 Among the evil spirits--popokang among the Makassarese, pappo among the Buginese--a primary role is played by those whose heads wander around at night while the trunk remains in bed. Here they are always women. If there is a woman at court who is thought to be a popokang, she is immediately made a slave and sentenced to pound kemiri continuously as a means of preventing her from going out at night and doing harm. Besides these, there are the pontijana, the spirit of women who died
766 in childbirth. If a woman dies in childbirth, an egg is put un-
775 der each of her armpits, her hands are pressed tightly against
754 the body, and some needles are stuck inside her clothing.
845

We shall not discuss the other spirits, because they were already mentioned in the general sketch.

769 [636] The worship of the souls of the deceased deserves
775 special consideration since the sanctity of the crocodiles, which
825 is found in many places on southern Celebes, is connected with
782 it. It is believed that the souls reside in these animals after
824 death. In the eastern districts, in Boeloekoempa, eels are regarded in the same way. Like the crocodiles, at the sound of metal cymbals, they come on land and feast on the chicken-
782 drumsticks that are given to them, especially by women who
776 yearn for the joys of motherhood. The most peculiar worship on

[635 cont.]

776 A consequence of the latter is that the belief in good and evil spirits is also found among the Buginese and Makassarese. They are referred to by a few general designations that were adopted in former times from the Hindu-Javanese. Generally speaking, the tutelary spirits are called rewata in Makassarese, dewata in Buginese, the Hindu-Javanese dewata, the Sanskrit devâta. Another category is called sangiyang, the well-known Hindu-Javanese sanghjang. Among them Sangiyang Sarri, the same as Dewi Sri, deserves special mention. She is the spirit of the rice and is identified with it.

At the head of the spirits stands Batara Goeroe = Siva, often simply called Batara, who, as the name indicates, is likewise of Hindu-Javanese origin.

754 Among the evil spirits--popokang among the Makassarese, pappo among the Buginese--a primary role is played by those whose heads wander around at night while the trunk remains in bed. Here they are always women. If there is a woman at court who is thought to be a popokang, she is immediately made a slave and sentenced to pound kemiri continuously as a means of preventing her from going out at night and doing harm. Besides these, there are the pontijana, the spirit of women who died
766 in childbirth. If a woman dies in childbirth, an egg is put un-
775 der each of her armpits, her hands are pressed tightly against
754 the body, and some needles are stuck inside her clothing.
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We shall not discuss the other spirits, because they were already mentioned in the general sketch.

769 [636] The worship of the souls of the deceased deserves
775 special consideration since the sanctity of the crocodiles, which
● 825 is found in many places on southern Celebes, is connected with
782 it. It is believed that the souls reside in these animals after
824 death. In the eastern districts, in Boeloekoempa, eels are regarded in the same way. Like the crocodiles, at the sound of metal cymbals, they come on land and feast on the chicken-
782 drumsticks that are given to them, especially by women who
776 yearn for the joys of motherhood. The most peculiar worship on

156 /164 cont./ inadequate in their social relations with other
589 men, could be the reason for their refusal to marry. The fact that the older people do not consider these individuals capable of contributing to the standing of the group could be the reason why they are satisfied with their refusal.

[584] No initiative toward marriage of any kind may ever proceed from a woman. The docile, withdrawn girls are set up as an example. I believe, but would like to see this confirmed by further investigation, that among the unmarried women these docile types are still the most frequent. The more aggressive personalities who possess to a lesser degree the qualities most valued in this society seem to marry sooner. An old woman explained why a particular girl had been allowed to marry by reasoning that otherwise one might have difficulties with her later. By this, the old woman most probably was thinking of the possibility of siri' problems arising. The fact that these characters marry, while docile individuals frequently remain unmarried, points to the fact that the older people in their selections follow the path of least resistance. The types from whom the most difficulties are to be expected have a better chance of marrying.

[581] The men with the personal qualities that are most /165/ appreciated and the women with the personal qualities that are least appreciated have the best chances of marrying.

565 It is believed that the karaeng always possess a high de-
156 gree of the personal qualities appreciated in a man. Their
581 opportunities to marry are greater than those of an ordinary man; a marriage to a lower woman is a frequent phenomenon. Figures dealing with the unmarried in this group are not available, however.

The Koro Phenomenon

826 Koro is the Makassarese name for the disease symptom in
158 which a man believes that his penis is shrinking and will turn

826 /165 cont./ inward, while he is convinced that he will die if
158 this should really happen (1). Koro literally means "to shrink."

1. The signs reported with respect to women are: the breasts become flatter, the nipples shrink, and the labia have a tendency to recede. Only women help the female patient. The phenomenon is less frequent with women than with men.

Van Wulfften Palthe and Slot regarded the phenomena as expressions of an anxiety neurosis (2).

2. See Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, 1935, Vol. 75, pp. 836 ff. and 811 ff. respectively.

The description of one certain case, as it was reported
[595] by an informant, ran as follows. A man of around forty-five years of age, married and with children, had taken a second wife. He had kept this fact a secret from his first wife because he was afraid of her jealousy. After a certain length
158 of time had elapsed, however, his second marriage nevertheless became known. One evening when he had come home
826 tired and sleepy, he was overcome with tremors and broke out
755 in a cold sweat of fear. He had the feeling that his penis was becoming smaller and smaller and that it was suddenly going to turn inward. Upon his shouts for help, neighbors came running in to him. One of them held the penis tightly in order to prevent it from receding, and another man went

158 /165 cont./ to fetch a sanro (Makassarese physician). After
826 some time had elapsed, and the sanro had performed a number
755 of rituals, the feelings of anxiety disappeared. For this day, the attack was past.

Women are kept away from a male koro patient. It is believed that their presence would cause the dreaded event, the receding /166/ of the penis, to take place, and it is believed
[761] that in that event the patient would die. People mention without much trouble a number of instances of individuals who supposedly died of koro.

Slot reports that koro occurs among adult Makassarese and
158 Buginese of each social class and both sexes. The phenomenon
755 may appear in groups. It is not the consequence of a modified libido. The Makassarese combat it by using influences regarded as positive, for instance, by using the flowering cluster of the male lontar palm as medicine and through the avoidance of negative influences, among which the turtle is mentioned (1).

1. The thought of the disappearance of this animal's head under its shell gives the patient an unpleasant association according to one informant.

158 Finally, Slot explains that the cause of koro may be a sense of guilt, but that this cause is ethnologically determined because the admissable and the inadmissable are here differently interwoven than in western Europe. He speaks of feelings of guilt while van Wulfften Palthe believes that it is anxiety feelings that lie at the base of the koro phenomenon.

Now that the koro phenomenon has been described from
158 the psychological point of view as an expression of anxiety,
181 one may attempt to indicate from the ethnological point of view how this anxiety can have its genesis. To this end I

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Steaming

Steaming (barumbung) is a ritual which prepares bride and groom for their future union. At that time they are still each in his own house. Under the house a pot with water is placed on [801] the fire, and seven different kinds of leaves are placed in it. The steam is conducted upward through a hollow bamboo pipe toward a hole in the floor in the hindmost part of the house. The bride (or the bridegroom) is seated above this hole, completely wrapped in a sarong. The bride's mother scatters puffed rice over her and moves the incense vessel around her, three times one way and once the other. While doing so, she mumbles a spell. When the bride has sat in this way for some time and has perspired profusely, she is bathed. This is repeated for three days on end. It is believed that in this way even the evil that is deep within her will come out with the sweat so that only the good will remain. It is hoped that thus she will be able to face the coming period of uncertainty in the best possible condition.

Plucking the Eyebrows

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The plucking of eyebrows (bubu') is likewise done before the couple is brought together. On this occasion the bride's mother removes the hairs which would make the eyebrow "not good." It is believed that a person's character is revealed in
826 his glance, and also by the features around his eye. In view of
828 the fact that even an exchange of words between young men
[834] and women is prohibited, the casting of glances is practically the only thing that can be done with impunity. The slight arching of an eyebrow and lowering of the eyelids have their significance. To be greedy of eye (balala matana) is regarded
585 as an inferior quality of a young man. In this ritual the im-
826 portance of the eye and the play of the eyes accordingly finds
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585 /179 cont./ expression. At the moment, so important for the
826 individual, when he meets his marriage partner, "the eye and
832 its environment" must be as good as possible, as one informant expressed it. /180/

585 Awaiting the Karuntigi Leaves

Awaiting the karuntigi leaves (amatamata karuntigi) (1) is,

1. B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 246.

in the first place, regarded as an important social event. On this occasion the bride (and likewise the bridegroom, each in his own house) sits on the wedding bed. It is the eve of the Moslem wedding. Many guests are present. Next to the bride a sister or cousin, as well as the bride's mother and a number of other older women are seated. All of them are in festive dress. They help the bride, fan her with cool air, move a hand, place a leg differently, or change the position of her head, so that she will not get any cramps in these parts of her body. For a bride must remain seated passively, completely immobile, and
[534 with downcast eyes. The incense vessels burns, the drums are
533] beaten, and rojong songs are hummed. Before her stand a number of little bowls. One of these contains the finely cut leaves of the karuntigi (2), a second contains oil, a third powder,

[824] 2. The leaves, it is always stated, are of a reddish color.
[822] Red is the color of fire and life. Personally, I have never been able to observe anything but an ordinary green color. The leaves are chewed beforehand.

and a fourth water.

T M 648 M 643 T 114 648 871 177 M 648 643

/127 cont./

In everyday life the Datoe of Loewoe' meant nothing to the Toradja. In no case was he considered. The Datoe was brought into play only against strangers. In their contacts with the Government, before it vigorously asserted itself, all overtures were rejected with an appeal to the Datoe. Our attempts to open schools among the Toradja failed in the first years, because the people did not want to know anything about this novelty, from which they expected only disadvantages for their social life. In order to cut off all discussion of this matter they hid behind the Datoe, who certainly would not approve if his subjects obtained schooling while he himself did not yet have any. Whenever the Toradja saw an advantage in some new thing, they did not think of consulting the Datoe about it.

M 648 643 [778] T 648

The Datoe of Loewoe' was actually only the keeper of the gaoekang (literally "things, implements, ornaments"), or aradjang ("signs of greatness"), the fetishes in which the strength of the country is preserved, the regalia. As heirlooms of the deified ancestors they make the possessor the direct deputy of these ancestors; this person thus stands on the same level as the ancestors. Then the Toradja also said of the Datoe: "He is our god (lamoa)." That the Datoe left them to their lot and never concerned himself about them they found precisely "god-like" and "ancester-like" of him because in this way he left their adat untouched. And this is the task of every Chief.

T [622] T M 648 M 643 [826] [753] [778] [761]

The Toradjas were loyal subjects of the Datoe, precisely because of the superstitious respect that they had for him. The Datoe was said to have white blood in his veins. The mysterious power that emanated from his person was considered so great that an ordinary Toradja could not look at him without getting a swollen stomach and dying. The story is told of two Lage chiefs who wished passionately to see the Datoe. They actually succeeded in making their way to him, but the one died already on the return journey and the other three months after he reached home.

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565 /206 cont./ value is placed, as they say, upon keeping the
582 blood pure and the goods together. There this marriage is therefore not regarded as unfavorable. In the higher classes, one can observe the tendency toward contracting marriages between closer relatives.

587 A marriage to someone who has already been married (a widower or divorced man) is regarded as unfavorable. The fact that the first marriage failed is ascribed to a lack of "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means), unless a special reason can be shown. The idea that an individual is as he is, and [828] that he himself can change little about this, explains fears that the second marriage will fail for the same reason. Attempts are made to dismiss any thoughts of the first marriage by having the second marriage take place from another house, by choosing another bride's mother, and by making other changes. The best attitude imaginable is therefore thought to be that of a remarrying bridegroom who said, "I am going to begin a new life." This man was prepared to react differently in this second marriage than in the first, at which time he submitted with great aversion to all the ritual, gave his bride a rough tap on the back at the first touch, and in all possible ways made his dislike of this marriage apparent.

A woman prefers not to marry a man who has already been married, as the following verse (kelong) testifies, where a young woman is introduced saying:

[539]

> "I would rather be a fallow
> piece of land, an unplowed
> sown field, than having a
> buffalo run over me who has
> already been under the yoke
> once."

Actually, it would be very crude if a girl were to recite [576] this verse. This is only done by older people when it suits them at a certain moment in their marriage policy.

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they
203 often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
● 828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The
205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese 535
in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and 181
there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead- 152
pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the sim- 832
ple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the 292
local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have
much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light
banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was
when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected
because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face to-
ward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward
prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The
high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And
the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under
them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in
festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and 124
finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Moham-
medan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living 163
children per woman was three, but that the average number
of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average
number who die to each woman is two. They say there has
been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not
much if any difference according to class. This I do notice,
that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is 861
the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. 828
I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that
they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says
there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a
child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex]
(and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted
that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary
people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. 562
They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, 584
women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women 883
never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) 181
If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or some-
one else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not
usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders
doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change
noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional
pair coming from school together, but this is carried out
for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

The previous discussion took place in the evening in the house of the Kepala kampong [of Balombaru--Analyst]. As we talked about various subjects I found that whenever I spoke about the United States I got a good reaction. The village head, a spirited individual, said that he wanted to go there. I said that in a few years perhaps he could. I found out later that one reason the Kepala kampong appeared to be so clever is that he once was a sailor and traveled a good deal. One source said that this was not true but that he had merely been a customs official. In any event he does act like a very special person. 521 156 842 829

I said that there were few children per family in the United States because of the long period of education and the great expense involved. They said that in Makassar everyone wanted lots of children. However, they volunteered nothing regarding education. Then the village head said jokingly that he was going to the United States to help the population problem there. He said that if he got there he would make lots of children! That is the spirit I notice here. The men are very jocular. They like good and rough conversation. In their talk they are quite direct. There is little refinement, halus, such as there is in Java. Nevertheless, they are remarkably polite. All goes very nicely. And there never seems to be an embarrassing or false step.

Later in the evening, I sat with a Dutchman. An acquaintance of his was drunk. He said that he was not interested in the United States when I talked about it. He was very rough indeed, and the other Dutchman was ashamed. Maybe it was a matter of the alcohol involved. 000

These folk are amazingly attractive. Maybe they are not so when just amongst themselves, and perhaps their appearance now is because of the presence of a visitor. I would like to know what goes on from day to day, and if they are on their best behavior now. 609 123

I talked Malay with them and this went over quite well. I told them about the United States and about Yale and about the shrinking world. Perhaps they are just polite, but they seemed interested. One thing went over especially well. I said that there was no pangkat [rank, class] in the United States. I gave the case of President Truman. His father was a tani [farmer] and he had no special rank. Nevertheless he worked himself up. But the thing which hit the Kepala kampong the hardest, and that which he told most eloquently to the people, was that every four years a man like Truman must stand up before the country for election. And if he is not

123 chosen to remain in office he then goes back to where he
609 came from. This evidently was quite something to them. I always added that this was neither better nor worse, but just a different way of doing things. I think I put the point across. I said that in the United States we had large houses and big buildings because the weather was so cold. But basically the principles were the same. I said that they used bamboo for struts and supports while we used steel. They used clay to work where we use cement. Then I brought up the point that they knew considerable about the United States as a result of having seen many moving pictures. On the other hand, we know nothing about Makassar.

272 At this point, without any pressing business, the Kepala kampong called for some coconut water. We had quite a time about the word coconut milk in English. Someone was told to strip a few coconuts and the coconut water was quite good, although I could see that it would spoil rapidly. It was served in glasses, though Rahim asked first if I preferred it from the
[833] nut directly. In Bontorio it is said that this coconut water causes impotence, but the men drank it.

563 The assistant showed me some silver filigree work. It
326 struck me as mediocre, but I said that it was fine. Later van
439 der Wetering, Secretary of the Centrum Cultureel Stichting [Cultural Foundation Center] in Makassar, said that it was poor and made for the tourist trade. They use a kind of tamarind acid to clean such silver work. It is actually quite banal. One fellow said that the Chinese brought the silver
435 from Hongkong and gave it to the smiths. Later they bought the finished article back and sold it. The fellow who was the constructor of the building said that there was much trouble nowadays. He needed a truck but could get one only by paying f.80 per day. But he could make only f.75 per day. When I commented: apa boleh buat [what can be done about it?] they laughed.

● 829 We talked about mobility and change from generation to generation. I said that in the United States a son seldom followed the trade of his father. Although this was not too clear they seemed to be surprised. They implied that if the father was a smith, his son would be one also.

609 After a hearty farewell, we went back to the Karaeng. He
156 was there, and there were still many people around. We went in and noted that the atmosphere was entirely different. He is a kind of United States business man in type. He is close mouthed and position-proud. Perhaps he was just embarrassed. However, I missed the give and take that was so

C the city government. Maybe I am too hard, but it lines up
647 with my steady claim: let them have democracy, but let them
563 realize that they must pay for and use expert direction. And
above all, they must work and learn. There are quite a few
152 Dutch teachers around here in government schools, and that,
829 to me, is good. I hope they stay. I do not know where they will get the money to pay them in a land run by economic illiterates. They try all sorts of ideas. I note that they often ask me why the United States does not help. For example, Andi said, "Why was it that the United States or some American firm did not build a factory in Makassar." I told him frankly that the reason was that there was no money to be made in South Celebes and that they would not come unless they could see certain profit. For example, who here could buy cars and other manufactured products? He took it well. Another interesting thing here is the way they are not at all bashful about the price of things. Everything I have they want to know the price of. This is especially true of the old Sulewatang. However, I met doctors at the beach, and they were rather sophisticated. And still they wanted at once to know the price of my camera as everyone else does. The old Sulewatang came into my room today and looked at everything, asking the price of each object. He commented that everything was wonderful. He also asked if I could not get some of the things he was handling for him! Thus, he obviously wanted my pencil, and whatever else I had. He asked if I could not get him just a small raincoat like I had. I have to be careful, but I manage to turn them off.

M To get back to the first kampong trip, and also to my talk
565 with the Sulewatang at his home the evening before; he told
759 me that it was easy for anyone to know what per cent of blood
was in any individual. Thus everything is figured out in per
● 829 cent. He used the word "pro sen"! Thus if someone who is
773 100 per cent marries someone who is 50 per cent, the children are 75 per cent. And if someone who is 50 per cent marries someone who is 25 per cent, then the children are 35 per cent (he noted that you just cut the difference!). Thus the notable class consciousness is perhaps clearer here than anywhere else. To what degree is magic power involved? He agreed that there is practically no pure blood royalty in Bone. He knew well the stories of heaven descent, the names of gods, and so forth. I wonder if his son knows about them too? He said that the sanro [a type of native doctor] are still in. Some are doctors, that is, healers. This is all in line. He said that some of them were half men, and seemed to agree that

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friedericy). This
565 fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to
582 another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded.
●829 But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman.
I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States, something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indonesian man in the United States could marry an American woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed. Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the
567 Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I des-
427 cribed the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?) The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens, and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food. When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that formerly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they were.

000 One thing about education: the business man asked if I could take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told him to write the Institute for International Education in New York.

769 Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of the old belief in present practice, including information concerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the countryside people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a sense, were ancestors.

126 I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in
124 the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the women were very proud. Also the children remained pests.

there is much news exchange carried on in the pasar. Most 203
people, they said, are not much interested in any news except that which applies to local affairs.

Ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world: 829 ●
there is little good geographical knowledge to be had except in 186
the school. This is the big thing here.' They saw my point when I told them about van Baal's argument that children lose pride when they see that Goa is little and unimportant, while their fathers think of it as the navel of the world and can thus feel that they belong to a great place. They seemed a bit puzzled and distressed. As for ideas regarding the population of Indonesia and the world, they said that maybe ten individuals knew the population of Indonesia (though it is being spread by the Ministry of Information in propaganda). As for the population of the world, Saleh said he did not know this, and that no one else in the village did. He said that there was plenty of local patriotism.

Contact relations with other villages and neighborhoods: Of this there is not much yet, but they said that the old enmity against the Buginese is now gone. They could tell me nothing regarding any other enmities. However, they admitted that in higher political circles rivalry probably persists. We talked about the arrest of the Goa and Bone royalty and they are not sore about this; indeed, they merely said that they had no knowledge of these things. They added that they could not understand why the Dutch took the Goa radja because he is a quiet man who sat in the palace all the time reading kitab. They have a feeling for justice, but feel so ignorant and get so little news that they don't even try to comprehend why things like that happen.

Modern dancing: I remarked that there was plenty of 177
modern dancing in the Philippines. They said that it was 535
simply non-existent here, and that seems to be the case. 609
This is a real difference. They said that the people merely like to look at it. They evidently meant the staring at European dancing couples which I have observed. But tolerance stands out all over. There is no criticism of the "wickedness" of alien customs, etc. There is merely an attitude of "that is the way it is."

Flores: The following information was obtained from the 000
Secretary of the Cultureel Centrum here. His name is van der Wetering. This Cultureel Centrum here is a branch of a private organization in Amsterdam which gets a subsidy from the East Indonesian government. Van der Wetering said that the Catholic Mission has Flores, the Protestant

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there
203 are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The
205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

the others did not. They said that relatively few, except 203
school children (they are always mentioned as exceptions) 186
could draw a map of Celebes, Indonesia, and the world. But 829
some of them have seen maps in the schools.

As for the population of Indonesia, the Kepala kampong could tell me nothing, but Andi and the teacher knew something about this. This was also true with most of the others, except for a few school children; that is, they do not know even approximate figures for Indonesia at large. As for the population of the world no one had any ideas. However, Andi knew that China was largest, and India next largest. They were impressed that Indonesia is the seventh largest country in population in the world. Later I found out that the Sulewatang has quite an extensive knowledge of international relations and of the world. And Andi knew the capitols of Ireland, Finland and other countries. As for local patriotism, Andi said there was no real 186
pride in Bone. They are not sombong [arrogant, conceited, 181
presumptuous], but have hormat [honor, respect, distinction]. And adat is everything. I asked about the big speeches of loyalty formerly made by chiefs going to war. I also asked, in this connection, about the jumping and kris waving. Andi said that this was just adat. He keeps on saying that there is nothing here except adat and that the people are backward. He seems disgusted at times. He said they simply do not progress, and seems to doubt that they ever will. As for rela- 578
tions with other villages and neighborhoods or areas, there is 721
exceedingly little. Formerly something along this line could be said about friendly or warlike relationships with Wadjo, Goa, and so forth. Nothing, however, is left of this. As for war, they can not carry on their former practices because the Dutch took their weapons.

Bukaka, September 8, 1949. Second day: The people here 157
know very little even about local historical events. This re- 114
minds me of Abdul Radjab, the Minangkabau, who is gathering local tales in Makale for Balai Pustaka. He was here once and said that he thought that he could get plenty of material in Wadjo, but after long talks with the important people who said it would be all right, he did not succeed in getting even one story. In the Toradja country, he got plenty, and even in Paloppo (but it is a part of Toradja). It is his idea, that the Buginese are helpless and hopeless. He said that a psychologist should study them. They are so bound up with fear and backwardness that there seems to be nothing here. He later took a bus for Tanette but it stopped at Balannipa which is twenty-five kilometers short. The driver said "all out", even though he and the others objected. However, the driver

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
563 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
161 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly
582 had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

829 As for the ideas of the horizon of political life,
208 he said that outwardly there had been no change, and that the horizon is actually non-existent.
521 However, he suspects that much more goes on beneath the surface. He said that every man, even the lowers, knows about the Java troubles. But one never hears a word about this in public. As for outside places, they know a lot about the United States and Russia, that is, they know about the troubles involved. They know the communists have China. And they know that India is free. They know about the Pakistan-Hindustan trouble. They know a little bit about Burma. And they know that MacArthur wants to use Japan against Russia. They know the Philippines are free. They know Germany wants to fight against Russia. All of this is known in varying degrees, but in general much news goes on under cover. Most knowledge, however, centers around the United States, Russia, and China. A poor last is India.

As for colonialism, Andi said this is another jail matter. People just keep their mouths shut. But he knows, and thinks other people know, that the radjas and the Dutch are working together. I made a speech on this and he agreed. I can see that he knows quite a bit, and is probably very Republican in sympathy, which means that he and his fellows must talk quite a bit on the side.

661 As for ideas about Holland and the like, that is also taboo.
829 As for any knowledge of other countries' politics, as above it centers mostly around the United States, Russia, China, and
521 then last India. Some knowledge is shown concerning Germany
203 and Japan, and other Southeast Asian countries. They obtain this knowledge via movies; little information reaches them indirectly from radio sources (i.e., one hears a broadcast and relates the news to others), for example, from the Voice of America or the Republican radio. Some news also travels by rumor and from papers or from people who read papers. Political subjects are seldom or never discussed in public. Such discussions may go in the homes and in secret, but only in intimate circles and even then the people are quite wary. I asked the Controleur about this and he said there were two viewpoints: First, that in 1946 there was a great deal of political trouble here involving extremists, and many were killed. Thus politics seems dangerous and must be suppressed or else it will lead to trouble. The other, to which he and the Assistant Resident incline, is that if they suppress discussion of these matters to a certain degree here there will certainly be an explosion someday. He thinks it would be better if the nobles would get on a more political basis or on the political
665 bandwagon and into political parties. He said that Bone is the
668 only state in South Celebes which has no parties. This seems

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they
585 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
831 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate. One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese this

789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier, and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage between higher women and lower men. To compensate for this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Tomarilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something between the states. There are frequent marriages in the noble class between the states, and thus it is something like the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed [791]
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
]day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 554
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 782
They said that women have two stones, and men only one! 796
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

1:Chabot--188 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

Chapter III

Sex

593 In the chapter concerning kinship, the relationships of the members of the family among each other were treated separately. The relationship of brother to sister occupied a special place in this connection.

Their separation implies that their interests lie in different areas, that is to say, that both their activities as well as the places where they reside are different. These differences also form the pattern for the relationship between men and women in general.

562 The vertical tendency described in the previous chapter demands of the men that they be in a constant relation of opposition to other men. The violent actions and responses that are expected of them go hand in hand with ideas about great sexual potency, which is ascribed to them. The high demands made of men coincide with anxieties about not being able to fulfill these demands. A sense of inadequacy can be observed repeatedly.

[831] [157]

157 562 In the first part of this chapter, modes of conduct, attitudes, and personality norms of the two sexes will be described. After that, a number of inadequacy phenomena will be discussed. Prostitution as an expression of maladjustment on the part of women, and polygamy as an actualization of the vertical tendency by a man with exceptional personal qualities, will be briefly mentioned at the end.

581 In the previous chapter we referred to the central position which marriage occupies in Makassarese society. In the choice of marriage partners, the older people apply standards of selection based upon kinship, status, and personal qualities. They intend to bring about a normal sexual union between man and wife. The description of the marriage

521 /195 cont./ and answers owed them to
581 tarekat influence, and that
593 therefore they are not in general use. Elsewhere, people denied knowledge of their existence. Nevertheless, a report of these questions and answers seems to be in place here.

521 Such a conversation between older woman and bridegroom
585 bears an intimate character; it is regarded as of great importance for the future /196/ life of the bridegroom. The older one must have the confidence of the younger. The bride learns the questions and answers from one of her kinsmen, suitable for this instruction, and if the man and woman concerned are not related to each other, the older people establish contact concerning this matter in order to be sure that enough of a connection exists between the questions and the answers.

This conversation conducted in whispers between older and younger persons is not so intimate that an older man might not interrupt it with the question, "Are you being examined?" And there is general laughter. All the older people know what
[831] the two are discussing there. The instruction given to the young man is not so serious that an obscene remark could not be interjected.

585 Frequently as soon as the evening following the nikka',
833 when the guests have already returned to their houses, the bridegroom is taken by the older aunt to the partitioned-off shed where his bride is. The old women are still awake at this time. Some of them urge him to enter. They call him "my cock." Others try to hold him back from it, but this is mere make-believe. In so doing they are holding on to the idea that they must protect the young girl, as is the case in

[193 cont.]

I 776 and earth, between the gods and man, was a very busy one. By
772 means of high mountains, lianas, and rattan, man was able to
[773] reach the dwelling of the gods. Everything in heaven is beautiful and sparkling, but otherwise life there is like life on earth. It is noteworthy, however, that it is easy to deceive the gods. For example, one can make them believe that a pig or a buffalo is being given as an offering when in reality one is offering something paltry.

I 776 Apart from the demigods there are also mountain, sea, and tree gods or spirits. Mountain gods are chiefly volcano gods.

J G 776 In Minahasa every volcano is inhabited by a god, to whom human sacrifices are made. This was also the case on Java, [782] especially in connection with Brårmå. The Brårmå festivals are still celebrated every year, but without human sacrifices, of course. The disasters often caused by these volcanos led people to believe that the gods were the cause, and sacrifices were made to them in order to gain their favor.

J 776 782 Sacrifices are also made to the sea gods on most of the islands. Persons who look for edible bird nests on the southern coast of Java bring offerings to the sea godess Njai (or Ratoe) Lårå Kidoel, a godess who is mentioned as early as the Javanese chronicles.

M 776 532 [194] In southern Celebes a sea god is revered under the sign of a linga and a yoni (representations of human genitals). The name of this god is Karaeng Lowé, "Great Lord." This cult is [831] perhaps of Hindu origin or of animistic origin influenced by Hinduism. The inhabitants expect everything from Karaeng Lowé, for he is almighty and able to give life and happiness and also to destroy them. There is no question of one god here, but each area has its Karaèng Lowé.

I 776 The Indonesians have many tree gods or spirits, although they are of even lower rank than the demigods mentioned above. If people hinder them or go through their territory, they do only evil. One can protect oneself against their evil by means of amulets, and if one is made sick by such a spirit, he can be

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575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
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585 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
● 831 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

Regarding sex, Thierens said that the extreme repression of it and the lack of open relations of a social sort between boys and girls here causes a high rate of homosexuality among boys. He said that nearly all boys are so. This may also link with the wandu custom, or at least the prostitute part of it. The boys are used to homosexual practice in youth, and like it. Also, perhaps the women, so bound by adat, are cold. Thus the homosexuals may be an attraction. The whole dead business has paralyzed these people even down to the simple sex matter. I remember the homosexual practices in Bontorio. But that was in the court, where there were girls. Maybe even there it was hard to get girls, and there may have been little in the way of social relationships. I remember that Bontorio had to get his slave girls on the sly. That is what Andi said, things must be kept in the dark. M 831 838 181 154

In regard to the Toala and the To Patuntung, I went to Soppeng on Sunday. We took one route down and another one back. It is in a rather mountainous section but Soppeng itself is a large and attractive town. On the way we could see the remoteness of many of the people here, even those on the road. In Soppeng I met Denzo, the Christian leader. He is young and good looking, much like Lethe in type and manners. His family comes from Saleier, but also from Bone. He was born in Saleier. He was baptized in 1937 although coming from a Mohammedan family. His mother is also a Christian and so is at least one sibling. He said that this resulted in some trouble with his father. By 1939, he had 800 Christians. During the Japanese time this number shot up to 2,000 and now he has about 3,000. This is the only place in the Buginese country where there are Christians. He has a church which is a part of the Protestant Church of Indonesia. But it is not a mission proper. He said that he converted from all classes, including at least one high fellow. He said that there are more women than men which did surprise me. I asked him how to approach women. He said that one must first ask the man. If the man is converted, then one can work on the woman, and usually the whole family becomes Christian. But one may not talk to the woman without the man's consent. Denzo said there was some trouble with the radja and with the nobles and with the fanatic Mohammedans. But after a while there was not so much trouble because they found out the Christians did not break up the adat and so they could not be too bad. Again we see the point that adat comes first, the Mohammedan practices being secondary. M 797 562 M [576] M [181]

Then I asked about the To Patuntung. He said there are not so many of them. They are ten kilometers walk south of C 563

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

to tjera lima. The Buginese names are: tjitjing, dua, telu, 565
eppe, lima, eneng, and pitu. They have declining degrees of royal blood. Between the tjera lima and the to detjeng, the uppers of the kampong, the line is vague. The latter can usually drag up a bit of royal blood somewhere. Down to tjera eppe (ampat) they are real nobles.

Then we got onto the subject of the present Radja. Andi said that he should not be telling me what he was, but that since I wanted to know he would be very frank. Formerly a person of only tjitjing rank could not be a radja. In the really old days this ruling was held to in one hundred per cent of the cases. The present Radja, however, is only of tjitjing rank. The exiled one is ninety per cent ana'matola. This latter fellow is evidently the Goa man who was put in by the Dutch almost twenty years ago, and whom they kicked out after the war for some reason. I get the impression that a lot of gossip goes on about this situation and that the present Radja is well advised to stick close to the Dutch.

Then we talked about the big households of the nobles. 592
Andi's father has thirty in his house, and Andi himself has 183
seventeen. He complains about his inability to support all of them on his salary. I asked him why he does not throw them out. He said that this just isn't done and that a man is proud to have a lot of people in his house. They are mainly nephews, nieces, young siblings and siblings-in-law, and old folks. When the young ones marry, they usually set up their own house. He then asked, "Who would cook, keep house, care for the children, etc?" I commented that one Dutch woman with a babu can do all of this, and he wilted, saying that upper women here just are not that way. Here again we see the entanglement of adat and the "right thing to do."

Andi said that the radja has many slaves. This is true 567
of other nobles too. There are two kinds of slaves: (1) Those who freely admit that they are slaves, especially if they are slaves of real uppers, because they are usually proud of their masters. Of these there are not so many. (2) Those who get angry when their low origin is mentioned.

Thierens said that the Christian leader Denzo in Soppeng 797
is being sent away. Despite his success in converting, 831
Thierens continued, Denzo has been disgraced, because it was discovered that he was loose with women and that he has a girl in every kampong. Thus he has spoiled things

797 for himself. Could this be a case of railroading? My
●831 guess is that this kind of behavior would not be noticed if he were not a Christian leader. I must ask Rahim.

162 [for author's comments on these census figures see
621 p. 198, category 116--Analyst]

565

STATISTICS FOR BUKAKA

A. Bukaka, a Buginese Kampong Adjoining Watampone

Total population	1960
Total households	270
Per household	7.26
Males	959
Females	1001
Sex ratio	96.0
Total children	1089 (male 548, female 541)
Minor children	792 (male 408, female 384)
Ratio of children to adult	1.25
Minor children to adult	0.68
Children per household	4.02
Minor children per household	3.34

B. Class of Household Heads

To Detjeng (lower nobles)	46
To Samar (commoners) (included are 14 entered as "unknown," but Andi says they are very probably all commoners)	194
Slave	1
Chinese	10
Arab	14
Javanese	5
Total	270

162 C. Polygyny of Household Heads
565

Number of wives	Class	Trade
3 (2)	1 Arab	1 merchant
	1 noble	1 tailor
2 (8)	2 noble	2 smith
	2 Arab	1 merchant
	4 commoner	1 trader
		1 goldsmith
		1 chauffeur
		1 government employee (messenger)
		1 toothmaker
Totals 10	10	10

838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië, Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 548 Kawe kawe can be encountered in Macassar and in the large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes who make themselves available in exchange for money for the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as male prostitutes.

535 857 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for [534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana) and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time [533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary between young men and women. In this dance they are to a certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded [838] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a [832] kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 535 838 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a

833 /174 cont./ Such a person is kept isolated from attempts
789 which are applied to make the marriage a success nonetheless.
683 In view of the fact, however, that one can never be sure that a certain individual has not uttered a spell against the prospering of the marriage partners, one never hears of stronger reactions, such as the meting out of punishment.

Even though it is accepted of a man or woman that he
833 (she) does not want to have any sexual intercourse with his
● 832 (her) spouse, one does not simply rest satisfied with this situation. After the actual wedding feast is /175/ over, one searches for ritual in order even yet to bring about the desired result.

In addition to many well-known and easily observable traits, the ritual generally has details which differ with every individual who performs it. These details need not be apparent. What makes the ritual a success in a certain case may be present precisely in the nonobservable details. It is never possible to know beforehand which detail it is that will bring success.

Different people accordingly test their powers in a case where the marriage partners are not good together. The ex-Imam of Borongloë was successful a number of times, after others had failed, when a few years after the marriage was concluded, he repeated the Moslem rite. This is called "marrying anew" (nikka' poleang). This ritual was unknown in a number of regions in South Celebes. Personal initiative in clearly observable ritual matters is to be found here.

585 The wedding festival consists of a multiple ritual of which the subordinate elements are performed over a period of time from 3 to 14 days and in a more or less fixed sequence.

Several actions that are forbidden in everyday life are here performed for the first time, surrounded as they are by ritual. As such we should mention the first touch of the woman by the man, the first meal together, being bathed together, and wearing a single sarong together. The older

/179 cont./

585 783 Steaming

Steaming (barumbung) is a ritual which prepares bride and groom for their future union. At that time they are still each in his own house. Under the house a pot with water is placed on [801] the fire, and seven different kinds of leaves are placed in it. The steam is conducted upward through a hollow bamboo pipe toward a hole in the floor in the hindmost part of the house. The bride (or the bridegroom) is seated above this hole, completely wrapped in a sarong. The bride's mother scatters puffed rice over her and moves the incense vessel around her, three times one way and once the other. While doing so, she mumbles a spell. When the bride has sat in this way for some time and has perspired profusely, she is bathed. This is repeated for three days on end. It is believed that in this way even the evil that is deep within her will come out with the sweat so that only the good will remain. It is hoped that thus she will be able to face the coming period of uncertainty in the best possible condition.

Plucking the Eyebrows

302 585 The plucking of eyebrows (bubu') is likewise done before the couple is brought together. On this occasion the bride's mother removes the hairs which would make the eyebrow "not good." It is believed that a person's character is revealed in 826 his glance, and also by the features around his eye. In view of 828 the fact that even an exchange of words between young men [834] and women is prohibited, the casting of glances is practically the only thing that can be done with impunity. The slight arching of an eyebrow and lowering of the eyelids have their significance. To be greedy of eye (balala matana) is regarded 585 as an inferior quality of a young man. In this ritual the im- 826 portance of the eye and the play of the eyes accordingly finds ● 832

585 /179 cont./ expression. At the moment, so important for the
826 individual, when he meets his marriage partner, "the eye and
832 its environment" must be as good as possible, as one informant expressed it. /180/

585 Awaiting the Karuntigi Leaves

Awaiting the karuntigi leaves (amatamata karuntigi) (1) is,

1. B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 246.

in the first place, regarded as an important social event. On this occasion the bride (and likewise the bridegroom, each in his own house) sits on the wedding bed. It is the eve of the Moslem wedding. Many guests are present. Next to the bride a sister or cousin, as well as the bride's mother and a number of other older women are seated. All of them are in festive dress. They help the bride, fan her with cool air, move a hand, place a leg differently, or change the position of her head, so that she will not get any cramps in these parts of her body. For a bride must remain seated passively, completely immobile, and
[534 with downcast eyes. The incense vessels burns, the drums are
533] beaten, and rojong songs are hummed. Before her stand a number of little bowls. One of these contains the finely cut leaves of the karuntigi (2), a second contains oil, a third powder,

[824] 2. The leaves, it is always stated, are of a reddish color.
[822] Red is the color of fire and life. Personally, I have never been able to observe anything but an ordinary green color. The leaves are chewed beforehand.

and a fourth water.

582 /199 cont./ cohabitation, frequently with permanent physical
593 or psychic injuries for the rest of her remaining life. By child marriage, therefore, we understand here a marriage in which at least one of the two partners is not sexually mature. But then the conception of the matter given above is incorrect in two respects as regards South Celebes. In the first place, the bridegroom as well as the bride is not yet sexually mature in two of the four cases at my disposal. After the sealing of the marriage, the children did not live in the same house. They are supervised by the older people, and not until the girl has menstruated and the boy has begun to "crow" -- and this is sometimes the case only after several years, -- does ordinary cohabitation take place.

In the second place, even if the man is sexually mature and the girl is not, it is not necessary to be too fearful of the evil consequences of a child marriage. A man, after all,
[832] is /200/ taught that he must be tender and loving to his young wife, and that he must try to win her for himself gradually. Rough conduct in this respect on his part is disapproved even in an ordinary marriage.

582 It is clear that in child marriage in South Celebes the possibility of ill-treatment of the overly young girl is not excluded, nonetheless the possibilities for this are very limited. Child marriage has not been institutionalized here. It is contracted in cases where the older people have a stake in keeping the influence of the young individuals upon the choice of their marriage partners to a minimum.

However, in so doing, they still do not have the certainty that this marriage will also become "good." A girl
[833 who was not yet sexually mature at the contracting of her
593] marriage to an adult man resisted him for a number of years after menstruation had already set in. This was accepted by the husband as well as by her kinsmen. This is a case of a married couple where one partner desires no sexual union, and thereby causes the marriage to fail. In a section concerning

[11 cont.]

3. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 179.

I
276 is chewed at all times and often during the night when one is awake. The use of a betel quid after eating is the rule. We must mention here a disagreeable feature of betel-chewing. The various ingredients [12] of the quid give the saliva a foul, brown-red color that is imparted to the gums and lips. The latter are therefore stained a blackish red by the continuous spitting. The native, however, finds this beautiful. A Javanese poet once compared the thus decorated mouth of his
M beloved with the cleft in a pomegranate that had burst from
J ripeness (1). "Lovely," said the Makassarese singer of his
[276
832]

1. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 569.

beloved, "lovely is the opening of the mouth of my daeng" (2).

2. Matthes, Mak. Chrestomatie, p. 652.

We want to note how the natives attach superstitious value to the red saliva from betel-chewing for countering sickness. Spitting saliva from betel-chewing on a sick person is commonly done. In general betel plays an important role in the
S domestic life of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago. Offer-
I ing and accepting betel is a friendly gesture. Every guest who
574 comes is therefore offered betel. On Sumatra and in other areas
276 of the archipelago, whenever a Government official visits a village, the women customarily hand him the betel bag or the areca box with some ready-made betel quidsin it, which he is obligated to accept. Naturally, he does not have to use them; he can unobtrusively put them aside later.

Offering betel is not only a welcoming gesture to guests, a token of peace and friendship, but also precedes any

MK [566 cont.]
756 coitus, that they are impotent, which is the reason that in
832 Makassar they are called kweëen, from the Makassarese kawe = impotent. On account of this characteristic, they have free access to the court at all times, even to the rooms of the young princesses. Dr. Matthes does not believe that the female bissu are prostitutes like the Dajak balian, because they are seldom or never pretty enough to make young gentlemen lose their heads over them.

As we have noted, they are principally consulted as doctors or doctresses, sanro.

MK Otherwise, they appear chiefly when festivals are held, for
796 example, in honor of a birth, at funerals, teeth filing, weddings,
756 etc. They then perform all kinds of religious ceremonies, which consist primarily of dancing and singing. They also drive off the evil spirits, for which they use specific musical instruments.

B [567] There are also shamans among the Batak, usually
791 women. They bear the name sibaso. Baso is the Malayan
797 bahasa = word, term; sibaso can therefore be translated as "the word," because the utterance of anyone who is possessed by a spirit is regarded as the word. The spirits who possess the sibaso are in general begu. The descent of these begu is called sijar. They are consulted about all kinds of things, but mainly about illnesses.

M1 Shamanism also occurs among the Malays. This comes
787 out most clearly in the conjuring of the trubuk as this is done
226 in Brouwer Strait on Sumatra's east coast. When it is time for the catch and the schools of trubuk do not appear, this is attributed to a supernatural reason and an attempt is made to learn the cause of their staying away as well as the means to make the fish come.

M1 At the head of the fish stands a woman, Djindjang radja,
791 who serves as medium during the conjuring. She is possessed
787 by a spirit and in this condition delivers the necessary oracles.
786

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese 535
in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and 181
there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead- 152
pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the sim- 832
ple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the 292
local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face toward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and 124
finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Moham-
medan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living 163
children per woman was three, but that the average number of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average number who die to each woman is two. They say there has been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not much if any difference according to class. This I do notice, that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is 861
the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. 828
I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex] (and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. 562
They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, 584
women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women 883
never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) 181
If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or some-
one else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional pair coming from school together, but this is carried out for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
505 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

Accordingly, a man prefers not

593 /26 cont./ to go alone with his grown-up daughter to a kampong
574 where they are unknown, for instance, so that there they will not be regarded as a married couple and addressed as such.

593 The reason for this latter form of incest (salimara') occurring with
835 more or less regularity and that of mother and son so rarely was explained by an informant who said that in general the lower generation must obey the higher one, a son his mother and a daughter her father. So it seems generally assumed that
[833] initiative to a sexual relationship (in this case evil) originates with the man.

A sexual relationship between a man and his sister practically does not occur. I do not recall having encountered a single instance of this in the registers of the native courts. /27/

538 The brother-sister relationship is one of the leitmotivs in the La Galigo epic. The relationship of Sawerigading to his twin sister Tenriabeng is one of great intimacy (1). In the

[113]

1. R. A. Kern, Catalogus van de Boegineesche tot den I Galigo cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek, alsmede van die in andere Europeesche biblioteken /Catalog of the Buginese Manuscripts belonging to the I Galigo Cycle in the University of Leiden Library, as well as of Those in Other European Libraries, Leiden, 1939/, Leiden, 1939.

heroic poem Datu Museng, the hero's wife I Maipa is likewise described as his twin sister. They were separated shortly after birth and did not meet again, ignorant of each other's past, until they were grown up. Datu Museng became enamored of her, and they married. So the poem is recited (2) by several

2. In the Makassaarsche Chrestomathie one finds another version. There it is

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;
[589] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should
[581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will be-
581 come apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For
833 a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of
[155] being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those
[156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

833 /173 cont./ The characteristics of being not good, if the not wanting emanates from the woman, are the same as when the man is the one who /174/ refuses sexual intercourse. The two women whom I was able to observe, however, lead me to suggest that the reason for their refusal is the idea that they regard themselves as too good for their husbands.

The Makassarese attitude with respect to these phenomena is different.

585 An informant named the "tete" as, in his opinion, one of the most important aspects of the wedding feast. Tete literally means "bridge." The bringing together of man and wife is regarded as a period of temporary uncertainty, and it is hoped that from this a state of lasting security will arise. Ritual is performed because it is believed that it promotes the coveted cessation of insecurity. There is always a positive [824] and a negative aspect present. This finds expression, among other things, in the names of leaves and wood types used in the ritual. Some of these have the meaning of "becoming larger," "increasing," while others mean "fending off" and "holding back."

833 We have already mentioned that the environment accepts a kawe kawe as he is. One does not have the idea that it is his fault that he is the way he is. Similarly, it is accepted of a man or woman that he (she) does not want to be "good" with his (her) marriage partner.

833 It is believed possible that the one who refuses sexual contact has been affected by a spell /sprenk/. But people can 789 never say with certainty who it was that spoke it at best; it is only possible to suspect people of it. One proceeds from an interest that this person is believed to have in seeing the marriage fail, and one combines this with conduct observed in him or her of which it is stated that it deviates from the customary and therefore might have a special (in this case, bad) significance.

833 /174 cont./ Such a person is kept isolated from attempts
789 which are applied to make the marriage a success nonetheless.
683 In view of the fact, however, that one can never be sure that a certain individual has not uttered a spell against the prospering of the marriage partners, one never hears of stronger reactions, such as the meting out of punishment.

Even though it is accepted of a man or woman that he
833 (she) does not want to have any sexual intercourse with his
832 (her) spouse, one does not simply rest satisfied with this situation. After the actual wedding feast is /175/ over, one searches for ritual in order even yet to bring about the desired result.

In addition to many well-known and easily observable traits, the ritual generally has details which differ with every individual who performs it. These details need not be apparent. What makes the ritual a success in a certain case may be present precisely in the nonobservable details. It is never possible to know beforehand which detail it is that will bring success.

Different people accordingly test their powers in a case where the marriage partners are not good together. The ex-Imam of Borongloë was successful a number of times, after others had failed, when a few years after the marriage was concluded, he repeated the Moslem rite. This is called "marrying anew" (nikka' poleang). This ritual was unknown in a number of regions in South Celebes. Personal initiative in clearly observable ritual matters is to be found here.

585 The wedding festival consists of a multiple ritual of which the subordinate elements are performed over a period of time from 3 to 14 days and in a more or less fixed sequence.

Several actions that are forbidden in everyday life are here performed for the first time, surrounded as they are by ritual. As such we should mention the first touch of the woman by the man, the first meal together, being bathed together, and wearing a single sarong together. The older

585 /194 cont./ festival is the being "good" of man and wife (pabadjikang). There are no further guests present on the occasion. Only the mutual housemates of man and wife are invited. Together the young man and wife are seated on the bridal bed (2). The wife has betel and areca nuts in her hand.

[482 554]

2. The woman was carried to the bed by her oldest brother. A second brother carried her back again at the conclusion of the ceremony. These brothers evidently regarded this as an honor.

He must ask her for them; she must surrender them to him. In public, therefore, she complies with a request made by him. If she begins by refusing, she must be "bribed" by him. He promises her a present. Sometimes he is urged to take the betel and areca nuts away from her forcibly. The element of competition becomes clearly apparent here. Just as in the case of the eating ceremonial, comments are made by those present. Here the man must win in the end. He must obtain the betel and areca nuts since this indicates that man and wife are "good" (badji') with each other, and that is ultimately the purpose of the entire wedding festival.

The pabadjikang was not celebrated in former times, [178] according to one of the informants, unless sexual intercourse had already taken place /195/. At present it is celebrated, at least in Goa, even if no sexual contact has taken place, as for instance in the case of a child marriage.

585 Several men who had been married for years stated proudly ● 833 that they had immediately been "good" with their wife. By this they meant that shortly after, possibly the very evening of the nikka', coitus had taken place. Here physical prowess

585 /195 cont./ is not the issue, but rather the tactfulness in
833 getting the wife to perform the sexual act. They had thus satisfied the wishes of those around them. Their masculine pride
[156] was flattered because they had shown that they were good conquerors of women. This characteristic is particularly prized in Makassarese. A woman always shows herself averse to a man, even to her husband. It is the latter's art to win her for himself through a pleasant outward appearance, a well-chosen word, a strategic touch, and very little physical force. That is how the ladies' man Sawerigading (1) does it.

1. See R. A. Kern, I La Galigo, p. 333.

The art of conquering women that Sawerigading possessed to the highest degree is at most held up as an ideal to the young Makassarese. Even before the wedding ceremony takes
581 place according to Moslem rite, one of the older women con-
593 ducts a number of conversations with the bridegroom. She talks,
521 and the young man listens. She tells him that it will be difficult for him to make his wife happy, but that his happiness in his future life will be dependent upon this. She also tells him that he must not be rough with her. She asks him whether he knows what he must say to his wife later on and whether he knows what to answer when she asks him something. She tells him what questions he can expect and what his answers should be to them. They do not like to talk about this. I could only obtain a single example of this. "Where do you place me?" (Keremaë nupatinro) was given as an example of such a question, and the answer was supposed to be: "I place you above me" (Irateangkuko) (2).

2. It is possible that the only informant who drew my attention to these questions

521 /195 cont./ and answers owed them to
581 tarekat influence, and that
593 therefore they are not in general use. Elsewhere, people denied knowledge of their existence. Nevertheless, a report of these questions and answers seems to be in place here.

521 Such a conversation between older woman and bridegroom
585 bears an intimate character; it is regarded as of great importance for the future /196/ life of the bridegroom. The older one must have the confidence of the younger. The bride learns the questions and answers from one of her kinsmen, suitable for this instruction, and if the man and woman concerned are not related to each other, the older people establish contact concerning this matter in order to be sure that enough of a connection exists between the questions and the answers.

This conversation conducted in whispers between older and younger persons is not so intimate that an older man might not interrupt it with the question, "Are you being examined?" And there is general laughter. All the older people know what
[831] the two are discussing there. The instruction given to the young man is not so serious that an obscene remark could not be interjected.

585 Frequently as soon as the evening following the nikka',
● 833 when the guests have already returned to their houses, the bridegroom is taken by the older aunt to the partitioned-off shed where his bride is. The old women are still awake at this time. Some of them urge him to enter. They call him "my cock." Others try to hold him back from it, but this is mere make-believe. In so doing they are holding on to the idea that they must protect the young girl, as is the case in

585 /196 cont./ ordinary life. In reality, however, they all
●833 hope that bridegroom and bride will be "good" with each other as soon as possible, that is to say, that coitus will take place. The old women listen at the walls.

If the young man expressly refuses to enter and join his wife, the older people rest satisfied, at least for the time being.
[626] But they show their disapproval and renew, possibly even the following evening, their attempts to make him go in. The same situation obtains if the bride resists once the bridegroom has been led in to her. If she knocks violently on the door, she is let out.

585 The older people talk to the marriage partner who seems
833 to refuse sexual contact with the other. They point out that in
626 previous marriages young married couples again and again submitted to what is now demanded of him (her). The bride is told in such a case that all women have at one time undergone this experience, that her mother was also married in this way. The end of the conversation frequently consists of the questions so difficult for younger people to answer: "Surely you don't want to make your aunt (that is, the speaker) ashamed?" (namely, by sticking to the refusal /197/ and thus causing to fail the marriage that she is trying to bring about). To
[888 contradict an older and sometimes at the same time a higher
576] person is discourteous. The individual who does not wish to capitulate in such a situation can do nothing but remain silent.

Because of the strictly maintained separation of the sexes,
834 young unmarried men and women live in separate worlds.
585 When they are brought together, it is to be expected that it
521 will be difficult for them to talk to each other. Whatever they have learned and applied up to that point is no longer of any use. The prepared questions and answers thus serve, one could say, to facilitate the very first contact. Formally, they are an element of the ritual to bring man and wife together and to get them used to the fact that now other forms of social intercourse obtain between them than before. In

582 /199 cont./ cohabitation, frequently with permanent physical
593 or psychic injuries for the rest of her remaining life. By child marriage, therefore, we understand here a marriage in which at least one of the two partners is not sexually mature. But then the conception of the matter given above is incorrect in two respects as regards South Celebes. In the first place, the bridegroom as well as the bride is not yet sexually mature in two of the four cases at my disposal. After the sealing of the marriage, the children did not live in the same house. They are supervised by the older people, and not until the girl has menstruated and the boy has begun to "crow" -- and this is sometimes the case only after several years, -- does ordinary cohabitation take place.

In the second place, even if the man is sexually mature and the girl is not, it is not necessary to be too fearful of the evil consequences of a child marriage. A man, after all,
[832] is /200/ taught that he must be tender and loving to his young wife, and that he must try to win her for himself gradually. Rough conduct in this respect on his part is disapproved even in an ordinary marriage.

582 It is clear that in child marriage in South Celebes the possibility of ill-treatment of the overly young girl is not excluded, nonetheless the possibilities for this are very limited. Child marriage has not been institutionalized here. It is contracted in cases where the older people have a stake in keeping the influence of the young individuals upon the choice of their marriage partners to a minimum.

However, in so doing, they still do not have the certainty that this marriage will also become "good." A girl
[833 who was not yet sexually mature at the contracting of her
593] marriage to an adult man resisted him for a number of years after menstruation had already set in. This was accepted by the husband as well as by her kinsmen. This is a case of a married couple where one partner desires no sexual union, and thereby causes the marriage to fail. In a section concerning

582 /200 cont./ child marriage this means merely that a child marriage does not necessarily have any particularly bad consequences.

Refusal of Sexual Union in Marriage

586 We have only spoken above of a marriage where the prescribed Moslem rite has taken place. In the same way, we shall now mean by divorce the separation of the marriage partners according to the rules of Moslem dogma. However, only a certain aspect of the Makassarese ideas concerning these subjects is reproduced by this.

585 At the wedding feast, the elders concentrate their efforts upon the bringing about of sexual union between man and wife. Not until this has taken place, is it really believed to have been brought about.

After some time it appears that in a number of these 593 marriages the partners nonetheless are not "good," that is to 833 say, that they do not have sexual intercourse. In the present-day stage of observation, however, this comes to light only if they do not live together for extended periods, and avoid each other. This state of affairs may last until the death of one of them. Only in a few cases, generally if one of the two [586] wants to remarry, does divorce according /201/ to Moslem law take place. This is not much more than a formality which legalizes an already existing situation. The "being good" of man and wife constitutes the center of Makassarese married life. The difficulties seem to lie there.

833 Only after the normal festivities have been concluded can it become apparent whether the goal has been reached or not. The pabadjikang ritual in itself provides no guarantee that sexual intercourse of man and wife has actually occurred. It is possible that the young man or woman goes through the entire wedding festival in the customary fashion, that is, more or less tacitly, but continues to refuse the sex act and

833 /201 cont./ thus causes the entire purpose of the marriage to run awry. In such cases it is said of the man that he refuses sexual contact with his wife (tena naero' ri bainenna; literally, "he does not want his wife"); such a refusal may just as well emanate from the wife.

Sometimes it is clear that someone does not desire con-
[584] tact with his spouse because he himself has made another choice and now still wants to force his kinsmen to permit him to marry her (1). In other cases a bride or bridegroom declares

[586]

1. In a case which took place in Macassar in which a young man refused sexual intercourse with his wife because he had his mind set upon another girl, the marriage was dissolved after more than three years. At that time his father consented to his disposing of his wife. Shortly
[587] thereafter he had to marry a second wife, just as little by his own choice as the first one. He led a normal married life with this second wife. She presented him with two children and died a few years afterwards. Only then did he marry the woman whom he had chosen eight years earlier.

that the appearance of the marriage partner does not please him (or her). But in still other cases, not a single reason can be detected.

Sometimes it is believed in such cases that the individual who refuses has been affected by a spell emanating from

833 /201 cont./ someone who does not want him to contract this marriage. Sometimes it is also believed that the ritual was not performed in the correct manner. Even where a man specifies his own choice and where the appearance of the other one /the spouse/ does not please him, it is believed possible to sway by means of spells and ritual the one who refuses sexual intercourse, so that the negative attitude will be abandoned. These attempts are continued for years after the contracting of the marriage. Favorable results of these attempts will be reported. Thus it appeared that shortly after such a ritual, carried out almost three years after marriage, a sudden reversal in the young woman's attitude became noticeable. Previously she had always withdrawn upon the arrival /202/ of her husband and had ignored him. Then all of a sudden she had thrown a bath sarong in his direction, and after this first sign of rapproachement, the relationship had soon become completely normal.

585 833 In order to join a couple that was not "good" together, the ex-Imam married them again. This is called "marrying again" (nikka' poleang). It is believed that in the original marriage ceremony a mistake was made, that is to say, that a formula was incorrectly recited or a ritual action neglected. As a result of this mistake, it is thought, the marriage had never been able to become completely successful, and a repetition of the marriage contract will be able to avoid this error. This marrying again which is sometimes called a "remedy" (paballe') is of no significance according to Moslem law. It is not recorded in the marriage registers. No further festivities take place upon this occasion. Even the sunrang is not paid again; only the nikka' is repeated (1). I was

1. The one who performed these wedding ceremonies was the ex-Imam of the adat community. Thus he is

585 /202 cont./ thought to be acquainted
833 with the formulas that are correct in the Moslem view. It is possible that this is a local development. Elsewhere in South Celebes I did not hear of such marrying again.

able to record three cases of this. All three took place from one to three years after the first wedding ceremony; and in all of them the couple shortly thereafter was "good" together.

833 It is believed that the individual himself is not responsible for his unwillingness. Therefore, nobody is angry at him.

[602] If the young man is unwilling, his wife's kinsmen are not angry at him. They receive him in a friendly manner when he comes to visit at their house. His wife remains shy and [593] withdrawn toward him, just as every young woman is toward her husband. She is not angry either, nor does she feel insulted by his refusal.

593 The man, too, is not angry. He sometimes brings some-
626 thing for his wife which she can use in the household, as is
833 customary between man and wife and as he would do if they were "good" together. Frequently, he spends the night at a married brother's or sister's house, by preference not in that of his parents, because the latter very clearly show him that he should not sleep in their house but with his wife. A certain amount of pressure is therefore exerted upon him. "People who act like that have a short life," it is said.

In case the wife refuses, there is a similar situation./203/. She is similarly told that women in such circumstances do not live long. "If a woman continues to refuse her husband, her [761] bier will creak" (1). Her husband is not angry at her, nor

593 /203 cont./ 1. That is to say, then
626 she will soon die.' For
● 833 when a corpse is placed
[761] upon the bier made of
bamboo, the bier creaks.

does he feel shame because she refuses him. Her kinsmen feel a little embarassed (siri' siri') because they brought about the marriage and therefore also bear responsibility for her refusal, so they are extremely friendly toward the young man.

586 The belief that the performance of ritual can cause a man or wife to give up his (her) refusal to have sexual inter-
[833] course entails that one waits for a long time before officially dissolving the contracted marriage. This is usually done with the mutual consent of the older people. Only when the latter have given up hope, after at least a year has elapsed, that the marriage could still become "good," is one of the two spouses permitted to marry someone else. Only then is the divorce of the first marriage registered.

In the case of couples who have been living separately for a long period of time, people often do not exactly know whether the Moslem marriage dissolution has already taken place. Little interest is shown in this.

The unwillingness of a young man is thus accepted, even though people are not simply satisfied with this right away. But one does not accept his giving the talak /formal repudiation. -- Ed./. A case of a young man disposing of his wife against the wishes of his older kinsmen was unknown in Borongloë. Informants believed that he would disgrace his kin group by doing so.

593 Even though a couple is "good" together after the wedding
833 festivities are over, this relationship may not be lasting in a number of cases. After a shorter or longer period of time, no more sexual relations take place in such a case. This

593 /203 cont./ phenomenon can likewise be caused by either
833 the wife or the husband. People frequently give some unimportant incident as the reason. One man stated that he no
586 longer wanted to have sexual relations with his wife because
593 she had become angry at him when the lombok /red pepper/
833 that he had brought for her splashed into her eye as she was grinding it. Since then, man and wife no longer lived together. The latter would, however, at times get what she
593 needed for her /204/ daily sustenance from his warong
586 /shop/. Now and then they would speak to each other, and sometimes she would ask him whether he would not come and look at their child. They did not quarrel, and no repudiation took place. When their child, who had stayed with the woman, was about to marry, she let her husband know, but he told her that he was leaving the consent and arrangement of the festivities to her. Neither of them remarried. This situation lasted until the death of the man.

In another case where a married couple had been living separated for years, the reason given was the fact that the wife wanted to continue living with her own kin group and did not want to go with the husband to his. "They live separated" (sisala pamantanganna), it is said in such cases.

A few figures may make the relationships here described a little clearer.

586 On July 1, 1948, the number of persons residing in kampong Bontoramba who were divorced according to Moslem
[162] law and had not remarried was three, two men and one woman. The latter had been married to one of these two men. The wife of the other man lived elsewhere.

In addition, the number of people living in separation
586 but not (yet) divorced according to the law, amounted to
593 six, five women and one man. The latter was married to
[162] one of the five women. The husbands of the other four women lived elsewhere. Two of these four women had been married through silariang and were later deserted by their husbands.

156 /242 cont./ Among the men who possess to a low degree
833 the qualities established as a norm for them, there are to be
838 found the "kawe kawe," the unmarried men, the married men who refuse to have sexual intercourse with their wives, and possibly the koro patients. It is impossible for me to indicate the boundary between a lack of the qualities demanded by the culture and a supposed lack.

156 Among the women who possess the qualities ascribed to
[548] them to a small degree, one finds the prostitutes and also matrons and bride's mothers, and those who perform the ancestral ritual, all of whom owe their standing to their work, which serves to raise the standing of the community. Among these there are also the princesses, who in these countries frequently played a dominant role. Among females in this
[562] position there is none of the docility left, which is expected in women.

/248/ Appendix

114 Figures drawn from registers constitute a welcome addition
127 to the data that could not have been obtained otherwise, or only with great difficulty through verbal information. However, in making use of register material, there is a danger that the degree of its reliability will not be sufficiently realized.

Data based on registers always make a precise impression. The collector is inclined to believe in their reliability himself. But the reliability can only be judged through an acquaintance with the culture in which they are used. A number of "mistakes" in the registers can be immediately understood as a result of ideas present in that culture. They raise the demand for care in the comparison of figures with other regions.

Bali OF7
Javanese OE5
Buru OH8
Halmahera OH12
Makassar OG6

Bl [565 cont.]
791 ceremonies, make their will known to the people and are to be regarded as relics of the ancient Polynesian cult. Their name is walian. In addition, as a designation for shamans on Bali, there is also the word wewalen, which came from wewalian = walian with
J [791] reduplication. The contraction of ia to e is very common in Javanese as well as in the related languages, for example, durian = duren.

Bl 791 756 The difference between walian and wewalen is that the former word has a more general meaning. They are the actual mediums, whereas the wewalen are more the co-workers who perform the functions of doctors and doctresses.

Bl 791 786 Besides the walian and wewalen, there are also the sangyang, who likewise are shamans. They are usually small boys or girls and, like the former, are [566] put in a state of ecstasy by artificial means, such as incense, music, and not infrequently arrack, in order to serve the gods as mediums. The name sangijang literally means "spirit, god," hence, the being that possesses. Only later was this name carried over for the person who is possessed. Another people should be mentioned here, namely, the Bisayans of the Philippines; among them, too, there are priestesses, balian, who apparently are shamans.

Bu H 791 Furthermore, shamanism plays an important role in the religion of the Alfoer of Buru and Halmahera.

MK 756 It is not only among the pagan tribes, however, that shamanism is found. It also occurs among the more highly developed peoples who have already embraced Islam. First, we name the Buginese and Makassarese. Among them there is a class of persons, men as well as women, who profess to be able to be possessed by spirits and are therefore consulted primarily as
MK [838] doctors and doctresses. These shamans are called bissu. The bissu greatly resemble the basir among the Dajak; like the latter, they also dress as women. Dr. Matthes doubts very much, how-
MK ever, that they surrender themselves to pederasty like the basir.
[833] To be sure, the male bissu maintain that they are incapable of

123 chosen to remain in office he then goes back to where he
609 came from. This evidently was quite something to them. I always added that this was neither better nor worse, but just a different way of doing things. I think I put the point across. I said that in the United States we had large houses and big buildings because the weather was so cold. But basically the principles were the same. I said that they used bamboo for struts and supports while we used steel. They used clay to work where we use cement. Then I brought up the point that they knew considerable about the United States as a result of having seen many moving pictures. On the other hand, we know nothing about Makassar.

272 At this point, without any pressing business, the Kepala kampong called for some coconut water. We had quite a time about the word coconut milk in English. Someone was told to strip a few coconuts and the coconut water was quite good, although I could see that it would spoil rapidly. It was served in glasses, though Rahim asked first if I preferred it from the
[833] nut directly. In Bontorio it is said that this coconut water causes impotence, but the men drank it.

563 The assistant showed me some silver filigree work. It
326 struck me as mediocre, but I said that it was fine. Later van
439 der Wetering, Secretary of the Centrum Cultureel Stichting [Cultural Foundation Center] in Makassar, said that it was poor and made for the tourist trade. They use a kind of tamarind acid to clean such silver work. It is actually quite banal. One fellow said that the Chinese brought the silver
435 from Hongkong and gave it to the smiths. Later they bought the finished article back and sold it. The fellow who was the constructor of the building said that there was much trouble nowadays. He needed a truck but could get one only by paying f.80 per day. But he could make only f.75 per day. When I commented: apa boleh buat [what can be done about it?] they laughed.

829 We talked about mobility and change from generation to generation. I said that in the United States a son seldom followed the trade of his father. Although this was not too clear they seemed to be surprised. They implied that if the father was a smith, his son would be one also.

609 After a hearty farewell, we went back to the Karaeng. He
156 was there, and there were still many people around. We went in and noted that the atmosphere was entirely different. He is a kind of United States business man in type. He is close mouthed and position-proud. Perhaps he was just embarrassed. However, I missed the give and take that was so

521 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally.
562 They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the
571 same time about topics which they would also discuss at an
576 ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 The forms of social intercourse between men and women
673 are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized
834 by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

[561 These strict rules do not apply to children and older
858] people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

[689] This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small dagger/, which frequently results in death.

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

Young women and men often evade each other
571 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
626 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
834 of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
177 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
834 new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

177 /147 cont./ store, the Arab and Chinese storekeepers in
834 Macassar know that they cannot turn directly to the young girls to recommend their wares but that, for this purpose, they have to address the escorting man or older woman, while the younger ones talk among each other and thus make their wishes known. One who does not take these feelings into account runs the risk of being passed over at a subsequent visit to the store.

571 The separate domains of the sexes in the house and the
834 division of labor contribute to the fact that the prohibition against contact is carried out to a great extent in daily life. The strict sanction imposed on their violation lends a forced
[626] character to the relations between young men and girls. Contact may only take place in complete secrecy or, by way of exception, if it is expressly or silently permitted. In that case it is still tied to special regulations. There is never any uninhibited association. Some of these occasions will be described here.

527 After harvest, so-called pounding festivals (1) are
571

1. Called Adengka ase lolo, "the pounding of the young paddy."

[374] regularly held. These take place during the evening in the yard before the house by the /148/ glimmer of an oil lamp, preferably when there is a bright moon shining. For this, the pounding block is hung up in rattan strings, and while
[533 the girls pound, two or three of their closest male relatives
534] beat with sticks against the transverse axle of the block in a rapid and powerful rhythm. This sound is audible at great distances; the purpose is to attract young people from far and near to come and look. What they see is four girls

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten.

Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
584 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
602 who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia' tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free companionship, it seems to take very little to make a Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
571 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
834 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
848 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang
583 cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

583 /150 cont./ "Please find what is good for me." And by
584 "good" (badjika) is meant a normal marriage; "bad" (kodia) means marriage by flight. The older woman thereupon tries out the mother. Whether this couple will subsequently marry or not then further depends upon whether or not an agreement concerning marriage has been made with respect to one of the two.

584 When a marriage which she herself has desired comes
834 about, the girl shows aversion to the man, as is expected of her. Externally, nothing distinguishes this marriage from one that has been contracted against her wishes.

583 When older people act against the wishes of the younger,
584 and the young man urges a flight, the girl can consent to
558 this. But if she refuses, he can get his way simply by
626 making her siri'. In most cases the threat of siri' alone seems sufficient.

584 One who is unable to use an older woman as intermediary must find another way of establishing the desired contact with a girl. He may, for instance, seek out the company of her brother. He plays raga with him and goes with him to the movies (this example is derived from one of the kampongs
[574] surrounding Macassar). In return /151/ his friend may ask him to stay and eat or sleep. If he keeps this up long enough, he may get an opportunity to attract the girl's attention, that is to say, to perform a service for the mother or run an errand for her, even though this reaches him through a third person.

His intentions do not remain entirely concealed. If her mother likes him, if no arrangements have been made regarding this daughter, and if the information gained concerning his kin group is not unfavorable, she may very briefly let her daughter be alone with him unnoticed. But she remains watchful. "Don't make me siri'," she says to her daughter.
584 When they are alone together, there is no immediate con-
834 versation, even less is there an immediate physical contact.

584 /151 cont./ But an atmosphere of intimacy is created pre-
834 cisely because it is forbidden and dangerous. The desire to get married seems to be strengthened by it.

584 The examples described are a number of ways in which young people try to bring about a marriage with a marriage partner chosen by themselves by means of forbidden contacts.

Personality Norms

157 Norms for the personality of men are different from
562 those for women.

A man must be combative and courageous, always ready to challenge someone or to answer a challenge. He must be skillful in debate and a good teller of tall tales. In these stories the emphasis must always be placed on the fact that he, his group, or his prince, did something better than another group or a neighboring prince. In these stories he must also have great success with women and be capable of great sexual achievements. One likes to compare a man to a cock, proud and always ready to do battle. A man is sometimes conceived of as rough. He is always wandering.

562 Man is devoted to woman; he praises her in vague,
539 idealizing terms.
157

Nampa' ri udjung Borinu,	When I had come to the farthest point of your land,
riappa pa'rasangannu	to the remotest point of your land,
nanailalang	then my soul was already in you,
sumangakku, makkaraëng	worshipping you.

157 /152/ The woman must be delicate and tender, shy
562 and withdrawn. She is more devoted to herself. She tries, but as passively as possible, to draw his attention to herself.

157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku — My implanted, straight flowers,

539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku — My blooming tjampaga flowers.

Natjiniku ianu — When N. N. sees me

Nadjandjangku mole mole. — He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that
157 a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in
157 men are at the same time those which they need for success in
182 striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.
554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

[177 192]

1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het," /"an 'it' person." -- Ed./.

/179 cont./

585 783 Steaming

Steaming (barumbung) is a ritual which prepares bride and groom for their future union. At that time they are still each in his own house. Under the house a pot with water is placed on [801] the fire, and seven different kinds of leaves are placed in it. The steam is conducted upward through a hollow bamboo pipe toward a hole in the floor in the hindmost part of the house. The bride (or the bridegroom) is seated above this hole, completely wrapped in a sarong. The bride's mother scatters puffed rice over her and moves the incense vessel around her, three times one way and once the other. While doing so, she mumbles a spell. When the bride has sat in this way for some time and has perspired profusely, she is bathed. This is repeated for three days on end. It is believed that in this way even the evil that is deep within her will come out with the sweat so that only the good will remain. It is hoped that thus she will be able to face the coming period of uncertainty in the best possible condition.

Plucking the Eyebrows

302 585 The plucking of eyebrows (bubu') is likewise done before the couple is brought together. On this occasion the bride's mother removes the hairs which would make the eyebrow "not good." It is believed that a person's character is revealed in 826 his glance, and also by the features around his eye. In view of 828 the fact that even an exchange of words between young men [834] and women is prohibited, the casting of glances is practically the only thing that can be done with impunity. The slight arching of an eyebrow and lowering of the eyelids have their significance. To be greedy of eye (balala matana) is regarded 585 as an inferior quality of a young man. In this ritual the im- 826 portance of the eye and the play of the eyes accordingly finds 832

585 /196 cont./ ordinary life. In reality, however, they all
833 hope that bridegroom and bride will be "good" with each other as soon as possible, that is to say, that coitus will take place. The old women listen at the walls.

If the young man expressly refuses to enter and join his wife, the older people rest satisfied, at least for the time being.
[626] But they show their disapproval and renew, possibly even the following evening, their attempts to make him go in. The same situation obtains if the bride resists once the bridegroom has been led in to her. If she knocks violently on the door, she is let out.

585 The older people talk to the marriage partner who seems
833 to refuse sexual contact with the other. They point out that in
626 previous marriages young married couples again and again submitted to what is now demanded of him (her). The bride is told in such a case that all women have at one time undergone this experience, that her mother was also married in this way. The end of the conversation frequently consists of the questions so difficult for younger people to answer: "Surely you don't want to make your aunt (that is, the speaker) ashamed?" (namely, by sticking to the refusal /197/ and thus causing to fail the marriage that she is trying to bring about). To
[888 contradict an older and sometimes at the same time a higher
576] person is discourteous. The individual who does not wish to capitulate in such a situation can do nothing but remain silent.

Because of the strictly maintained separation of the sexes,
834 young unmarried men and women live in separate worlds.
585 When they are brought together, it is to be expected that it
521 will be difficult for them to talk to each other. Whatever they have learned and applied up to that point is no longer of any use. The prepared questions and answers thus serve, one could say, to facilitate the very first contact. Formally, they are an element of the ritual to bring man and wife together and to get them used to the fact that now other forms of social intercourse obtain between them than before. In

834
585 /197 cont./ content, they have the purpose of teaching the
521 parties the attitude which they must adopt toward each other.

834 If one compares the crying, passive Makassarese bride
585 who clearly demonstrates her aversion to her husband, with
186 the happy, beaming Dutch bride who looks up to her bride-
groom with full confidence, it is clear that every opportunity for misunderstandings is present. Then the criticism of an old Makassarese who had attended the wedding reception of a Dutch couple and had seen how man and wife finally were driven off together in a car amidst the cheers of the reception guests becomes comprehensible. In all these expressions on the part of the woman, he merely saw a display of her feelings of desire for her husband, and he found this quite indecent.

The fact of their leaving together signified to him that there was nothing more to prevent this man from giving in to his sexual desires. From the bride's conduct it seemed to him all too clear that the bridegroom would not have to make any effort to gain the bride for himself. The effort, tact, and consideratenesss displayed on this occasion are, to the Makassarese, the essence of the relationship between man and wife. Based on what he observed, this old man could only conclude that what was most important for him, was lacking among the Dutch.

177 Now the difficulties which arose at /198/ the marriage of
585 a young Makassarese man of high nobility to a girl from one of the prominent Makassarese Indo-European families also become understandable. In her house the atmosphere, dress, and so forth was to be European, and in his house it was to be Makassarese. This had been agreed upon beforehand by both families. In her house, therefore, the bridegroom was dressed in a tuxedo, and she was dressed in white with a short train. He was the gay, energetic bridegroom, and she the radiant

684 /221 cont./ affair is herewith ended and that neither man
695 nor woman may be subjected to any more difficulties. In practice, however, the man, at least initially, does not show his face in a kampong where many of the woman's kinsmen reside. For safety's sake he does not do so until, for instance, she is married to another man, and feelings with regard to him have quieted down somewhat.

626 The feelings with respect to the woman who has been
684 taken back home by her own kin group have not yet completely calmed down either. She has committed a mistake which lies more in the area of the salimara' than that of silariang. She is familiar with the danger connected with it and therefore takes care to conduct herself as inconspicuously as possible, so that her male kinsmen will be reminded as little as possible of her existence. In the few cases that such a separation took place, the woman was practically always married off shortly thereafter. In a single case where this did not happen, she
588 fled three years later with another man likewise lower. This time the wali nonetheless had to give his consent for the marriage under pressure from the imam, who pointed out that he had taken poor care of this woman's siri' by not finding a man for her.

684 As a reason for having fled with a man, a girl sometimes states that he forced her to do so and that he threatened to
834 kill her if she did not go with him. The jurist who /222/ would accept "forcible abduction," in all such cases would make a mistake. It could not be expected of a girl to confess, even as a sworn witness before the judge, that she went with her "abductor" of her own volition. This would be a sign that she desired him, and this cannot be expected from any woman who is brought up in the idea that the display of this desire (lale) is greatly reprehensible (1).

1. In such a case one might consider not swearing in the abducted woman, of whom it

684 /222 cont./ cannot be expected that
834 she would speak the truth
on this point.

Nor does a man need to use force if he wants to coerce a woman to flee with him. By making her siri', he leaves her no choice. It would then be too dangerous for her to remain at home. Her brother would be able to do little else than stab her. Occasionally a man may purposely make a woman siri' and thereby force her to flee with him because he wants to marry her while she does not desire him for a husband. But [626] more frequently the reason is that his kinsmen desired this union, and their request for it was turned down. For the young man, a remark such as: "Why are we refused?" is then tantamount to a command to respond to the insult of such a refusal. And he can do this in no better way than by forcing a flight.

177 Under modern circumstances in Macassar, conditions are
834 frequently somewhat different. If girls continue to attend school after they have become marriageable, their contact with young men is quite different from those under the conditions previously described. In such a situation her fear of contact with a young man is less, because now there are subjects about which she can talk to him without danger. At the same time the attitude of the young men changes. They no longer regard themselves as siri' if their sister talks to one of their school friends.

177 It is possible that the number of silariang marriages in this
588 younger generation is larger than in the country because, on the one hand, the opportunity for the young people to carry out their own choice against that of their parents is much greater, and, on the other hand, the danger of being stabbed in these circles is decreasing rather /223/ than increasing. Figures are not available. At the same time there are arguments which explain why the number is not much larger

177 /223 cont./ already. This is connected with the fact that
588 silariang is regarded as bad (kodi) and a festive wedding as good (badji'). A young man who likes a girl may ask her whether she wants to flee, but he will immediately accept her refusal when she says that she does not want to make her mother unhappy, or that she does not want to do "the bad," that is to say, silariang.

177 A modern young woman who associated very freely with
588 young men -- she went alone to run errands in the toko /stores/
● 834 and conversed with her male colleagues in the normal school when she met them on the street -- met with considerable
[626] criticism from her aunts and older sisters. They called her a street broom and assured her repeatedly that she would come to an evil end. She received many requests to flee, and most of these were made not so much through a lust for adventure, but rather as a consequence of the fact that many young Makassarese men from a good house find it pleasant to marry a modern young woman who can get along in company. Silariang was therefore a means for them to carry out their wishes against those of their parents. But this young woman steadfastly refused; "I want to show that I can be modern in a good way" (eroki kupappatjinikang kamoderengangku), she would say, and the young men would be content with that. She indicated that prohibited contact in and by itself did not need to have bad consequences in the form of a marriage by flight.

Erangkale

588 One speaks of "silariang" when a man and woman flee
684 together, and of "erangkale" (literally, "to bring one's self") when the woman runs away from home alone to the man who has made her siri'. Reasons for these two forms of silariang are not different either in principle or in consequences. Frequently, it depends upon an accident whether a woman

684 /224 cont./ here used in the sense of "make little verbal jokes"), but he refused to go with her. At the request of her father she was then returned to her kin group by authority of the judge. "We have enough kinsmen who can marry her," was the explanation for this request, and so it happened. In these two instances, the determined attitude of the man was accepted, while at the same time he was not regarded as tumannjala. The explanation for this may be the character /225/ of the girl, who in both cases was known not to possess the modesty and timidity which girls really should have.

588 626 684 A number of times a woman fled to a stranger in the belief that he made her siri', while in his own mind he had done something quite ordinary. Thus, a Christian Sangirese who was appointed as foreman over a number of Makassarese turned in public to the sister of one of them to ask where her brother was. A few days later she fled to him. After having been instructed by friends, he reacted according to Makassarese expectations. He paid the sunrang and the fine and behaved as beseems a good tumannjala until the reconciliation had taken place according to Makassarese custom. Only the Moslem marriage ceremony did not take place.

689 609 When an Indochinese in such a situation refused to marry, the imam took the girl back to her kin group. The latter regarded neither him nor her as tumannjala. "He does not know our adat," they said, and that was a sufficient explanation for them.

834 684 There are countless reasons which make a woman siri' and lead her to take refuge with a certain man. In each case forbidden contact with this man can be demonstrated. Frequently this contact is accidental. The girl who was addressed by the Sangirese just mentioned was at that moment engaged in drawing water. She did not answer, which was perfectly natural from the Makassarese point of view, but her father had observed the situation and said: "I sent you to the well to

684 /225 cont./ get water and not to talk." In another case a
834 girl was washing at the well when a ball with which a group of young men were playing raga rolled close to her. She gave the ball a little kick, and the young man who came to get it laughed to her. A few days later she fled to him. Another case concerned a girl who, during one of the ceremonies preceding her wedding, broke wind. One of her cousins immediately took the blame for it: "Don't laugh, people, it slipped out of me," he said. A few days later, the nikka' had already taken place; she fled to him. As it turned out later, she did so at the urging of her aunt: "Go off, do what your siri' demands" (lampako, dongkoki siri'nu), the latter is supposed to have said. Subsequently, she married this man.

/226/ In none of these instances was the woman therefore in any direct danger. In all three of them her action
[672] was completely understood, and her kin group was "not very siri'," that is to say, the reconciliation took place within half a year. Rather than remaining siri' and running the risk of being stabbed, these women resorted to flight. Rather than refusing to go with her and not being believed and thus being regarded as one who flees before a woman, the men married. The wife's kinsmen were siri' because she fled and thereby openly admitted that forbidden contact existed. But there certainly was understanding of her action and the feelings that led her to it. In the last of these three cases just described, the deserted bridegroom was also without feelings of rancor toward the second husband. He regarded the course of events as part of his lot. When etiquette had been satisfied
[152] through reconciliation, there was no apparent trace of personal feelings of anger in him.

554/241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely de-
612 limited group and that the standing of relatives among each
684 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
689 found -- with one single exception: the karaëng and the
[562] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

• 834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.

159 are plenty of people in his house including the two very pretty young girls who do the fine weaving. Saleh said that they both had learned gold work too, and that during a rush they are able to help him and his cousin helper. When there is not so much rush, they weave. The old man said he was also a carpenter in the old days, and pointed out the houses he had built in the leprosarium. He said he was born in Laikang, where there is much salt making from sea water.

774 Saleh uses the word dewata for spirit in the animistic sense, and also understands the term sumangat.

000 Most of the day was spent in looking around. Tomorrow I will go through my notes for questions and further discussion.

871 Balombaru, September 2, 1949: This third day I thought
157 I would go through my notes, but I got sidetracked onto
Saleh's answers to the schedule. This is all right, al-
326 though the going is very slow. One thing is very dramatic.
159 Saleh told me about his personal tragedy as far as education is concerned. He said that he wanted to go to normal school, but that the fee was f.65. Neither he nor his father could afford this. They tried to sell portions of their rice fields, but times were bad then and there were no buyers. Saleh said that he then went to the teacher (I gather it was the superintendent) of the normal school and asked why he must pay f.65. The answer was that that was the price of board and room. At this Saleh offered to bring a mat and sleep on the floor and to get his own food. However, the superintendent said no. As Saleh told me the story, much affect could be noted. And he added that plenty of other boys have had the same trouble. He is truly an ambitious man and would have justified any help given him. He said that he had trained lots of young goldsmiths and that they were now scattered all over. He said that he had trained so many that often one found villages around here where there were formerly no goldsmiths at all and which now consisted of a good number of goldsmiths.

[535] One thing before the schedule: I talked about the dancing
584 girls. They told me that the Makassarese are very strict
regarding all girls. One might not approach a girl directly
●834 but only through relatives and always in a respectable fashion. In regard to the go-between in marriage, they said that many of the girls in school today are scorning the old practice. However, an old man, cackling, said that the padjoge in the Buginese country were different. He said

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and 584
if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment 834
you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him.

Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions 125
as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans.

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such 565
class designations as bangsa hamba[slaves] and others as 558
turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were 567
plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's.

Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell 855
plenty in order to send him to school.

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went 567
to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general 558
exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are 166
of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may 152
be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe.) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 000

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times
they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thousands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal, and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

593 /25 cont./ in practice. Younger women are dependent upon the older ones. The element of opposition is not to be found among them; on the contrary, what is prized is their mutual helpfulness and cooperation.

A sexual relationship between a woman and her son 593 practically does not occur. No examples of this were found in 835 the registers of the native courts. Only one of the informants could recall such a case, which was supposed to have taken [538] place before 1905. Stories in which this relationship plays a part are unknown to me.

/26/ A sexual relationship between a man and his daughter occurs with more or less regularity. In the registers of the native courts of all South Celebes, one encounters an estimated four or more such cases annually. This implies that such an occurrence is a rarity in a particular adat community which is still remembered after decades. Stories concerning a father-538 daughter relationship are found in the Islamic sphere. They generally run about as follows. A well-known religious scholar who has come from Sumatra marries a Makassarese woman. While their child, a girl, is still very small, he moves on, and only 20 years later does he return to Macassar. There he marries a young woman, and after a time he notices by a certain sign on her head or by a certain ornament which he gave to his wife 20 years before that it is his own daughter whom he has married. Together they search for someone who will tell them what they should now do. It is God who tells them that they have committed the greatest sin possible, but that this can be forgiven them because they knew not what they did.

593 In the forms of social intercourse and conduct in daily life, a fear of violating the existing prohibition is here reflected that is not observable in the mother-son relationship. If a man comes home and his grown-up daughter is alone in the house, her little brother or niece is called in as a matter of course. Then both feel more at ease. The risk remains that otherwise people would talk about them. Accordingly, a man prefers not

Accordingly, a man prefers not

593 /26 cont./ to go alone with his grown-up daughter to a kampong
574 where they are unknown, for instance, so that there they will not be regarded as a married couple and addressed as such.

593 The reason for this latter form of incest (salimara') occurring with
835 more or less regularity and that of mother and son so rarely was explained by an informant who said that in general the lower generation must obey the higher one, a son his mother and a daughter her father. So it seems generally assumed that
[833] initiative to a sexual relationship (in this case evil) originates with the man.

A sexual relationship between a man and his sister practically does not occur. I do not recall having encountered a single instance of this in the registers of the native courts. /27/

538 The brother-sister relationship is one of the leitmotivs in the La Galigo epic. The relationship of Sawerigading to his twin sister Tenriabeng is one of great intimacy (1). In the

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1. R. A. Kern, Catalogus van de Boegineesche tot den I Galigo cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek, alsmede van die in andere Europeesche biblioteken /Catalog of the Buginese Manuscripts belonging to the I Galigo Cycle in the University of Leiden Library, as well as of Those in Other European Libraries, Leiden, 1939/, Leiden, 1939.

heroic poem Datu Museng, the hero's wife I Maipa is likewise described as his twin sister. They were separated shortly after birth and did not meet again, ignorant of each other's past, until they were grown up. Datu Museng became enamored of her, and they married. So the poem is recited (2) by several

2. In the Makassaarsche Chrestomathie one finds another version. There it is

591 /33 cont./ A matrilocal marriage is not a mandatory prescription. The houses of the parental couples are close to each other; kinship to father and mother are equally valued. On the basis of these facts, the observed tendency to matrilocal marriage remains unexplained. In my opinion, the reason is to be found in the relationships obtaining among the members of the family, and especially in the formal, stiff relationship between father and son, which makes it difficult for the latter to conduct himself in an unforced manner in the company of the former (1).

[182 593]

1. See pp. 31, 32.

The beginning of a marriage is frequently difficult (2).

2. See Chapter III, second part.

The parents who /34/ have brought it about and feel responsible for the smooth course of events do everything in their power to make it seem attractive for the young man to move in with his wife. That is not the case if he lives in his father's house. To this is added the fact that the young wife feels most comfortable in her familiar environment, with her mother and little sisters. If she should live elsewhere, it is much more difficult for her to go back to her mother, however small the distance between the houses may be.

The strict separation between the sexes, which results in the young women being strongly tied to house and grounds, thus furthers the occurrence of matrilocal marriages as does the stiff relationship between father and son.

182 562 591 593

Sexual Relationships between Members of a Household

435 Sexual relationships between members of a household who do not belong to the same /nuclear/ family occur more

835 /34 cont./ frequently than those between members of the same family. Such relationships are sometimes also regarded as incest (salimara'). Irrespective of kinship relationship /sic/ these /sexual/ relationships are always considered especially reprehensible.

[583 588] In a case where a man fled with his wife's niece (kamanakang), this was the reason that the reconciliation, otherwise customary after a flight, could not be brought about (1).

1. Compare Chapter III, third part. See pp. ff.

582 835 A marriage between children of the first marriage of a widower and a widow who later married so that their children came to belong to one household was forbidden in rural areas. In Macassar such a marriage was contracted. The person performing the marriage ceremony took the point of view that no objections were to be found against such a marriage under Moslem law.

835 Relations of a man with his brother's daughter or sister's daughter, or with his father's sister or mother's sister, is regarded as salimara'. The native courts punish these cases [684] with banishment for the same number of years as was cited above with respect to relations between a father and daughter. The first mentioned, that between a man with a woman of a lower generation, occurs much more frequently than the last named, that with a woman of a higher generation. The reason for this difference in frequency is said to be /35/ that a young girl has greater difficulty in resisting her uncle than a woman with regard to her nephew. From this it may again be concluded that the common opinion is that the evil initiative toward sexual contact proceeds from the man. [538] Myths or other stories concerning such relationships are unknown to me. According to rumors, such relationships did

835 /35 cont./ occur at the courts of princes without being further discussed in public, even though they led to pregnancy.

In the same manner the court of justice handled a case
684 of a man's relations with his stepdaughter, and that of a man
835 with his stepgranddaughter. The court of justice declared
593 that although no blood relationship existed between the accused,
608 these two young women were nevertheless regarded as daughter and granddaughter respectively, because they had lived with their stepfather and stepgrandfather from childhood on and had been reared by them. Here there exists a certain doubt, therefore, whether the case can be regarded as salimara'.[1]
608 Cases of sexual relation between a woman and her stepson
835 were not registered. This does not mean that these do not occur. At the most it may mean that these cases occur less frequently than those in which the man belongs to the higher generation (1).

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1. The idea exists that when a widower remarries, his second wife treats her stepchildren with less kindness than her own. No heart-rending examples of this could be noted, however. In
[754] one case the hostile attitude originated with the two girls who suspected their stepmother of having killed their own mother by means of a formula (pangassengang), in order to be able to marry their father.

The relationship of a man
[578] with his stepson is a tense one. Quarrels occur that lead to physical violence and fights such as are unknown between a man and his own son.

1 [i.e. incest. - Aug/7st]

587 /35 cont./ In several cases a man married the younger
835 sister of his deceased wife. One likes to see sisters "succeeding each other on the pillow" because it is believed that the children from the first marriage will be better taken care of by someone who already knows them well than by a stranger, and also because by such a marriage existing ties in the family are continued. At the same time, several cases were
[837] registered in which a man made his wife's sister pregnant.

Such a relationship generally is not regarded as salimara'. /36/ It does, however, cause a great deal of commotion because, according to the decrees of Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at one and the same time. In such a case the man must first oust his wife, therefore, and only after the iddat period has elapsed, may he marry her sister. During the entire period, he, like the pregnant woman, is tumannjala (1) with respect to her brothers and other male

1. See Chapter III, third part.

relatives.

[578] It is said that this man has made two women unhappy at once. Reconciliation takes place less readily, and the commotion is greater than in the case of an "ordinary"
[684] marriage by flight. In a verdict handed down by the Sawitto Native Court, a couple was sentenced for salimara' in such a case. In his opinion on this verdict, Dr. A. A. Cense called this interpretation incorrect. He thought that only after the decrees of Moslem law became known did the notion arise that this relationship should also be regarded as salimara'. I cannot declare myself in entire agreement with him on this point. The interpretation does show, however, that, just as in the cases of sexual contact between a man and his stepdaughter, here, too, a doubt exists as to whether or not this

587 /36 cont./ relationship is to be conceived as salimara'.
835 Defining it as salimara' means that such relationship is considered in connection with the bad consequences for the country. It signifies that such a relationship is found "very bad."

Household Tasks

462 Rice pounding, weaving, and cooking are female occupations par excellence. However they are not entirely [592] household affairs.

For the 129 houses, 75 blocks for pounding rice were 252 592 counted (2). On the average, therefore, more than one rice-

[556]

2. The Kapala group is relatively the richest: for 81 houses it numbered 53 blocks. The Mangenre group numbered 7 for 18 houses, and the Rest group 15 for 30 houses.

pounding block exists for every two houses. The blocks lie near the houses. A house apart has its own block, but where the houses are close together, as is usual where the inhabitants are close relatives of each other, there one block may be used jointly by as many as three houses. Common use of one and the same block is a matter of course where the /37/ users are kinsmen. It attains the nature of a favor if this is not the case.

286 It is safe to assume that around 20 years ago, at a time 592 when sarongs were still woven at home in greater numbers than is the case today, the number of looms was also greater. Then each house probably possessed one loom apiece. At that time it would, therefore, have been possible to contend that sarong weaving was a family affair. In 1948, 101 looms were counted for 129 houses (1), a number of women no longer have

582 /208 cont./ In case of a marriage which is regarded as
585 unfavorable, extra ritual is performed in order to assure a favorable outcome nonetheless. /209/

Selection of Marriage Partners according to Status (Hypergamy)

554 Marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden.
582 It is simply regarded as impossible. "It cannot be" (tena nakulle) is the reaction to such a suggestion.

835 Any contact of a man with a higher woman is also strictly
554 prohibited. This is indicated by the same term (salimara'), used to denote a sexual relationship between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ which is known as incest.

It is believed that if salimara' takes place the country will be overcome with misfortune. It is said that the paddy will no longer grow and that no more children will be born in
[731] such a case. In the case of crop failure or an epidemic, one accordingly looks for people suspected of having committed salimara'.

684 The guilty couple must be punished by death. In the old lontar one reads that the blood of these people may not touch the earth; they must be drowned. The hadat (native court of
[692] law) punished this offense during the last decades with the banishment of the couple for a few years to different places outside the realm. After the period set by the court of law had elapsed, these people did not return to their kampongs; the danger of being stabbed to death in spite of the judge's sentence still seemed to be too great (1).

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1. This is a direct consequence of the fact that under the influence of the administration these offenses were always very lightly

622 /233 cont./ them, because then the tumasiri'-tumannjala
627 relation would have been removed for him while it would continue with respect to his other kinsmen. The upshot now was that after a short meeting the couple returned home with the man's kinsmen who had come along, taking with them the sunrang, fine, and cookies. The general opinion was that the fault lay with the gurukampong who had exerted too much pressure.

627 Arguments that are adduced to sway the wife's kin group to agree to a reconciliation state that the woman longs so much for her mother, that people who are related to each other belong together, and that the man's mistake is a small one. In the event that the woman takes refuge with a man, and, to an even greater degree, if she marries an outsider in a pregnant state, the reconciliation can usually take place very soon, that is to say, within a few months.

On the other hand, the tumasiri' frequently have reasons of their own to refuse a reconciliation, reasons which the superior on his part also understands and accepts. When a man had been stabbed to death during his flight and the woman shortly thereafter married an outsider, an attempt at reconciliation failed because it was argued that it was necessary to wait until her brother had returned from jail where he was now held for manslaughter through her fault.

For a man who fled with the niece (kamanakang) of his wife
[634 who had lived in his house as a young girl, no reconciliation
235] could be brought about. The fact that he had fled with a housemate was reason for the kinsmen to feel especially siri'. His crime in this case was considered very great.

After the flight of a man with his wife's sister, where the wife should have first received the talak because, according to Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at once, reconciliation was refused since the first wife was still "unhappy." /234/ Not until she was remarried, so it was believed, would the reconciliation be possible.

Makassar 0G6
Minangkabau 0D10
Javanese 0E5
Amboin 0NF
Kubu 0D8

I [295 cont.]
585 their virginity to a stranger in the temple of Mylitta.
836
121 It should suffice to note here that I have tried to give an explanation of this matter in my essay on the primitive forms of marriage.

We thus find as a rule among most of the peoples that the girl does not marry as a virgin, either as a result of the jus primae
MK noctis of the father or because she is permitted to surrender her-
MJ self to utter licentiousness before marriage. There are some peoples, however, who are an exception to this rule among whom
836 maidenly chastity is prized and even required as a condition for
582 marriage, for example, among the Javanese, the Malays of the Padang Highlands, the Makassarese and Buginese, etc. Among a few of these peoples, it is even customary to verify the woman's virginity publicly. Among the Madurese, for example, two women, after an examination, state that the bride is still a virgin, after which, among prominent people, cannon shots are fired, whereas in the opposite case, the young man has the right to terminate the marriage. Among the Makassarese, too, something similar takes place. [296] The cases where virginity is prized, however, are limited to only a few peoples; the opposite, as we have said, is the rule. We can therefore say that
A the latter must have formerly prevailed in general as we still
582 find it among the Batak. We learned from the Ambonese that even Christianity and Islam have failed to alter this.

I While chastity before marriage leaves much to be de-
837 sired, it seems that as a rule strict morality is observed during marriage, at least the men demand this of their wives. This is the case among nearly all peoples, and adultery is punishable, or at least was formerly, by death for the guilty parties, or, more precisely, the husband has the right to kill the man whom he catches in the act of adultery with his wife. Not all peoples,
K however, value the woman's chastity during marriage. Some
837 see nothing wrong in their wives' association with others. Among
574 some one even finds the peculiar custom of relinguishing the

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal, and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

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157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku	My implanted, straight flowers,
539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku	My blooming tjampaga flowers.
Natjiniku ianu	When N. N. sees me
Nadjandjangku mole mole.	He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that
157 a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in men are at the same time those which they need for success in
182 striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.

554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

●838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

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1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het," /"an 'it' person." -- Ed./.

838 /152 cont./ become apparent that it is not altogether correct to translate the term kawe kawe by homosexual. Lack of a better one led me to use this translation for the time being.

The distinction connotes that homosexuality is accepted as abnormal, but nonetheless as an existing phenomenon just like an albino or a deaf-mute. In 1949 there were no men living in the kampong Bontoramba who were regarded as kawe kawe. In all of Borongloë (around 14, 000 inhabitants), there may have been five. Compared with other adat communities, this number will probably /153/ seem small. The reason for [684 this is that the adat community head to whom, as a believing 634] Moslem, these kawe kawe were already a thorn in the side anyway had threatened to cut off the hair of each one (some of them wore their hair down to their shoulders) because one of them had made a young girl pregnant. As a result many of the kawe kawe left Borongloë. Only a few stayed. I was repeatedly able to observe one of them. Here follows a brief description of his outward appearance and behavior. His name was Taking.

Taking was thirty-five years old and lived with a married brother. They were a poor household, but only when it was completely necessary did Taking work in the sawah. Usually and by preference he would spend his time in the back part of the house with the women. In his manner of sitting and speaking and in clothing he was scarcely distinguishedable from them. At the kin-group festivals in the house of the adat community head, he worked hard in the kitchen, helping with preparations. On such occasions he frequently did the unpleasant work of keeping the strongly smoking fire going, work which generally is performed by lower women. At the ritual at the climax of the festival, however, he was, along with a number of older women, relatives of the head, the one who participated in its arrangement. Both the kitchen work [554 and the conduct of the ritual were in the hands of women at

838 /153 cont./ this festival. Lower women performed the first
[554] task, higher ones the latter. Taking participated in both.
Outside the house he behaved like a man. He would go
[402] on his way without escort, but whenever he was carrying something at the same time, he would do so by preference on his head (like a woman) and not on a yoke over his shoulders (like a man). When called upon as a witness in a legal case, however, he appeared completely in man's clothing with a black cap (topi), and upon that occasion had some good-natured fun poked at him. In everyday life, his presence in the women's group was accepted as a matter of course. According to my information, this dated from his childhood years. I was able to observe a little boy called Jusu at the age of about seven years. This is the age at which a difference starts to arise between boys' and girls' games.

Jusu by preference played with the girls of his own age.
[857] The latter permitted this without poking fun at him. A high noblewoman took him into her house and into her following. /154/ He would go with a couple of her nieces his age to pay visits and attend festivals. The acceptance of a kawe kawe into the women's group from his childhood years on explains the naturalness with which he is treated.

Details concerning Taking's sexual life could not be obtained. It was believed that he desired no contact with women. Concerning his relationship with other men only jokes were made. His reaction at the mention of anal coitus was one of decided aversion, and at the mention of mutual masturbation his reaction was neutral.

In addition to the commonly occurring kawe kawe, I once observed a woman in the adat community of Takalar who did not feel at home with those of her own sex. She wore her hair like a woman, but her sarong like a man. She preferred to work in the sawah with the patjol /hoe/ (typically male work). She carried burdens on a yoke over her shoulders the way a man does, and she would go alone to pasars and

838 /154 cont./ on roads. Her kinsmen accepted these transgressions of the sex prohibitions without further ado. Apparently they did not think of the forbidden contact situation in which she found herself.

838 793 644 From a description by Matthes, it appears (1) that in his

1. B. F. Matthes, Over de Bissoe's of Heidense Priesters der Boegineezen /Concerning the Bissu or Heathen Priests of the Buginese/.

time (around 1870) a number of bissu lived at several courts of the princes. These were men who dressed and behaved partly like women. They took care of the ornaments and performed the ritual belonging to them. One old bissu, a senile man, who was only charged with guarding the ornaments [178] still lived in the palace of the Prince of Goa in 1939. At that time women were already performing the ritual. In 1949, he seemed to have died. The guarding services had then also passed into the hands of the women.

178 838 644 The disappearance of the bissu at the courts could, among other things, be a consequence of the dawning realization that, according to Moslem law, homosexuality is prohibited. The reason that they had disappeared as much as a generation ago at one court and, at the other court, continued to exist until recently could possibly be found in the differences in strictness of religious ideas held by various princes.

838 793 /155/ Only in the little place of Segeri, 75 kilometers north of Macassar, can a number of bissu still be found to this day. There they take care of the ornament and perform the ritual pertaining to it. A number of them are married and live in their own house with wife and children. They dress

838 /155 cont./ and behave in everyday life completely like
793 normal men. At the performance of the ritual, however, their dress and behavior is half-male and half-female, like that of other bissu. The latter, the unmarried ones, live together in the ornament house.

In 1948 the then assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes supplied me information which might clarify why kawe kawe prefer to occupy themselves with the ornament ritual. According to the description of the ritual, performed at the inauguration of the new head of the bissu (Puang Matoa), one of them leads the new head to the ornament of Segeri, a plow, and at this point he makes an announcement the significance of which the assistant reproduced as follows: "It is neither known of the person who is here brought to the sacred object and who touches it, nor of the object, who is the man and who the woman. If the sacred object is a man, then this person is a woman, and vice versa" (1).

1. The Buginese original of this announcement could not be obtained.

From this it would appear that it is believed that the ornament and the head of the bissu must be of different sex, that the sex of the ornament is unknown, and that, therefore, only a person who can be either man or woman can be the head of the bissu. The general occurrence of this, albeit merely vaguely conscious, belief could explain the attraction
[554] of the kawe kawe to the ornaments. There they found a social recognition which they lacked elsewhere.

838 Dr. Slot, who has examined a number of these bissu for their physical characteristics, reports that their sexual organs were completely normal; there was no question of hermaphroditism. A number of secondary sex characteristics can be called feminine. Among these he reports a hyperextendability of the elbow, little muscular development, and broad hips (2).

838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië, Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 548 Kawe kawe can be encountered in Macassar and in the large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes who make themselves available in exchange for money for the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as male prostitutes.

535 857 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for [534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana) and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time [533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary between young men and women. In this dance they are to a certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded [838] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a [832] kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 535 838 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a

177 /156 cont./ sudden great popularity (1). The onlookers, men,
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1. So great was the interest in this dance that teachers complained about the sleepiness of their pupils during the day in school (report by the ex-teacher Noeroeddin to Dr. A. A. Cense).

according to reports principally married men, showed their enthusiasm by stuffing money in large sums down the necks [648] of the little dancers. After some time the dance was prohibited by the administration. Only after the capitulation of the Dutch East Indies in 1942, have Masri representations been given again.

The name of the dance probably betrays the land of 171 origin /157/ (1). Lane (2) first gives a description of a dance
174

1. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Dr. G. F. Pijper.

2. E. W. Lane, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London and New York, 1908, p. 389.

by women who at the same time are prostitutes, and then reports that the only thing which is really disapproved in it is the fact that women perform this dance. Consequently, men may also take the place of women as performers of this dance. They are usually young men, accompanied by the rabab. They represent women, but in order to prevent people from

171 /157 cont./ thinking that they are really women, they are
174 dressed half as man and half as woman. Their general exterior is more feminine than masculine. They imitate women in the use of make-up, they wear their hair like women, and veil themselves.

So much for the account given by Lane. The correspondence with the Masri dance described above seems clear. However, why this dance spread to South Celebes just around 1928 remains obscure.

121 The data given above invite a number of observations.
●838 As a starting point, I want to take the conclusions of Kinsey and his associates concerning homosexuality. They call the "homosexual" an important subelement of sexual activity, "primarily because it is an expression of capacities that are basic in the human animal" (3).

3. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, Philadelphia and London, 1948, p. 666.

Furthermore, I want to make use of the proposition established by Margaret Mead (4). She speaks of the social

4. M. Mead, Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, London, 1935. See among others, pp. XX ff.

personalities of the two sexes, to which men and women in a certain culture are reared to conform, with more or less success. Among other things, she points to the fact that not all men possess to an equal degree the qualities which are

121 /157 cont./ demanded of them in a certain culture, and that
838 therefore there are among them those "who have voluntarily given up the struggle to conform to the masculine role and who wore female attire and followed the occupations of a woman."

It appears that in Makassarese society a number of male
838 individuals at an early age turn away from those of their own sex and attach themselves to the girls. They adapt themselves to these /158/ in clothing and behavior. The older ones accept the fact that they are different from other boys. When they get older, they continue in their attitude. This entails certain consequences with respect to their sexual life.

Sexual contact with their female peers is regarded as out of the question. A kawe kawe is accepted as a matter of course into the group of women. If a kawe kawe comes from outside and is not yet known, then the men and old women at first watch him carefully, so I was told. In case of sexual contact with a woman, the kawe kawe is, among other things, threatened with expulsion from the group of women. Consequently, he would have to spend his time regularly in the group of men where he does not feel at home emotionally. It is possible that this fact restrains him from attempting sexual contacts with one of the women. To satisfy his sexual needs, he is therefore dependent on men.

I am not acquainted with any cases of men who became kawe kawe after they had passed puberty. The social separation of the sexes at that time may already be too great for the transition to be regarded as still possible.

838 One does find the phenomenon that men at the courts
793 partly dress and behave like women, in an institutionalized
644 way, for the ornament ritual. The possibility of the kawe kawe to be both man as well as woman -- in social life --, is here an imperative.

A kawe kawe tied to this institution is called a bissu. Even a "normal" married man seems to be capable of being

838
793/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

178 The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance
838 of the bissu institution, however, At present, insofar as they
548 did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

114 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and
589 women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated
885 who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

1. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 54.

585 788 [114] /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen, Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde, N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/ /New Series/, Vol. I, no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 [593] The person who performs this ritual is frequently the "bride's mother, " (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 824 [801] The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but sometimes variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 824 789 1. These names are rapidly recited, one after the other, when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

156 833 ●838 /242 cont./ Among the men who possess to a low degree the qualities established as a norm for them, there are to be found the "kawe kawe," the unmarried men, the married men who refuse to have sexual intercourse with their wives, and possibly the koro patients. It is impossible for me to indicate the boundary between a lack of the qualities demanded by the culture and a supposed lack.

156 [548] Among the women who possess the qualities ascribed to them to a small degree, one finds the prostitutes and also matrons and bride's mothers, and those who perform the ancestral ritual, all of whom owe their standing to their work, which serves to raise the standing of the community. Among these there are also the princesses, who in these countries frequently played a dominant role. Among females in this [562] position there is none of the docility left, which is expected in women.

/248/ Appendix

114 127 Figures drawn from registers constitute a welcome addition to the data that could not have been obtained otherwise, or only with great difficulty through verbal information. However, in making use of register material, there is a danger that the degree of its reliability will not be sufficiently realized.

Data based on registers always make a precise impression. The collector is inclined to believe in their reliability himself. But the reliability can only be judged through an acquaintance with the culture in which they are used. A number of "mistakes" in the registers can be immediately understood as a result of ideas present in that culture. They raise the demand for care in the comparison of figures with other regions.

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar
OG6

291
535
786
838

Bissu of Segeri during their dance, in which they are in a trance and attempt to press a kris into the body. Pages 208-209.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 10]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

241
221
838
416

Bissu of Segeri during the plowing ritual on the ornament sawah. In the photograph, the bissu are recognizable by the fact that they wear glasses. Pages 101 and 208-209.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 11]

Bali OF7
Javanese OE5
Buru OH8
Halmahera OH12
Ma Kassar OG6

Bl [565 cont.]
791 ceremonies, make their will known to the people and are to be regarded as relics of the ancient Polynesian cult. Their name is walian. In addition, as a designation for shamans on Bali, there is also the word wewalen, which came from wewalian = walian with
J [791] reduplication. The contraction of ia to e is very common in Javanese as well as in the related languages, for example, durian = duren.

Bl 791 756 The difference between walian and wewalen is that the former word has a more general meaning. They are the actual mediums, whereas the wewalen are more the co-workers who perform the functions of doctors and doctresses.

Bl 791 786 Besides the walian and wewalen, there are also the sangyang, who likewise are shamans. They are usually small boys or girls and, like the former, are [566] put in a state of ecstasy by artificial means, such as incense, music, and not infrequently arrack, in order to serve the gods as mediums. The name sangijang literally means "spirit, god," hence, the being that possesses. Only later was this name carried over for the person who is possessed. Another people should be mentioned here, namely, the Bisayans of the Philippines; among them, too, there are priestesses, balian, who apparently are shamans.

Bu H 791 Furthermore, shamanism plays an important role in the religion of the Alfoer of Buru and Halmahera.

MK 756 It is not only among the pagan tribes, however, that shamanism is found. It also occurs among the more highly developed peoples who have already embraced Islam. First, we name the Buginese and Makassarese. Among them there is a class of persons, men as well as women, who profess to be able to be possessed by spirits and are therefore consulted primarily as
MK doctors and doctresses. These shamans are called bissu. The
[833] bissu greatly resemble the basir among the Dajak; like the latter, they also dress as women. Dr. Matthes doubts very much, how-
MK ever, that they surrender themselves to pederasty like the basir.
[833] To be sure, the male bissu maintain that they are incapable of

M tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at
175 large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the
565 people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]
[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and
793 their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession
●838 of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst]
231 This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any
881 bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati.
304 But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there
574 for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the
182 Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I re-
771 minded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own
181 idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 567
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are 535
none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f. 50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still danc-
576 ing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
431 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
567 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
181 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
●838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f.88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f.12 and a commoner might pay
567 f.22 or f.44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
588 must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

771 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here
178 were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very
rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is
182 no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As
for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation
or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means
any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in
the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They
saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the
776 Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for
the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them
(maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those
that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong
knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names
of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew
saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata.
Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paeppo,
but called them popo, as did the Makassarese. In all spirit
cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping
or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also
[861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of
these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used
now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the
"spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan
ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa
Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go
back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala
838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which
793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got
much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo-
548 sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over,
535 it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an
[759] aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they
are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and
also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example,
to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They
know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all
this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated
them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry,
etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and
that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as
ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they
act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go
for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night
for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he
would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved
wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I 793
am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The 838
people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the 548
prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are 535
men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is
a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evident-
ly a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the
Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a
feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all
over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed [791]
that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the
wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and
shook them saying that they did this. This proves shaman-
ism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about
the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then
entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the sing-
ing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several
days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on to-
day. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They 212
knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They 171
didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later 181
Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that
there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mys- 795
tic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real de- 829
bates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is
Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are
many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about
other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. 764
Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, 562
wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side 178
niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that 554
the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the 782
family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. 796
They said that women have two stones, and men only one!
There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about
the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other
times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of
great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general im- 517
pression is that the only change that has taken place has been 546
the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that
if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that
the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

Regarding sex, Thierens said that the extreme repression of it and the lack of open relations of a social sort between boys and girls here causes a high rate of homosexuality among boys. He said that nearly all boys are so. This may also link with the wandu custom, or at least the prostitute part of it. The boys are used to homosexual practice in youth, and like it. Also, perhaps the women, so bound by adat, are cold. Thus the homosexuals may be an attraction. The whole dead business has paralyzed these people even down to the simple sex matter. I remember the homosexual practices in Bontorio. But that was in the court, where there were girls. Maybe even there it was hard to get girls, and there may have been little in the way of social relationships. I remember that Bontorio had to get his slave girls on the sly. That is what Andi said, things must be kept in the dark. M 831 838 181 154

In regard to the Toala and the To Patuntung, I went to Soppeng on Sunday. We took one route down and another one back. It is in a rather mountainous section but Soppeng itself is a large and attractive town. On the way we could see the remoteness of many of the people here, even those on the road. In Soppeng I met Denzo, the Christian leader. He is young and good looking, much like Lethe in type and manners. His family comes from Saleier, but also from Bone. He was born in Saleier. He was baptized in 1937 although coming from a Mohammedan family. His mother is also a Christian and so is at least one sibling. He said that this resulted in some trouble with his father. By 1939, he had 800 Christians. During the Japanese time this number shot up to 2,000 and now he has about 3,000. This is the only place in the Buginese country where there are Christians. He has a church which is a part of the Protestant Church of Indonesia. But it is not a mission proper. He said that he converted from all classes, including at least one high fellow. He said that there are more women than men which did surprise me. I asked him how to approach women. He said that one must first ask the man. If the man is converted, then one can work on the woman, and usually the whole family becomes Christian. But one may not talk to the woman without the man's consent. Denzo said there was some trouble with the radja and with the nobles and with the fanatic Mohammedans. But after a while there was not so much trouble because they found out the Christians did not break up the adat and so they could not be too bad. Again we see the point that adat comes first, the Mohammedan practices being secondary. M 797 562 M [576] M [181]

Then I asked about the To Patuntung. He said there are not so many of them. They are ten kilometers walk south of C 563

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included 541
ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat 728
the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. 642
Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), 634
Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba,
and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over.
This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who [562]
sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer
told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger
men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat
like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all
the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The
most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He
was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had
a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported
that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the
way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up
several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did
their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk
about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to
a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and
the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo
school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English.
Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the [793]
opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre- [838]
Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were
plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong.
He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the
young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School
voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native
Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of
cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the 567
Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in 554
the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed
about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves
of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they
were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to
a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of
his status.

764 hundred years old and may show that Mohammedanism here
174 came in a little later than in Goa. These tombs seem to date from the period of conversion to Mohammedanism, judging from the dates, especially in Goa. In this cemetery there are also modern, ordinary graves.

The Kepala kampong said that before the war there were many fine urns on the tombs, but the Dutch controleur had taken them. Later on van Heekeren told me that the Japanese took a lot of these urns too.

346 We went to look at the old and the new mosques. Both have
174 urns on top, as in Goa. The one on the old mosque has blue and white figures on it; the one on the new mosque is brown, apparently of a solid color. I asked van Heekeren, and he said that all mosques have these urns, even in the Paloppo and Luwu areas. He says that these urns are of Chinese origin and were formerly used to hold the ashes and charred bones (i.e., some of the bones) of the cremated bodies, before Islam came in. Van Heekeren is sure that there is not very much Hindu influence here; the urn burial trait is not Hindu but merely pre-Islamic Makassarese and Buginese. I
[126] took some photographs and gave some polaroid prints to the Kepala kampong, of him and his wife in Hadji dress, with their little daughter (perhaps one and a half years old, who waves when you say dag [hello or good-bye--Analyst]).

000 While we were talking about slaves an old fellow came in and stood at the foot of the stairs mentioning something to the Kepala kampong. He was the slave of the assistant chief (seriang). They talked in a very low whisper.

838 Talking with Andi, I brought up the homosexual matter
793 again. He maintains that homosexuals are numerous here.
778 The official ones are attached to the aradjang and at the head of them is the puang matoa, chief of the bissu. When the aradjang is taken out, the bissu from many kampongs gather in Watampone and dance. I asked if every wanua has an aradjang. They do not. However, there are some kampongs that have them. The bissu handle and take out these lesser aradjang too. This also would bear research.

838 Andi went on and on about the scandalous behavior of the
548 ordinary homosexuals (tjalabai). They dress and act like women and are found everywhere. There are many in Watampone. They swish and flirt and stick rolled up handkerchiefs in their blouses to imitate breasts. Andi says that many men are crazy about them and spend lots of time and money to have sex with them. He was surprised that I had seen none. I do remember at the pasar malam that I had seen a "girl" in a bright red blouse (kabaya), and a well painted face. "She"

M 838 548 had looked boldly at me, unlike most women here. Maybe she was really a girl, but a prostitute, but on the other hand it may have been a homosexual. I know I was impressed by the frank stare and thought I noticed something a bit odd about the person.

The doctor told me that one day a soldier came in with gonorrhea and that he was on the trail of the woman carrier. So there are prostitutes here.

M 285 435 On the way back I stopped to look at an orchid fiber basket woven with a pretty design and colors. The price was f. 0.60. Andi wanted a photograph of me to keep, so I gave him one.

C 117 I left Watampone on Sunday, October 9, two weeks late. I will be able to get a ship going to Ambon on October 14 or 15 which is good, because it means I will have lost only two weeks.

Makassar: I went to the KPM and found that the Raea' sails for Ambon on the 14th or 15th. I can stay there until December 17, returning to Makassar December 20. Then I will sail to Sumbawa on December 23, arriving December 24. I still do not know of any later sailings. This means I will cut Sumbawa short, but have a full two months period in Ambon. I also went to Fort Rotterdam and talked with Rahim.

C 172 114 [171] I had a talk with van Heekeren who is delighted at the results of his trip to a neolithic site in Galumpang. He is somewhat irritated because the government will not give him more money for this research. They seem to spend most of their funds for restoring monuments. This checks with my complaint about Dutch archeology. Formerly they spent lots of time and money on Hindu-Javan remains but little on the prehistoric. Van Heekeren tells me that he has to spend a great deal of his own money. His budget is very low, but even at that he cannot get more funds. He has two other sites located along the Karama River. He said that the layers are not very thick, made up mostly of limestone and rubble. He said that these are the first neolithic sites to be worked in Indonesia. He had all of the stone materials out on a table. Included were arrow points, adzes (he said that they were the first ones found in Indonesia [??]), axes, grinding stones, and a remarkable all-stone tapa beater with grooves, which he said is like the beaters found in the Philippine Islands. There were also lots of sherds, with pretty designs. Many of these designs are similar to those used by the Toradja today, especially on cloth.

838
793/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

178 The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance
838 of the bissu institution, however, At present, insofar as they
548 did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

114 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and
589 women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated
885 who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

1. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 54.

2: Wilken--238 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Mo Batak OD5 Moluccas OH1
C Java OE1 Ceram OH9
BC Malays AN5 Buru OH8
Br Bali OFT Gorontolo OGG
G Makassar OGG Borneo OC1
Bu [200 cont.]
805 (about one hour), etc. To indicate very short lengths of time, one speaks of the duration of a betel quid, about a quarter of an hour. These expressions are still used even on Java and among the Malays. The latter say sakapur sirih lamanja = the duration J MH of a betel quid, and the former say sapanginang, which means [805] about the same thing.

[201] Chapter 9. Family Life.

a. Birth; b. Twins; c. Abortion;
d. Naming; e Bathing.

a. Birth

I In the first place, we want to examine the principal cus-
842 toms at birth.
562 In general, the native values the possession of children very highly, even to such extent that among many peoples a childless marriage is grounds for divorce. There is nothing more terrible for a married woman than to remain childless. She can be sure that her husband will despise her and her sisters MH will ridicule her. "Eh! indona = oh, mother of itself," says the BC Buginese (1), and the Batak (2) and the Balinese (3) are no less
B1
842
562
775

1. Matthes, Boegineesch Wrdb., see indó.

2. Van der Tuuk, Bataksch Wrdb., see ambala.

3. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T. L. Vk., Vol. XVIII, p. 387.

considerate in this respect. Moreover, the childless woman has

Makassar 066
Bali 0F7
Batak 0D5
Gorontolo 064
Borneo 0C1

Br
Bt [201 cont.]
M to fear a number of horrors in the hereafter; indeed some peoples
842 of the archipelago believe that in hell she must feed a snake at
562 her breast for punishment.
775 In general a son is desired more than a daughter as the first-born, but after that daughters are desired, in particular because of their value in connection with [202] bride price. The
G Alfoer of northern Celebes expresses this very characteristically:
842 "only girls bring in money" (1).

1. Graafland, De Minahassa, Vol. I, p. 301.

Bt
Br
I
842 Infertility is therefore regrettable and is generally ascribed
776 to evil spirits. All kinds of charms and offerings are used to try
775 to render their influence innocuous. Even during pregnancy, however, the woman still has to fear the snares of the evil demons. She therefore zealously gives offerings to them, who bear such names as djata (2) among the Dajak [Dyak], langolan among

2. Hardeland, Dajaksch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, see bararamin.

the Batak, etc. Standing above all of them, however, are the pontianak, the spirits of women who died in childbirth. All the women who have met this fate are pontianak without exception. They are usually imagined as naked and as having the shape of birds, thus, as flying ghosts. Driven by envy, they always and at all times seek to take away from their sisters the joy that they themselves have been deprived of. Various means, primarily offerings, are used to ward off their influence. As well as on the pregnant women, these ghosts also have designs on the men as the beings who can give the joy of motherhood to the women, and particularly on their genitals (3).

3. Wilken, Het Animisme bij de Volken

The previous discussion took place in the evening in the house of the Kepala kampong [of Balombaru--Analyst]. As we talked about various subjects I found that whenever I spoke about the United States I got a good reaction. The village head, a spirited individual, said that he wanted to go there. I said that in a few years perhaps he could. I found out later that one reason the Kepala kampong appeared to be so clever is that he once was a sailor and traveled a good deal. One source said that this was not true but that he had merely been a customs official. In any event he does act like a very special person. 521 156 842 829

I said that there were few children per family in the United States because of the long period of education and the great expense involved. They said that in Makassar everyone wanted lots of children. However, they volunteered nothing regarding education. Then the village head said jokingly that he was going to the United States to help the population problem there. He said that if he got there he would make lots of children! That is the spirit I notice here. The men are very jocular. They like good and rough conversation. In their talk they are quite direct. There is little refinement, halus, such as there is in Java. Nevertheless, they are remarkably polite. All goes very nicely. And there never seems to be an embarrassing or false step.

Later in the evening, I sat with a Dutchman. An acquaintance of his was drunk. He said that he was not interested in the United States when I talked about it. He was very rough indeed, and the other Dutchman was ashamed. Maybe it was a matter of the alcohol involved. 006

These folk are amazingly attractive. Maybe they are not so when just amongst themselves, and perhaps their appearance now is because of the presence of a visitor. I would like to know what goes on from day to day, and if they are on their best behavior now. 609 123

I talked Malay with them and this went over quite well. I told them about the United States and about Yale and about the shrinking world. Perhaps they are just polite, but they seemed interested. One thing went over especially well. I said that there was no pangkat [rank, class] in the United States. I gave the case of President Truman. His father was a tani [farmer] and he had no special rank. Nevertheless he worked himself up. But the thing which hit the Kepala kampong the hardest, and that which he told most eloquently to the people, was that every four years a man like Truman must stand up before the country for election. And if he is not

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

2262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some used only for fishing, others only for trade. [501]

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. 842
But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Per- 611
haps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here?
I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They [123]
listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families.
They said there simply was no control here. The more the
better. I talked at length regarding the future decision con-
cerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather
a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of
Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that
here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children,
but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very inter-
esting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories.

We quit at 6 P.M as the guru had to go to prayer. This is 512
Friday (or maybe he goes everyday).

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The 123
people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is 574
true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always 562
tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must al-
ways be served to guests, and the Kepala kampong said that
if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there
may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come
into the front when I am present, a difference from the be-
havior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served
by the Kepala kampong or his son or a retainer. The Kepala 576
kampong, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends
over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes
hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the
younger ones not so much.

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. 595
Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten 852
days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several 574
houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is
sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant.
We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a 000
house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way
we saw the kampong Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later
the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watam-
pone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a
three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children
soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim
like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they
marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau.
The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am
not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the
marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the
marriage is completed.

New Guinea OJ1 Makasser OG6 Java OE1
Minangkabau OD10 Buru OH8
Javanese OE5 Ceram OH9
Tanimbar OF19 Kei OH13
Atjehnese OD4 Enggano OD6

Jv 843 [457 cont.] the woman; the woman appears in a different garment seven times, one after the other; etc. Usually only the tingkeb festival for the first pregnancy is given much notice.

MK 843 565 Among another Mohammedan people, the Buginese and [458] Makassarese, the same kind of festival is celebrated with great splendor in the seventh or eighth month by the families of the notables.

Jvns Mn 844 In general, there are no festivities connected with the birth itself, but some peculiar customs are practiced. First of all, we should mention that among the Minangkabau Malayans and the Javanese everything in the vicinity of the confinement must be opened, chests, hatches, etc., and krises must be taken out of the sheath, an example of the so-called sympathetic thought or transmigration doctrine. Among the Minangkabau, all men must leave the dwelling; on Java, on the other hand, custom demands that the man be present, even to the extent that, should the father be away from home at the time, a rice pestle, dressed to look like a man, is placed near the woman in childbed. Another widespread custom is cutting the umbilical cord with a sharp piece of bamboo instead of a knife — probably a survival from the time before iron was known; old customs and implements are preserved longest in such ceremonies.

E T N K B C 844 The custom of not allowing the confinement to take place in the house, but in a specially prepared little hut in the forest is found on some of the eastern islands, namely, on Ceram, Buru, Kei and Tanimbar Islands, and New Guinea; it is also found on the small island of Enggano in the west of the archipelago (west of Sumatra's southern point), where the woman in childbed is taken to the forest or to a secluded place near the dwelling.

Finally, mention should be made of the peculiar, but widespread custom of subjecting the woman to the action of a gentle fire for a considerable time after the confinement, one could almost say a kind of roasting. This is customary, for example, among the Atjehnese. "She who is busy drying herself over the fire," the person "who is lying by the hearth" are

A 844

MO [559 cont.]
I exclusively who are persecuted by the pontianak, but the hus-
755 bands, too, have to fear these spirits. Among some peoples,
843 especially in the Moluccas, there is the belief that they rob the
MO men of their genitals. Therefore, their evil influence is lifted
[842] through offerings, exorcism, etc. Among many peoples, preg-
nant women always carry a small knife with them as a means of
defense against the pontianak.

MK Some peoples try to prevent those who die in childbirth
I from becoming pontianak for which several means are used. The
A Ambonese stick pins into the arms and legs of the corpse and
755 put three eggs under the chin and both armpits. The hair is
843 wound around a nail hammered into the coffin, and then the
766 whole body is covered with fishbones. The same custom, some-
what modified, is found among the Makassarese. Here, too,
an egg is put under each armpit of a woman who has died in child-
birth, and the arms are pressed tightly against her body and a
few needles are stuck into the palms of the hands.

h. Supreme Being

I As we noted in the beginning and have shown by some
776 examples, the religion of the Indonesians is principally spiritism,
[775] the worship of the [560] souls of the deceased and of spirits, who
wander about disembodied, although it is believed that both
these spirits and the souls of the deceased prefer to live in rivers,
on trees, in forests, etc. the souls are generally favorably dis-
posed; the spirits are good and evil.

Originally, none of the spirits had a higher rank than any
other. In the course of time, however, the notion of a supreme
god developed nearly everywhere. Among some peoples, this
is nothing more than a primus inter pares, but among most peo-
ples from this highest spirit there developed a conception of a
definite godhead, a supreme being that is above and beyond the

162 /51 cont./ 9 per cent of the total number of residents,
166 were born outside; 30 individuals (approximately 3.5 per
621 cent) were born outside Goa Province.

The percentage of those born in Bontoramba appears to
162 be greater in the Kapala group, the most settled one, than
166 in the other two groups, namely 82 per cent as against 54
612 per cent in the Mangenre and 52 per cent in the Rest group.
621 The following table makes these percentages clear.

	Total Number of Individuals	Born Outside Bontoramba	Born Outside Bontoramba but Within Borongloe	Born Outside Borongloe but Within Goa	Born Outside Goa
Kapala Group	536	81	51	28	2
Mangenre "	94	42	17	5	20
Rest "	173	84	51	25	8
Residents of Kampong Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949	803	207	119	58	30

/52/ The large number of people in the Mangenre group born outside Goa, namely 20 of the 42, is striking. In the Kapala and the Rest group these numbers are 2 and 8 respectively of the 51. An explanation for this is to be found
162 in the fact that their land of origin lies outside Goa; many
166 of them were born there. This trend continues longer than
612 one would expect because people prefer children to be born
621 in the house, or at least in the land, where the mother was

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[844]

/52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

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2. Migrations

It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

[125]

I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949). Births and deaths were not registered because they were not relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81

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114 /249 cont./ There is no punishment for failure to register.
163 The reason that people do not like to register a child that has
217 just been born is the belief that this would bring about misfortune
because it is conceived as an expression of arrogance or pride.
[777 For the same reason a newborn child is wrapped in old rags.
751] There is no certainty that the births recorded in a year represent
the correct number.

A woman by preference has her first child in the house of her
[844] parents, especially if she herself was also born there. Many
children are therefore registered in a kampong where their parents
no longer live and from which it again "moves" a few months
after birth.

A child does not receive a name directly at birth for the
[553] same reason that a child's birth is not directly reported. All boys
are referred to as Baso or Batjo, all girls as Basse or Batje. In
this semianonymity the child is considered safe. Only years
later does it receive a name of its own, which, however, is not
recorded in the register. A certificate of birth is not submitted.

Death Registers

114 In the death registers that are likewise maintained by the
217 imam for the entire adat community (around 14, 000 inhabitants),
165 the following data are found reported in parallel columns: the
[793] name of the deceased, his sex, his age; the kampong in which
he died, whether he died during the night or during the day, the
date of his death, the final illness, and sometimes a few remarks
concerning heirs and estate.

The reasons indicated for the death are very much those of
[961] a layman; the imam bases them upon complaints uttered during
the final illness; stomach-ache, coughing, sometimes old age,
are found recorded in this category. /250/

Thus, these registers must also be handled with care.
Neither age nor reason for death can be regarded as reliable.

Makassar OG6
Buru OH8
Halmahera OH12
Borneo OC1
Gorontalo OG4
New Guinea OJ1

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Bn
B4
H [577 cont.]
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346 celebrations, temporary buildings are erected, which are later torn down. Among the Dajak these are called balai, among the Alfoer of the Minahasa paposanan. We have just said that there are no temples in the Malay Archipelago. The Papuans of
NG Humboldt Bay and elsewhere are an exception. Until recently,
346 there was a remarkable temple at Dorei on the northwestern
532 corner of Geelvink Bay. This temple had roughly the shape of an upside down vessel that rested on 24 piles. All the piles and likewise all the parts of the structure were decorated with images of men and women in the most lascivious shape and posture; many were even represented in actu copulationis. The house, which was maintained by the whole population, was probably erected in honor of the ancestors. As can be seen from the
I above, worship in large part consists of making offerings, to
782 the good spirits so as to remain in their good favor, to the evil
771 ones so as to ward off their influence. Besides offerings, another means is used to avert the latter, which we shall now briefly discuss.

e. Exorcism, Sorcery

I A common method of driving away evil spirits is to make
776 noise. Especially in case of sickness this method is used to chase
755 them away from the patient's bed or in the case of epidemics
342 to drive them out of the country. This must also be done when
MK occupying a new house, and it is likewise customary among the
[844] Makassarese at a birth. Besides noise, fire and light are used to drive them away.

I It is more common, however, to try to ward off their in-
751 fluence with charms. Sorcery and magic thus also play an im-
777 portant role in both animism and fetishism, because through
776 them one has power over the spirits and can make them act in accordance with his wishes.

I [578] It is obvious that not everyone knows the precise
777 means that must be utilized to gain power over the spirits, that
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Bali OF7
Nias OD11
Land Dyak OC8
Makassar OG6

B 845 [564] [208 cont.]

boy and a girl are born at the same time, it is a calamity, not only for the parents, but for the village; it is a curse for the Sudra and Wesja, but a blessing for the Brahmana and Satrya, even for the whole country. If twins are born to a reigning sovereign who is a Wesja, it puts him on a level with the Brahmana and Satrya.

A twin birth of both sexes among the Sudra and Wesja is called manak salah = sinful birth, and the children are called kembar salah = sinful twins. Immediately after the birth of twins, the mother and her newborn children are driven from the village and are condemned to stay outside the central part of the community for three months, preferably in a temporary dwelling near a graveyard. Only at the end of this period and after the proper offerings have been made for them may they return.

B [783]

Twins of both sexes born among the Brahmana and Satrya are called kembar buntjing = betrothed twins. In former times it was the custom to let them marry each other when they reached marriageable age (1). Among the Niassans twins are always

N 845

1. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, pp. 164-166.

regarded as a calamity and are killed immediately; the parents are considered unclean [209] for a full year (1). Among the

LD 845 787

1. Durdik, Geneesk. Tijdschrift v. Ned. Ind. 1881, p. 262.

Dajak of the western division, more specifically among those of Matan, Simpang, and Soekadana, twins of the same sex are a favorable sign, but twins of mixed sex are an ominous sign. The boy must be given to the sovereign as a slave (2). Such a surprise

M 845

2. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vlk., Vol. XI, p. 24.

Makassar OG6
Igorot OA20

M [209 cont.]
845 is also less welcome to the Makassarese and Buginese. The former call it kamborá emba, the Buginese dinru ulawang, both meaning twins and adultery (3). It is even worse among the

3. Ind. Gids, 1882, Vol. I., p. 62.

Id
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Igorot. The last-born child is given to anyone who will take pity on it. If there is no one who wants it, then it is strangled or buried alive. Similar regulations exist on some of the South-eastern and Southwestern Islands (4), but as a rule twin births

4. Blumentritt, op. cit., p. 27.

there are regarded as favorable signs (5).

5. Riedel, de Kroes- en sluikharige rassen, op. cit., pp. 126, 238, 264, 327, 392, 454, 468. For other peoples, cf. Ind. Gids, 1882, Vol. II, p. 593. Van Hasselt, Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XXVI, p. 591. Ploss, Das Kind, Vol. II, p. 265 ff. Post, Bausteine, Vol. II, pp. 119-120.

c. Abortion (6)

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6. Note 2, p. 123, also applies to this chapter. I have limited myself to only the essential matters, which should be sufficient for the purpose of this work. For further information on this subject, one should compare the reference given in my essay, "Plechtigheden en gebruiken uit den cyclus van het familieleven der volken van den Ind. Archipel [Ceremonies

[635 cont.]

776 A consequence of the latter is that the belief in good and evil spirits is also found among the Buginese and Makassarese. They are referred to by a few general designations that were adopted in former times from the Hindu-Javanese. Generally speaking, the tutelary spirits are called rewata in Makassarese, dewata in Buginese, the Hindu-Javanese dewata, the Sanskrit devâta. Another category is called sangiyang, the well-known Hindu-Javanese sanghjang. Among them Sangiyang Sarri, the same as Dewi Sri, deserves special mention. She is the spirit of the rice and is identified with it.

At the head of the spirits stands Batara Goeroe = Siva, often simply called Batara, who, as the name indicates, is likewise of Hindu-Javanese origin.

754 Among the evil spirits--popokang among the Makassarese, pappo among the Buginese--a primary role is played by those whose heads wander around at night while the trunk remains in bed. Here they are always women. If there is a woman at court who is thought to be a popokang, she is immediately made a slave and sentenced to pound kemiri continuously as a means of preventing her from going out at night and doing harm. Besides these, there are the pontijana, the spirit of women who died
766 in childbirth. If a woman dies in childbirth, an egg is put un-
775 der each of her armpits, her hands are pressed tightly against
754 the body, and some needles are stuck inside her clothing.
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We shall not discuss the other spirits, because they were already mentioned in the general sketch.

769 [636] The worship of the souls of the deceased deserves
775 special consideration since the sanctity of the crocodiles, which
825 is found in many places on southern Celebes, is connected with
782 it. It is believed that the souls reside in these animals after
824 death. In the eastern districts, in Boeloekoempa, eels are regarded in the same way. Like the crocodiles, at the sound of metal cymbals, they come on land and feast on the chicken-
782 drumsticks that are given to them, especially by women who
776 yearn for the joys of motherhood. The most peculiar worship on

571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten.

Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
584 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
602 who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia' tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free companionship, it seems to take very little to make a Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
571 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
834 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
● 848 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang
583 cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

/226 cont./
Extramarital Pregnancy

848 Pregnancy is naturally a reason for flight for an unmarried woman. For the first few months the male relatives need not notice anything so she can safely remain at home. Her mother or sister is sometimes taken into her confidence, but both will always deny this. If, under these circumstances, a woman does not suceed in persuading the father of her child to flee and marry her, she finally flees by herself and names [588] him to the religious official concerned. Summoned by the imam, the majority of men confess. Thereupon the marriage is carried out, and the couple is henceforth simply regarded and treated as tumannjala.

A man who continues to deny being the father of the child is taken to the Kali of Goa. If he maintains his denial [695] there, he receives the opportunity to swear solemnly in the great mosque of Goa that he did not make this woman pregnant. Once he has performed this oath, he is free. In reality, however, he is still in danger. He will do well not to enter the kampong where the woman used to live. The general opinion is that a woman does not lie under such circumstances. A man who denies being the father of her child, even though he has fortified his denial by an oath, must always take care [627] that one of her /227/ kinsmen will not try to kill him all the same. Only when she has subsequently married another man is he safe.

584 After the man has made his oath, the woman remains in the imam's house until someone comes who wants to marry 588 her. This usually happens after a few days. First an emissary 848 from this man has a talk with the imam, who then conveys the marriage request to the woman. If she is not yet acquainted with her marriage partner-to-be, she is given an opportunity to see him, and she can then decide for herself. If she remains seated silently with bowed head, this is tantamount to her consent. But her expression "tea'" (I don't want to) is accepted. A woman who refuses several candidates one after another will at most be told that she is making

584 /227 cont./ things difficult for the people around her. There
588 always seems to be a sufficient number of unmarried men who
848 would like to get married.

It rarely happens that a child is born without the mother
848 being married. This may happen by way of exception, for instance, if a woman is pregnant by her sister's husband. According to Moslem law, which in this point is strictly followed in Goa, she may not marry this man before her sister is divorced from him and [illegible]ddat period is past. Children born outside wedloc[illegible]erefore, a rarity. At the same time they usually die [illegible] Only once a girl of about eight years of age was po[illegible] me in Borongloë as a child who had never had a [illegible]. Figures concerning this matter
[163] cannot be given because these births, or the subsequent death of the children, are not recorded in the respective registers. Makassarese fail to see what interests would be served in doing so. They prefer to forget such cases as soon as possible.

A man who marries a woman who was impregnated by
588 another man is called pattongko' siri' ("coverer of the disgrace").
672 Such a marriage is regarded entirely like a silariang marriage.
684 No further festivities take place when it occurs. The fine is paid, and the man is tumannjala with respect to his wife's kinsmen until the reconciliation, even though he only attained this status by virtue of the fact that he married her. It is usually a widower or a man of over thirty years who wants to contract such a marriage. Sometimes he is a kinsman of the woman, but in that case always a cousin of the sixth degree (sampopinruang) or further removed, for her closest kinsmen are, in the first instance, tumasiri'.

His action is appreciated. It makes the woman /228/
[848] happy, so it is said, because he saves her and her kinsmen from an even greater disgrace, giving birth to a child without being married. This appreciation is expressed, in the first place, by an early reconciliation, often as soon as a month after the marriage has been contracted. Furthermore, although

588 /228 cont./ during the period between nikka' and recon-
672 ciliation the "pattongko' siri'" is officially regarded as
684 tumannjala, in reality both parties do their best to avoid each other more than usual.

A description of such a wedding will follow here to
588 describe the atmosphere which is so completely different from that prevailing at an ordinary festive marriage, but especially to show also what both have in common. This is Djawi's wedding, which occurred in 1940 in Borongloë. There was no question of a festival here. The tone of the conversations was different from that at a festive wedding, and the ritual had been reduced to a few simple actions.

Djawi had fled from her parental house in a pregnant
588 condition. The man whom she had named as the father of her
●848 child had denied this, and she had then been taken to the house of the adat community head to wait there until someone should come to marry her, or, as it was expressed, "to take her disgrace away from her" (angalleangi siri'na), or else, "to let her live" (antallassi). After a few days an immediate
588 uncle of Djawi came to tell her that her uncle of the seventh degree (purina sampopinruang), by the name of Rappung, a divorced man without children, wanted to marry her. The adat community head conveyed this request to her. She already knew Rappung, and therefore she did not have to see him first, and she was given ample time to think the matter over. She continued to be silent, and from this it was concluded that she agreed to the marriage. The head reported this to the Imam of Borongloë, who sent a letter to Djawi's father in which he requested his consent to the marriage of his daughter. The letter included an authorization for the Imam to take his place as wali, an authorization to which only his fingerprint had to be added.

[583] /229/ On this occasion it appeared that the sawah designated as sunrang yielded only 50 sheaves of paddy, while a sawah of 100 sheaves was regarded as customary in such a

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes. i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
563 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thou-
755 sands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
● 848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal, and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

his status. The Kepala kampong repeated that there are M
many grades of slaves, and evidently the higher ones actual- 567
ly regard themselves as superior to ordinary commoners. He said that formerly there were many more slaves here, but that many went away when greater freedom of movement was allowed. He added that in the kampongs near the towns there are fewer slaves than in the more remote areas. At one time a noble might have owned as many as a hundred or more slaves.

I quizzed him about the to detjeng. He said this was hard M
to explain because there were so many kinds. He agreed that 565
the crucial point is that there is some noble blood involved. 851
However, he said that one might use the term detjeng in 582
reference to slaves; all this means literally is "good" (baik). 567

I asked about class intermarriage, and Andi said that marriage of a matola with a slave woman means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. Also, the marriage of a matola man with a commoner means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. He is not too clear about all this, and it certainly could stand some case research.

In the kampong of Tolangi there are supposed to be a M
number of Toradja descendants. I saw this section of 563
Bukaka and noted that there were only about seven to eight T
houses. They are located near a mosque. The Kepala kam- 186
pong said that the Toradja there try hard to assimilate into 167
the Buginese group, and that they do not like to be called 191
"To Tolangi." They try to move out of this section so that 177
they can hide their Toradja origin. The older ones can still speak Toradja, but the younger ones are forgetting it and they try never to let it be heard (like immigrants in the United States). Today they intermarry with the Buginese. Andi said that there are plenty of Toradja people in Watampone, lots of them living near his house. They come from all over the Toradja country. By and large they are workers M
at rather poor jobs and do not mix in very much. 565

In talking about intermarriage I insisted that everyone has 582
to know whether a person has a slave background or not. They agreed to this and said that marriages are watched carefully.

We went to a cemetery where there were two beehive M
cement and brick tombs just like the Kale Goa. Inside were 764
the usual graves and on them were placed flowers. There 174
was a smell of incense in the tomb. The Kepala kampong [563]
said that people make offerings and pray here. He said that the Chinese come here too. These graves are about two

E. Interclass Marriages: Aberrant (13) (cont.) 162 565

	Ages	Trade	Number of case
NM-SW (2)	60-50	None	E 1
	30-30	Unknown	D 2
CM-SW (None)			

F. Interclass Marriages: Taboo Cases (3)

NW-CM (2)	40-45	Peddler	C 6
	20-25	Goldsmith	A 21
NW-SM (None)			
CW-SM (1)	70-85	None	D 4

G. Class of Children of Aberrant and Taboo Marriages

NM-CW	N	But before, commoner.
NM-SW	C	Before, same.
CM-SW		No cases.
NW-CM	C	Taboo before.
NW-SM		No cases.
CW-SM	C	But before, slave.

Formerly, in allowing a higher man to marry a lower woman, the rule was that children would be dropped one class. Now the same is done for a noble man marrying a slave woman, although the child of a noble man-common woman marriage is a commoner. There are no cases of a common man marrying a slave woman. 565 851 582

Formerly marriage between a lower man and a higher woman was taboo. Now such marriages result in the lowering by one class of the status of children resulting from such a marriage, if the man is a commoner and the woman a noble. However, the class of the children follows that of the higher parent if the man is a slave and the woman a commoner. The marriage of a slave man to a noble woman is evidently still taboo.

H. Sailors 162

Former	10
Still	4
Total	14

I. Moved into Kampong

From other Makassarese areas	61
From Buginese areas	2
From Java	5
Total	68

J. Working or Have Worked outside Kampong

In other Makassarese areas	7 (except sailors)
In other Celebes areas	0 (except in-migrants)
In Java	2
In Borneo	3
In Ambon	1
In other Moluccas	1
Total	14

581 /139 cont./ feast, in which this purpose finds expression, and the difficulties which crop up on this occasion are the topic of the second part.

558 /140/ As a companion phenomenon, the vertical
562 tendency includes the sense of siri', that is, the sense of going down in social standing in relation to someone else. The fact that a woman must not go down in standing means that the slightest impairment of her social standing arouses the most violent reactions. There are various ways of escaping such a reaction. Marriage by flight is an example. It will be discussed extensively, among other things, in the third part of this chapter because it forms a spectacular phenomenon in Makassarese society, one that constantly leads to difficulties in the practice of administration and jurisdiction.

First Part

852 Immediately at birth a difference is made in the ritual between a boy and a girl. The parappo, the essence of the offering to be presented, differs with respect to the number of betel leaves of which it consists, depending on whether it is intended for a boy (6) or for a girl (7). Children play
857 together up to the age of eight to ten years. Informants
855 said that girls were always treated more gently than boys, for instance, that they were not beaten.

Not until the age of six years, so far as I was able to
857 observe, were little boys taught that they are not allowed
867 other things than girls /sic/. Boys of that age accompany their father to the pasar; girls stay at home. Boys are sent away when young girls (tau lolo) are getting dressed and making themselves up. When little girls are naughty, they are threatened with: "I'll make you sit with the boys." Boys are not threatened with having to sit with the girls. They would find it momentarily unpleasant, so I was told, but they are freer in their movements and would therefore

864 /141 cont./ Not until he is circumcised, at the age of seven to eight years, will a boy always wear a pair of pants under [304 his sarong. Adult men bathe in the nude; but in so doing 852] cover their genitals with the hand. Women keep their sarong on when they bathe. One of the first things that a Makassarese woman observed with surprise on Java was the fact that there the women bathe naked in the river. A girl always appears before her mother with her sarong. Young girls do tease each other at the well, "almost," when a sarong almost slips down. But if the sarong had really slipped off, the other would have denied this and would not have [576] spoken about it any further. This is how a girl knows her friends. Only those who do not like her would talk about it to others and make her ashamed (siri').

857 /142/ Children play "marriage." They put on rags and cloths. One of them is the bride's mother and helps the others, and they make sand cakes. The children may begin to quarrel and the matter often ends by a girl getting a shove or a blow which hurts so that she cries and runs away angrily. Sexual activities were definitely not observed. When an almost three-year-old boy was asked: "Why don't you play bridegroom" (buntimmako), he closed his eyes and stood motionless. The picture of the bridegroom, but above all, that of the bride, who, dressed in her most beautiful clothes, remains seated motionless for hours on end with cast-down eyes, had made the strongest impression on this three-year-old.

857 Boys and girls tend to play together up to the age of eight 858 to ten years so long as it works out. Up to that age girls 867 are also allowed to run around freely in the yard. But even before the appearance of puberty the separation is intensified. Boys learn that they must sit still and be quiet when the old 858 men speak. "After all, you are no longer a little child," 867 they are told. Around the same time, thus long before the

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

304
852
516
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During a circumcision festival held for a son of the adat community head, he and his little sister also have their teeth filed.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

302
852
291
301

On the occasion of the same festival, the old Imam also cuts the children's hair in a ritual manner.

(Photo I. T. C. O.)

[end plate 9]

1:Alkema & Bezemer--513 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Bali OF7
Gorontalo OG4
Borneo OC1
Makassar OG6
Toradja OG11
Savu OF15

G 304 846 [460 cont.]

Minahasa — a little piece of wood with cloth wound around it is fastened tightly against the forehead with bands. Every morning when the child is bathed, the piece of wood is taken off, but after the bath it is fastened on tightly again. This is done for 50 or 60 days.

I [304 174 846]

This custom, also practiced formerly in Europe as is shown by prehistoric skulls, must have existed everywhere in the archipelago according to Dr. A. B. Meyer in his study, Ueber künstlich deformirte Schädel von Borneo und Mindanao [Concerning artificially deformed skulls from Borneo and Mindanao], 1881; there are, however, no further reports of recent date on this subject.

Br [304]

I 302 852 778

Ritual Haircutting. In the chapter "Nature Worship," mention was made of the special power that is ascribed to the hair as the bearer of much "mana." It is therefore not surprising that the child's first haircut is accompanied by a certain amount of ceremony, such as is reported by Wilken (1) for the Minangkabau,

1. Dr. G. A. Wilken, "Ueber das Haaropfer und einige andere Trauergebräuche bei den Völkern Indonesiens [Concerning the Hair Offering and Some Other Mourning Customs among the Peoples of Indonesia]" (Revue Coloniale Internationale, IV, pp. 351 f.), and Wilken, Verspreide Geschriften [Miscellaneous Writings], Vol. III, pp. 399-550.

MX T S 8l 302 852

where only in special cases [461] is it accompanied by great festivity, among the Makassarese and Buginese and in central Celebes, where the first contact with the ground (see below) is the occasion for it, on Savu and Bali, where it is done at the namegiving, and for many other tribes in the archipelago.

2: Wilken--266 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10
Makassar OG6
Toradja OG11
Gorontolo OG4

[223 cont.]

000

a. Haircutting (1)

1. For more detailed information see G.A.Wilken, "Ueber das Haaropfer und einige andere Trauergebräuche bei den Völkern Indonesiëns," Revue Col. Internationale, Vol. IV, pp. 391 f.

Mn I 852 302

A no less important ceremony, one that once even had religious significance, is the first haircut of the young child, which takes place with more or less ceremony among practically all peoples, the pagans as well as the Mohammedans. We point first to the Minangkabau Malays, who call this operation mĕmangkegombaq, the cutting of the gombaq, the locks of hair. These Malays have the custom of shearing the heads of their children completely bare, except for two tufts that remain, sometimes combed and sometimes plaited and decorated with quarters [coins] [224] or amulets. These locks are cut off during the mĕmangkegombaq, which is accompanied by festivities lasting several days, and afterwards the locks are wrapped in yellow cotton and taken to the father's house. A similar ceremony takes place in Lebong and in the Palembang Highlands.

MK 852 302 554

Among the Buginese and Makassarese, too, the hair of a child is cut ceremoniously when it reaches the age of one, two, or more years, and if the child is a prince, this is done with thrice seven shears. If the child is lower in rank, but of royal blood, then only twice seven shears are required, and for children of lesser rank the number of shears is proportionately reduced; for the lowest class one pair of shears is enough for the operation.

Tr G 852 302

This custom is likewise found among the pagan tribes of the central part of Celebes, as well as among the inhabitants of Bolaäng Mongondou. The latter preserve the hair in a coconut shell, as is also done by the Gorontalese. They hang the shell in front of the house above the steps, where it remains until it falls down of its own accord.

2: Wilken--270 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Buru	OH8	Javanese	OE5
Ceram	OH9	Makassar	OG6
Watubela	OH17	Gorontalo	OG4
Aru	OH5	New Guinea	OJ1
		Ambon	OH4

J [227 cont.]
304 a rule it is left to the better judgment of the person who performs the operation, who is governed by the circumstances.

J The person who does the circumcising may be a priest,
304 but is usually a layman and is called bong. Well-to-do people
852 provide food at midnight before the ceremony, and the gamelang plays. The following morning at six o'clock the boy who is to undergo the operation, handsomely attired, smeared with boreh = yellow ointment, and covered with garlands of the small, white, and fragrant blooms of the Mimusops elengi, strung with thread is taken to a kind of tent, under which the bong performs the operation in one of the two ways. Generally, the boy is 12, 14, or 15 years old.

MK Among the Makassarese and Buginese, too, the Arabic
304 sonnat, pronounced sunná, is the name for circumcision. It is
852 circumcision here and is done at about twelve years of age by a priest who gives the Arabic formula: "Oh, God! Bless our lord Mohammed and the family of our lord Mohammed. Oh, God! Bless our lord Mohammed and his family and his associates."

G It is unnecessary to discuss circumcision among the other
304 Mohammedan peoples of the archipelago. Only the Gorontalese should be given special mention. Among them this operation is called either sonnat, the Arabic term, [228] or moluna, a native word. Circumcision is practiced among the well-to-do, and incision by the lower classes.

NG Circumcision is also found among various pagan tribes as
I well as among the Mohammedan peoples in the archipelago.
304

Let us begin with the Papuans of New Guinea. It is found exclusively among those of the east coast and probably exists there in the form of incision.

Am Of the Moluccas, we first call attention to Ambon and
B the Uliasar Islands (Saparua, Haruku, and Nusalaut), where,
C according to Valentijn, it was formerly generally practiced.
W Even today, it is found among the Alfoer of Buru, in some parts
304 of western Ceram, and on the Watubela Islands, and everywhere
A it is incision. It is different, however, on the Aru Islands, where
304

2: Wilken--275, E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau 0D10
Javanese 0E5
Makassar 0G6
Gorontolo 0G4

[232 cont.]

I 304 121 done to make the boy mature and completely normal from a sexual standpoint. With circumcision one left childhood and entered the ranks of the adolescents. Circumcision is thus the same as a declaration of nubility. We have seen that this is the case among the peoples of the archipelago.

Among some peoples, circumcision takes place at a very early age, for example, among the Israelites. Here it was thought that nature had to be helped promptly. The covering of the glans by the foreskin, as an abnormality, it had to be removed at once. Originally, then, the operation had no religious significance. It only gradually acquired this. Practices derived from antiquity quickly acquire this character. Uncivilized peoples are inclined to regard what originally were simple measures for the benefit of man as willed by the gods.

c. Circumcision of Girls (1)

1. Wilken, "De besnijdenis," etc., op. cit., pp. 195 ff.

I 304 177 Besides boys, girls, too, are circumcised, but this custom is not so general. It consists of the removal of [233] the praeputium clitoridis, sometimes of the clitoris itself, or of the labia minora. In the Malay Archipelago it is found exclusively among the Mohammedan peoples, from which it is obvious that this custom was adopted from the Arabs, among whom it originated.

G Mn MK J 304 852 Girls are generally circumcised at an earlier age than boys. This is the case, for example, among the Minangkabau Malays, and among the Javanese girls undergo this operation as early as the sixth year. Among the Makassarese it is done between the third and seventh year. The Gorontalese, too, practice it. Among all the peoples named, however, it is done with much less ceremony than is the case for the boys. The I 304 852 circumcision of girls among the Mohammedan peoples, like

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. 842
But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Per- 611
haps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here?
I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They [123]
listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families.
They said there simply was no control here. The more the
better. I talked at length regarding the future decision con-
cerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather
a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of
Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that
here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children,
but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very inter-
esting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories.

We quit at 6 P.M as the guru had to go to prayer. This is 512
Friday (or maybe he goes everyday).

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The 123
people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is 574
true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always 562
tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must al-
ways be served to guests, and the Kepala kampong said that
if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there
may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come
into the front when I am present, a difference from the be-
havior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served
by the Kepala kampong or his son or a retainer. The Kepala 576
kampong, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends
over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes
hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the
younger ones not so much.

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. 595
Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten 852
days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several 574
houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is
sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant.
We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a 000
house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way
we saw the kampong Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later
the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watam-
pone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a
three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children
soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim
like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they
marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau.
The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am
not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the
marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the
marriage is completed.

342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
●852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouthwash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang.

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I 517
got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The 181
Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did 167
not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if 186
he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is 178
general and there is not much to say. The death punishment 681
is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the 796
common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even 805
included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They [241]
knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: 574
I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and 852
two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of [562]
men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear
part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much 176
new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus 874
chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third 401
grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from 403
bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

I 635 668 666 boasting pattern in the United States and Indonesian culture. He said that they will give their "platform" in incidental speeches and on wall posters.

All of this is not too clear. Anyway, I see that Stefel, like Riekerk, thinks that the "radical" tendency in elections is encouraging. At least some Dutch officials seem to want to have "radicalism" here. Stefel says that the absence of political parties in general is a sign of political immaturity only; they will come.

M 304 565 881 778 852 535 Makassar, October 11, 1949: I had a talk with Rahim. He showed me photographs of circumcision, with tooth filing and hair cutting as well, taken in kampong Borongkaluku of district Borolloe. This is under Gallarang, one of the nine bate of Goa.. This kampong is eighteen kilometers east of Makassar on the way to Malino. In the pictures there were three children being fixed, all of nobility. Two of them were girls, one was a boy. Also their youthful lower-class followers participated, wearing very elaborate, decorative dress too. Only nobles can afford to have these great feasts. There is a big procession, with people carrying all sorts of magical objects. This goes to the holy stone of Songkolo' (there are only three in all Goa), which is near Borongkaluku in the district of Borolloe. The stone is in a fenced-in bamboo place, like the stone at Kalé Goa. Here a man does a kris dance before an open door of the flat stone sanctuary. A woman does a holy dance in the same place. These are fine photographs. They also show a mother having her first teeth filing. This is done ceremonially only, with a gold ring. She has clamped between her teeth a piece of wood. A fowl is being held by the operator who smears the blood from it on her teeth. Then there are photographs of the boy and the two girls (look to be about 8 to 5 years old) being "filed". (Here again it is only mock filing with a gold ring; after a few years they will get the real filing with a stone). They also have pieces of wood clamped in their teeth. Other photographs show these same children getting their hair locks cut off. There is a wonderful picture of a boy's penis being clamped and cut (supercision) and another showing the bloody scar on the top of the penis. This is done with a steel knife. There is also a photograph of one of the girls being cut, but her vulva is behind a cloth sheet and the operator is working on it underneath, so that from the picture one cannot see what is going on. Another photograph shows the Mohammedan prayers being offered at one side and a pagan stick offering on the other.

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs. M 304 881 852

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heaven ones. This explains a difficult point. M 565 173 793

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace. M 778 793

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former. M 562 609

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime. C 669 643

582 /207 cont./ Suckling kinship is thought to exist where a child under two years of age has been nursed by a woman five times to its full satisfaction. Among the Makassarese, nursing 853 by the mother occurs at irregular times. If the child so much 582 as makes a sound, it is put to the breast. If the mother does not have enough milk, she is helped out. Preferably a sister or a cousin (samposikali) of the mother takes the child to her breast. Under these conditions it is difficult to prove that a young man or a young woman some twenty years before were both nursed by one and the same woman. Among religious families in the city of Macassar, women take care that they do not nurse a child of a sister or cousin lest difficulties arise later when they arrange marriages. In one of these kin groups, a marriage did not go through even though preparations were far advanced, because the suspicion had been uttered that bride and bridegroom had both been nursed by the bridegroom's mother. The young man was then married to a younger sister [184] of the bride. /208/ In Borongloë nothing was noticed by me of the awareness of this marriage prohibition based upon suckling kinship (1).

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1. A mother of several children whose milk had continued to flow frequently nursed her grandchildren of approximately the same age as her youngest children. The nipple of an old woman who no longer produced any milk was used by the recently born child of her daughter as a pacifier. When a woman is pregnant (when the menstruation has stopped for several months),

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862

853/208 cont./
862

she begins to wean her youngest. The reason for still nursing her child of about two-and-one-half years who is able to walk, according to the mother, was that she was not yet pregnant. A child that already walks and plays but who still drinks from the mother's breast often turns out to be her youngest. A woman had continued to feed her first child (seven months old) while she was expecting her second. When the milk flow decreased, this child regressed considerably physically, since it was still taking little extra food. Only after the birth of the second one, when the mother was feeding both children, did the first one regain strength. This case must be regarded as an exception, however.

862

Weaning is done by means of a bitter fluid smeared on the nipple, which brings quick results. A woman was urging her child to suck even though she had just previously smeared her nipple. Later, when it was offered the breast, the child refused violently.

853
[565]

A wet nurse (anrong pasusu) is only to be found in karaeng circles. She is spoken of as

853 /208 cont./ amma'daëng (mother daëng). Being a wet nurse is called hereditary, in the sense that one likes to see that where a woman has a nurse, the daughter of this nurse is again the wet nurse for the daughter of this woman. A young mother of high nobility is said to be modern if she nurses the child herself. A marriage of a noble person with someone who is related by suckling kinship to him is out of the question.

[565]

[582]

582 Finally, it is considered natural to marry a kinsman. In the case of marriage to someone who is not related there is mutual insecurity. Such a marriage always has a practical purpose. People want to extend the circle of their connections, and sometimes it is believed to serve one's aspirations to rise best of all in this fashion. But in the case of such a marriage, the chance of failure is considered greater than in that to a kinsman. "Do not creep out" (teako alamba' assulukii) is said to one who has plans of marrying off his child outside the kin group.

[557]

Since a marriage to a non-kinsman, to a person of a different generation, and to a contemporary of the fourth and the tenth degree, is always regarded as unfavorable, there remains merely the possibility of marriage between contemporaries of the sixth and eighth degree. That is the marriage which, according to the figures given above (see pages 29 and 30), is, at the same time, the most frequent.

574
166
591 /55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A
592 child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother
[855] or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity.
[861] Experience teaches that in another environment such naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally, these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form
[602] a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time. Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

158 To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations
865 can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however, another element of this culture must first be described; this is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

581 /139 cont./ feast, in which this purpose finds expression, and the difficulties which crop up on this occasion are the topic of the second part.

558 /140/ As a companion phenomenon, the vertical
562 tendency includes the sense of siri', that is, the sense of going down in social standing in relation to someone else. The fact that a woman must not go down in standing means that the slightest impairment of her social standing arouses the most violent reactions. There are various ways of escaping such a reaction. Marriage by flight is an example. It will be discussed extensively, among other things, in the third part of this chapter because it forms a spectacular phenomenon in Makassarese society, one that constantly leads to difficulties in the practice of administration and jurisdiction.

First Part

852 Immediately at birth a difference is made in the ritual between a boy and a girl. The parappo, the essence of the offering to be presented, differs with respect to the number of betel leaves of which it consists, depending on whether it is intended for a boy (6) or for a girl (7). Children play
857 together up to the age of eight to ten years. Informants
855 said that girls were always treated more gently than boys, for instance, that they were not beaten.

Not until the age of six years, so far as I was able to
857 observe, were little boys taught that they are not allowed
867 other things than girls /sic/. Boys of that age accompany their father to the pasar; girls stay at home. Boys are sent away when young girls (tau lolo) are getting dressed and making themselves up. When little girls are naughty, they are threatened with: "I'll make you sit with the boys." Boys are not threatened with having to sit with the girls. They would find it momentarily unpleasant, so I was told, but they are freer in their movements and would therefore

858 /142 cont./ first menstruation, the girls are "caged"
867 (nikappara'); the separation from the other sex is thereby completed. From now on she is also subject to the many restrictions in social relations which obtain between men and women in general and between unmarried men and women in particular. "She is already staying at home" (ammantammi ri balla') is an indication of the age of a girl when she is around ten years old. At this time she enters
[291] the group of women, where she belongs to the young girls (tau lolo), who are also called "the red jackets" (badju' edja), after the conspicuous red jacket of slightly transparent material which they wear.

867 She learns that she must withdraw at the arrival of male visitors, that she may not be conspicuous, and that she must lower her voice. The girl who enters the front room (kale balla') even though there are guests is told off with a disapproving "she dares." A girl who talked loudly was angrily asked: "Who do you want to hear your voice?" If
[864] a girl shows her desire for a man by being conspicuous and by talking loudly, she is considered late (man-crazy), one of the most undesirable qualities in a girl.

857 A young girl only leaves the house in the company
867 of older women. Little excursions are holidays for her. She dresses carefully for these occasions; she makes herself up, blackens her eyebrows and the hairline on her forehead,
855 /143/ and powders her face. The older women guard and protect her. In their presence a young girl is safe. If she is alone at home or in the yard and a man enters the yard accidentally, a dangerous situation is created because this encounter, regardless of the intention of both parties, is
[626] considered a breach of established forms of social intercourse. If a neighbor woman were to see and talk about it, so that the girl's brother hears of it, the latter would feel siri' and act accordingly.

858 /143 cont./ Boys seem to go through a difficult period
867 at the age of approximately eleven to fourteen years. Before that, despite small differences from the girls, they were considered to be children, and as such they quite naturally stayed in the women's rooms. But around the age of ten to eleven, the older women make it plain to them that they
561 no longer belong there. Compared to women, however, men have less unity. For them the difference in age plays a much
562 more important role. It prevents the smooth interaction between older and younger men, because the older expect
561 obedience and a certain respect from the younger. The young boys therefore find no unity in the group of men which makes
●855 them feel at home. At the same time they do not possess
858 the sexual maturity to participate in the boasting conversations about conquests and sexual achievements that are customary in the circle of young men. They are physically not yet strong enough to participate in brawls and great work schemes, and therefore they cannot talk about their exploits. They do not count among the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds. At the same time these twelve-year-old boys have not yet had much opportunity to associate with each other. So they first look for their age mates. They roam around, they are little noticed, and they don't feel at home anywhere.

Division of Labor

462 The domain of the women is house and yard. There they cook, wash, weave, and take care of the children. They leave the house only to pay visits or to run over to neighbors, who are also the closest kinsmen. When male visitors arrive they withdraw into the back part of the house. There is the kitchen; there they have their own separate
462 entrance. One could regard the women as a group whose
476 members /144/ help each other with daily household problems,

177 /144 cont./ 2. As yet there is no rice mill in Goa. In the colonists' kampongs, 200 kilometers north of Macassar, the men do the pounding for the landowner, but not for their own consumption. Rice-pounding wages are high.
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461 The spare time which women gained was not used
855 toward new objectives. It was devoted to small children who are not let out of sight for a moment. In the house or in the yard their own mother or one of the neighbor's girls
461 is always with them. During the rest of the time women
574 visit each other. This promotes companionship and strengthens their mutual ties. They exchange kampong and family news and drink coffee on these occasions. These visits are always paid in little groups of a number of older women and a few younger ones, nicely dressed, accompanied by one of their closest male kinsmen.

/145/ Men's work is in the sawahs in the broadest sense,
462 from manufacturing agricultural implements to carrying in sheaves of paddy. Furthermore, it is their job to work in the garden, to construct and repair the house, as well as to do all the little tasks in which wood or bamboo must be
443 cut down or worked. They run errands at the pasar (1) and
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1. In early July, 1949, the visitors to the Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) were registered as 62 women and 904 men.

105 /239 cont./ the vertical tendency is strong, and integration is either not present at all or else in a very weak form. In kin groups like that of the adat community head, that of the kapala and that of Mangenre, the striving for integration is time and again interrupted through oppositional striving. The vertical tendency and thus, at the same time, the disintegration of the group can best be observed among the prominent members.

In a kin group where an ornament is present, integration can always be more clearly shown than in one where the ornament is absent. Kin groups lacking an ornament seem incapable of forming a power center of significance. Stability, on the other hand, is found only where the vertical articulation is fixed. The vertical tendency inherent in the /240/ kin groups constantly has as a consequence the renewed disintegration of these groups.

262 South Celebes is a land with a large surface, in relation to its population, suited to wet rice cultivation. If the rice harvest has failed, maize is available to take its place. There seems to be no fear of a threatening food shortage among the Makassarese and Buginese.

●855 Small children are well cared for over a long period of time by their mothers and female housemates. By the same token, there seems to be no fear of receiving insufficient care.

867 One of the first things a young person learns is the fact that he is restricted in his movements and that he must be
155 quiet when a man, even his father, is present in the house. Upon the arrival of a male guest the women and children withdraw from the front room, and the children are reprimanded if they make noise. This happens to a greater degree when a higher person comes to the house. Here are the first frustrations for the children (1).

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[51 cont.]

It is not difficult to answer the question as to what the origin of this ornament is. It is reported of the Batak that this object is definitely used now as an amulet that the children wear in front of the genitals (7), from which, we believe, one can conclude

7. Neumann, Tijdschr. Ned Aard. Gen., 1886, more extensive articles, 2, p. 30.

[52] that formerly the other tribes among whom we found it also attached this meaning to the object. In my study on the ithyphallic images of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago, I noted the fact that among the most civilized peoples the penis, and among the more highly developed peoples a representation of the penis, is used to drive off evil spirits, particularly the pontianaq, whereas the imitation of the penis serves primarily to counter the influence of the evil eye (1).

1. Wilken, Bijdragen t.d. T. L. en Vlk. v. Ned. Indië, Vol. XXXV, p. 393 ff.

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The first garment worn by the children of the more highly developed peoples, the Javanese, Malays, Makassarese, and Buginese, is the chest-protector, which is fastened around the neck and stomach with bands. The name of this garment is oto or otoh, in Javanese oto, and in Makassarese and Buginese otó (2). Among

2. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 603. Van der Tuuk and Van der Wall, Maleisch woordenboek, see oto. Matthes, Makassaarsch and Boegineesch Wrdb., see otó.

the less civilized, as well as among the still wholly uncivilized, the children are dressed as adults as soon as they reach marriageable age.

South Celebes: Kuurman said that the league of three (Bone, Soppeng, Wadjo) was the most powerful unit here. It is headed by Bone. In the past, Goa was next to Bone, or at times vice versa. Now the Bone ruler is the kepala daerah, and Goa furnishes only the second man. (There must be an interesting psychological relationship here.) C 634

[Makassar] Abdul Rahim is not a Christian. He is a Mohammedan. But he told me that he was not too devout, as he sees good in all sects. He reads the Bible, for example. He is evidently one of the people in Makassar who belongs to a kind of "ethical culture society" which studies and discusses all religions, taking good points from each. I have heard about this in various quarters and wonder if they are mostly natives, mostly Christians, or what. M 115 795

Second trip to Balombaru, Tuesday, August 16th, 1949: When we left there last Friday, I asked when we should go again; maybe Saturday or Sunday? He [Abdul Rahim, the author's assistant--Analyst] said "No, Monday." Maybe this was so he could find an assistant, but I wonder if it may not have been to give the people a chance to talk the project over. I doubt the latter. Anyway, we went there and tried to see the Karaëng, but he was not in yet. Incidentally, I had to see the people today, as tomorrow is Independence Day and everything will be closed. There were lots of people in the Karaëng's office and a distribution of clothing was going on. But there were also many people coming in to see about something, possibly taxation. They all had a paper, which may have been a form or a type of bill. There was much talk regarding money, and I thought this was like the government in general. As a rule there is always some charge. I left from the Karaëng's place saying that I would return later and went to the Kepala kampong [head of the native village]. He lives in a pretty good house such as all notables seem to own. It is built in native style. He is a fine lad, young, good looking, pleasant, and gay. He is also well dressed. In the house there were also several others. I sat to the right of the Kepala kampong at the table. Rahim sat in front of him. The lad who is to be my assistant sat to the left of the Kepala kampong, and then there were about three other individuals sandwiched in. Everyone was ready to talk and the whole atmosphere was informal and impressively pleasant. Around the room sat young lads, girls and women. One older boy spoke up once or twice and received no rebuke. Everything was serene and there was no squabbling. Children behaved very well. The Kepala kampong has, I think, four or five children. M 124 M 124 576 855

124 They are small and pretty. They came from time to time to
576 sit on his lap and looked at me. He was serene and his
children were wonderful in behavior. Rahim got to the point
● 855 at once and the Kepala kampong said that this fellow was the
man. He indicated a rather angular fellow perhaps twenty-
five years old, the kind of Adam's appled type. However, he
seemed keen enough. He attended school (lower school only)
463 with Rahim. Then he [i.e., assistant to author--Analyst] got
311 into a trade working with a gold and silver smith. This
happens to be one of the main trades of the village. Rahim
said there were some farmers in the village, but there was
not much wet rice land in the area. However, many people
have sawah in other kampongs. Other trades in the village
involved commercial enterprises, and being a prau man. A
river runs by here and it is mentioned in Friedericy as the
one where Goa once levied a river mouth tax on all praus. I
124 later found out that the lad was willing to give up his trade
465 for a while and work for me. He was somewhat ashamed
156 when Rahim asked him about a salary. He said he would
leave that matter up to me and Rahim said that this was act-
ing as a typical Makassarese, that is malu [timid, shy,
ashamed], although I wonder if he would be so malu when
talking about pay with the Chinese who runs the gold and
silver business. Later I talked with Rahim about the matter
of salary for this man. He told me that things were expen-
sive now, the man had to give up his work, and so forth. He
added that he needed more than three to four guilders a day
[593] for his family. And he added that if he did not receive enough
his wife would complain. Evidently he must keep his wife
happy. So even among the Makassarese a wife nags. Rahim
is very strong on the point of getting and keeping in the good
graces of one's wife. This is a revelation to me, as I thought
women in Mohammedan lands kept their mouths shut. But
here, perhaps, is an indication of the underlying qualities of
Malayo-Polynesian women. Rahim finally said that one hun-
dred rupiah per month would be all right. I asked about the
regular pay which a smith might receive. He said that it
was very good, as much as f.10 or f.15 per day. I then said
that maybe f.100 was too low, and that I would go up to f.150.
He seemed pleased that I was not going to be a chiseler, and
said that I could pay a reasonable salary and then if I wanted
to, at the end, I could give a bonus. I asked if I had better
not give some sort of advance, and he agreed. Hence I gave
f. 30 to be given to the assistant (named Mohammed Saleh)
who will call on Rahim Thursday after Hari Merdeka.

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and 584
if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment 834
you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to
him.

Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions 125
as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of
his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing.
The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for
immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary
he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration.
He followed this, and gave information only on people from
outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans.

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such 565
class designations as bangsa hamba[slaves] and others as 558
turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The com-
moners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually
below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great
cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were 567
plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50
per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if
there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the
usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There
are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear
that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could
see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone.
With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any
given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there
was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half
slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen].
They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is
Rahim's.

Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell 855
plenty in order to send him to school.

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went 567
to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general 558
exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are
of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may 166
be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stop- 152
ped, and this is so throughout Europe.) As slavery went the
wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no
longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the de-
cline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went
away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census.
As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry
if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 000

581 /139 cont./ feast, in which this purpose finds expression, and the difficulties which crop up on this occasion are the topic of the second part.

558 /140/ As a companion phenomenon, the vertical
562 tendency includes the sense of siri', that is, the sense of going down in social standing in relation to someone else. The fact that a woman must not go down in standing means that the slightest impairment of her social standing arouses the most violent reactions. There are various ways of escaping such a reaction. Marriage by flight is an example. It will be discussed extensively, among other things, in the third part of this chapter because it forms a spectacular phenomenon in Makassarese society, one that constantly leads to difficulties in the practice of administration and jurisdiction.

First Part

852 Immediately at birth a difference is made in the ritual between a boy and a girl. The parappo, the essence of the offering to be presented, differs with respect to the number of betel leaves of which it consists, depending on whether it is intended for a boy (6) or for a girl (7). Children play
857 together up to the age of eight to ten years. Informants
855 said that girls were always treated more gently than boys, for instance, that they were not beaten.

Not until the age of six years, so far as I was able to
857 observe, were little boys taught that they are not allowed
867 other things than girls /sic/. Boys of that age accompany their father to the pasar; girls stay at home. Boys are sent away when young girls (tau lolo) are getting dressed and making themselves up. When little girls are naughty, they are threatened with: "I'll make you sit with the boys." Boys are not threatened with having to sit with the girls. They would find it momentarily unpleasant, so I was told, but they are freer in their movements and would therefore

857 /140 cont. / be able to run away again more easily. Little
867 boys are allowed to be somewhat rowdy and boisterous during a festival, but girls are forbidden such behavior: "Are you
[262] a boy?" an older girl then snaps at her. Little girls may not eat a certain kind of fish so that later, when they are grown up, they will not become man-crazy. At various festivities
[777] they receive "pitjuru," luck-bringing /141/ charms so that when they are grown up they will marry and have many children. The sexes are sometimes separated as early as the
[871] age of seven to eight years when children go to the religious instructor (guru ngadji), where they learn to recite the Koran. Then the girls receive instruction from the guru's wife in the back of the house.

One of the first frustrations of children after weaning
593 is caused by adult men, especially the father. When a man
867 enters the house, women and children withdraw to the back part of the house. When there are guests, care is taken that the children make no noise. When an important man is in the house, this rule applies even more strictly. Little children who then make noise are threatened with: "He is angry at you." An old woman repeated to a three-year-old who quietly sat next to her, "He sees you, he is looking at you." The importance of the situation was imparted in this fashion; and a certain fear as well as a certain veneration for the superior found expression in this way.

867 The difference in /social/ level between children is
554 revealed partly by what is less tolerated in one than in another. When a karaëng comes for a visit to the house of the adat community head, his little son may run around and perhaps even sit down behind his father, but the children of kinsmen and servants remain in the back rooms, and the women take care that they are quiet.

864 A little girl learns from early childhood that it is not good to show herself naked: "Where is your sarong?" she is asked. This applies to boys only one to two years later.

864 /141 cont./ Not until he is circumcised, at the age of seven to eight years, will a boy always wear a pair of pants under [304 his sarong. Adult men bathe in the nude, but in so doing 852] cover their genitals with the hand. Women keep their sarong on when they bathe. One of the first things that a Makassarese woman observed with surprise on Java was the fact that there the women bathe naked in the river. A girl always appears before her mother with her sarong. Young girls do tease each other at the well, "almost, " when a sarong almost slips down. But if the sarong had really slipped off, the other would have denied this and would not have [576] spoken about it any further. This is how a girl knows her friends. Only those who do not like her would talk about it to others and make her ashamed (siri').

857 Children play "marriage. " They put on rags and cloths. /142/ One of them is the bride's mother and helps the others, and they make sand cakes. The children may begin to quarrel and the matter often ends by a girl getting a shove or a blow which hurts so that she cries and runs away angrily. Sexual activities were definitely not observed. When an almost three-year-old boy was asked: "Why don't you play bridegroom" (buntimmako), he closed his eyes and stood motionless. The picture of the bridegroom, but above all, that of the bride, who, dressed in her most beautiful clothes, remains seated motionless for hours on end with cast-down eyes, had made the strongest impression on this three-year-old.

857 Boys and girls tend to play together up to the age of eight 858 to ten years so long as it works out. Up to that age girls 867 are also allowed to run around freely in the yard. But even before the appearance of puberty the separation is intensified. Boys learn that they must sit still and be quiet when the old 858 men speak. "After all, you are no longer a little child, " 867 they are told. Around the same time, thus long before the

858 /142 cont./ first menstruation, the girls are "caged"
867 (nikappara'); the separation from the other sex is thereby completed. From now on she is also subject to the many restrictions in social relations which obtain between men and women in general and between unmarried men and women in particular. "She is already staying at home" (ammantammi ri balla') is an indication of the age of a girl when she is around ten years old. At this time she enters
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855 /143/ and powders her face. The older women guard and protect her. In their presence a young girl is safe. If she is alone at home or in the yard and a man enters the yard accidentally, a dangerous situation is created because this encounter, regardless of the intention of both parties, is
[626] considered a breach of established forms of social intercourse. If a neighbor woman were to see and talk about it, so that the girl's brother hears of it, the latter would feel siri' and act accordingly.

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
● 857 of around seven to nine years of age and women above
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571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
●857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten.

Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
584 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
602 who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia' tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free companionship, it seems to take very little to make a Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
571 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
834 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
848 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang
583 cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

838 /153 cont./ this festival. Lower women performed the first
[554] task, higher ones the latter. Taking participated in both.

Outside the house he behaved like a man. He would go
[402] on his way without escort, but whenever he was carrying something at the same time, he would do so by preference on his head (like a woman) and not on a yoke over his shoulders (like a man). When called upon as a witness in a legal case, however, he appeared completely in man's clothing with a black cap (topi), and upon that occasion had some good-natured fun poked at him. In everyday life, his presence in the women's group was accepted as a matter of course. According to my information, this dated from his childhood years. I was able to observe a little boy called Jusu at the age of about seven years. This is the age at which a difference starts to arise between boys' and girls' games.

Jusu by preference played with the girls of his own age.
[857] The latter permitted this without poking fun at him. A high noblewoman took him into her house and into her following. /154/ He would go with a couple of her nieces his age to pay visits and attend festivals. The acceptance of a kawe kawe into the women's group from his childhood years on explains the naturalness with which he is treated.

Details concerning Taking's sexual life could not be obtained. It was believed that he desired no contact with women. Concerning his relationship with other men only jokes were made. His reaction at the mention of anal coitus was one of decided aversion, and at the mention of mutual masturbation his reaction was neutral.

In addition to the commonly occurring kawe kawe, I once observed a woman in the adat community of Takalar who did not feel at home with those of her own sex. She wore her hair like a woman, but her sarong like a man. She preferred to work in the sawah with the patjol /hoe/ (typically male work). She carried burdens on a yoke over her shoulders the way a man does, and she would go alone to pasars and

838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië, Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 548 Kawe kawe can be encountered in Macassar and in the large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes who make themselves available in exchange for money for the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as male prostitutes.

535 857 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for [534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana) and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time [533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary between young men and women. In this dance they are to a certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded [838] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a [832] kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 535 838 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

● 857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know
● 857 about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other
764 center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut
574 at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but 000
this was no longer the case. Thus few people read. There are
no newspapers here, and only a few, for example, the teachers, 212
read papers from Makassar or from places like Java. Very 204
few indeed ever write. (The Minangkabau man said that there 538
are no creative writers here at all, but that in Java and
Sumatra there are many. He is probably right.) They do not
even write letters here. They did not know that their script [171]
came from India originally, and they were surprised when I [123]
gave a talk on old Indic script. As for Chinese, they teach 871
their own language to their children and the latter also learn 868
Buginese, as adults do. Nevertheless, Chinese children always have a decided accent. They go mainly to their own school. The Toradja in Tolangi speak Toradja when their relatives visit them, but speak Buginese well in addition.

As for the radio, there are only a few in the area and only 207
radio owners and their families listen to broadcasts. During the Japanese time there was a central loud speaker for propaganda which was set up in the market place at Watumpone. They agreed that if they had one set up now many would listen to it.

As for movies, they say that everyone loves them. Never- 517
theless, many never go at all, especially the poor and the 434
farmers who live in remote places. Those near Watumpone 546
go a lot. The prices are: f.2 for the first [i.e., best seats--Analyst], f.1 for the second, and f.0.25 for the third. Most people want the latter. Most of the films are from the United States and England. They talk constantly about war films. Later I learned that these are the ones which came out during the war in the United States and which are just now getting into Indonesia. Also I found out later that newsreels which are amazingly old are also shown. It takes years for films to get out here. In addition, they have some very old Malay films, evidently made in Singapore before the war. They had seen many cowboy pictures. Later on the old Sulewatang showed me that he had learned much about the United States from the movies. He was especially impressed by the ice-dancing Sonja Henie films. He could not understand why she did not fall down. Children in particular love movies and [857]
Andi said they remember entire stories and tell them over and over again. Later I heard a woman say that her maid thinks movies are wonderful. People here talk about cowboy (accent on the last syllable), chorus girl dancing, etc. Andi said they liked the war films a lot and also the ones with fist fighting.

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

864 /141 cont./ Not until he is circumcised, at the age of seven to eight years, will a boy always wear a pair of pants under [304 his sarong. Adult men bathe in the nude, but in so doing 852] cover their genitals with the hand. Women keep their sarong on when they bathe. One of the first things that a Makassarese woman observed with surprise on Java was the fact that there the women bathe naked in the river. A girl always appears before her mother with her sarong. Young girls do tease each other at the well, "almost," when a sarong almost slips down. But if the sarong had really slipped off, the other would have denied this and would not have [576] spoken about it any further. This is how a girl knows her friends. Only those who do not like her would talk about it to others and make her ashamed (siri').

857 Children play "marriage." They put on rags and cloths. /142/ One of them is the bride's mother and helps the others, and they make sand cakes. The children may begin to quarrel and the matter often ends by a girl getting a shove or a blow which hurts so that she cries and runs away angrily. Sexual activities were definitely not observed. When an almost three-year-old boy was asked: "Why don't you play bridegroom" (buntimmako), he closed his eyes and stood motionless. The picture of the bridegroom, but above all, that of the bride, who, dressed in her most beautiful clothes, remains seated motionless for hours on end with cast-down eyes, had made the strongest impression on this three-year-old.

857 Boys and girls tend to play together up to the age of eight to ten years so long as it works out. Up to that age girls 858 are also allowed to run around freely in the yard. But even 867 before the appearance of puberty the separation is intensified. Boys learn that they must sit still and be quiet when the old men speak. "After all, you are no longer a little child," 858 they are told. Around the same time, thus long before the 867

858 /142 cont./ first menstruation, the girls are "caged"
867 (nikappara'); the separation from the other sex is thereby completed. From now on she is also subject to the many restrictions in social relations which obtain between men and women in general and between unmarried men and women in particular. "She is already staying at home" (ammantammi ri balla') is an indication of the age of a girl when she is around ten years old. At this time she enters
[291] the group of women, where she belongs to the young girls (tau lolo), who are also called "the red jackets" (badju' edja), after the conspicuous red jacket of slightly transparent material which they wear.

867 She learns that she must withdraw at the arrival of male visitors, that she may not be conspicuous, and that she must lower her voice. The girl who enters the front room (kale balla') even though there are guests is told off with a disapproving "she dares." A girl who talked loudly was angrily asked: "Who do you want to hear your voice?" If
[864] a girl shows her desire for a man by being conspicuous and by talking loudly, she is considered late (man-crazy), one of the most undesirable qualities in a girl.

857 A young girl only leaves the house in the company
867 of older women. Little excursions are holidays for her. She dresses carefully for these occasions; she makes herself up, blackens her eyebrows and the hairline on her forehead,
855 /143/ and powders her face. The older women guard and protect her. In their presence a young girl is safe. If she is alone at home or in the yard and a man enters the yard accidentally, a dangerous situation is created because this encounter, regardless of the intention of both parties, is
[626] considered a breach of established forms of social intercourse. If a neighbor woman were to see and talk about it, so that the girl's brother hears of it, the latter would feel siri' and act accordingly.

858 /143 cont. / Boys seem to go through a difficult period
867 at the age of approximately eleven to fourteen years. Before that, despite small differences from the girls, they were considered to be children, and as such they quite naturally stayed in the women's rooms. But around the age of ten to eleven, the older women make it plain to them that they
561 no longer belong there. Compared to women, however, men have less unity. For them the difference in age plays a much
562 more important role. It prevents the smooth interaction between older and younger men, because the older expect
561 obedience and a certain respect from the younger. The young boys therefore find no unity in the group of men which makes
855 them feel at home. At the same time they do not possess
858 the sexual maturity to participate in the boasting conversations about conquests and sexual achievements that are customary in the circle of young men. They are physically not yet strong enough to participate in brawls and great work schemes, and therefore they cannot talk about their exploits. They do not count among the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds. At the same time these twelve-year-old boys have not yet had much opportunity to associate with each other. So they first look for their age mates. They roam around, they are little noticed, and they don't feel at home anywhere.

Division of Labor

462 The domain of the women is house and yard. There they cook, wash, weave, and take care of the children. They leave the house only to pay visits or to run over to neighbors, who are also the closest kinsmen. When male visitors arrive they withdraw into the back part of the house. There is the kitchen; there they have their own separate
462 entrance. One could regard the women as a group whose
476 members /144/ help each other with daily household problems,

521 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally.
562 They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the
571 same time about topics which they would also discuss at an
576 ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 The forms of social intercourse between men and women
673 are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized
834 by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

These strict rules do not apply to children and older
[561 people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls
858]

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small
[689] dagger/, which frequently results in death.

574
166
591 /55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A
592 child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother
[855] or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity.
Experience teaches that in another environment such
[861] naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally, these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form
[602] a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time. Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

> 1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

158 To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations
865 can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however, another element of this culture must first be described; this is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese 535
in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and 181
there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead- 152
pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the sim- 832
ple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the 292
local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have
much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light
banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was
when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected
because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face to-
ward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward
prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The
high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And
the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under
them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in
festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and 124
finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Moham-
medan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living 163
children per woman was three, but that the average number
of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average
number who die to each woman is two. They say there has
been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not
much if any difference according to class. This I do notice,
that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is 861 •
the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. 828
I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that
they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says
there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a
child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex]
(and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted
that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary
people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. 562
They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, 584
women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women 883
never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) 181
If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or some-
one else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not
usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders
doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change
noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional
pair coming from school together, but this is carried out
for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

771 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here
178 were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very
182 rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the
776 Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them (maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata. Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paeppo, but called them popo, as did the Makassarese. In all spirit cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also
[861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the "spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala
838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which
793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo-
548 sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over,
535 it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an
[759] aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example, to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry, etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also

582 /207 cont./ Suckling kinship is thought to exist where a child under two years of age has been nursed by a woman five times to its full satisfaction. Among the Makassarese, nursing
853 by the mother occurs at irregular times. If the child so much
582 as makes a sound, it is put to the breast. If the mother does not have enough milk, she is helped out. Preferably a sister or a cousin (samposikali) of the mother takes the child to her breast. Under these conditions it is difficult to prove that a young man or a young woman some twenty years before were both nursed by one and the same woman. Among religious families in the city of Macassar, women take care that they do not nurse a child of a sister or cousin lest difficulties arise later when they arrange marriages. In one of these kin groups, a marriage did not go through even though preparations were far advanced, because the suspicion had been uttered that bride and bridegroom had both been nursed by the bridegroom's mother. The young man was then married to a younger sister
[184] of the bride. /208/ In Borongloë nothing was noticed by me of the awareness of this marriage prohibition based upon suckling kinship (1).

853

1. A mother of several children whose milk had continued to flow frequently nursed her grandchildren of approximately the same age as her youngest children. The nipple of an old woman who no longer produced any milk was used by the recently born child of her daughter as a pacifier. When a woman is pregnant
853 (when the menstruation has
●862 stopped for several months),

853/208 cont./
862

she begins to wean her youngest. The reason for still nursing her child of about two-and-one-half years who is able to walk, according to the mother, was that she was not yet pregnant. A child that already walks and plays but who still drinks from the mother's breast often turns out to be her youngest. A woman had continued to feed her first child (seven months old) while she was expecting her second. When the milk flow decreased, this child regressed considerably physically, since it was still taking little extra food. Only after the birth of the second one, when the mother was feeding both children, did the first one regain strength. This case must be regarded as an exception, however.

862

Weaning is done by means of a bitter fluid smeared on the nipple, which brings quick results. A woman was urging her child to suck even though she had just previously smeared her nipple. Later, when it was offered the breast, the child refused violently.

853
[565]

A wet nurse (anrong pasusu) is only to be found in karaeng circles. She is spoken of as

857/140 cont./ be able to run away again more easily. Little
867 boys are allowed to be somewhat rowdy and boisterous during a festival, but girls are forbidden such behavior: "Are you
[262] a boy?" an older girl then snaps at her. Little girls may not eat a certain kind of fish so that later, when they are grown up, they will not become man-crazy. At various festivities
[777] they receive "pitjuru," luck-bringing /141/ charms so that when they are grown up they will marry and have many children. The sexes are sometimes separated as early as the
[871] age of seven to eight years when children go to the religious instructor (guru ngadji), where they learn to recite the Koran. Then the girls receive instruction from the guru's wife in the back of the house.

One of the first frustrations of children after weaning
593 is caused by adult men, especially the father. When a man
867 enters the house, women and children withdraw to the back part of the house. When there are guests, care is taken that the children make no noise. When an important man is in the house, this rule applies even more strictly. Little children who then make noise are threatened with: "He is angry at you." An old woman repeated to a three-year-old who quietly sat next to her, "He sees you, he is looking at you." The importance of the situation was imparted in this fashion; and a certain fear as well as a certain veneration for the superior found expression in this way.

867 The difference in /social/ level between children is
554 revealed partly by what is less tolerated in one than in another. When a karaëng comes for a visit to the house of the adat community head, his little son may run around and perhaps even sit down behind his father, but the children of kinsmen and servants remain in the back rooms, and the women take care that they are quiet.

864 A little girl learns from early childhood that it is not good to show herself naked: "Where is your sarong?" she is asked. This applies to boys only one to two years later.

864 /141 cont./ Not until he is circumcised, at the age of seven to eight years, will a boy always wear a pair of pants under [304 his sarong. Adult men bathe in the nude, but in so doing 852] cover their genitals with the hand. Women keep their sarong on when they bathe. One of the first things that a Makassarese woman observed with surprise on Java was the fact that there the women bathe naked in the river. A girl always appears before her mother with her sarong. Young girls do tease each other at the well, "almost," when a sarong almost slips down. But if the sarong had really slipped off, the other would have denied this and would not have [576] spoken about it any further. This is how a girl knows her friends. Only those who do not like her would talk about it to others and make her ashamed (siri').

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867 of older women. Little excursions are holidays for her. She dresses carefully for these occasions; she makes herself up, blackens her eyebrows and the hairline on her forehead,
855 /143/ and powders her face. The older women guard and protect her. In their presence a young girl is safe. If she is alone at home or in the yard and a man enters the yard accidentally, a dangerous situation is created because this encounter, regardless of the intention of both parties, is
[626] considered a breach of established forms of social intercourse. If a neighbor woman were to see and talk about it, so that the girl's brother hears of it, the latter would feel siri' and act accordingly.

574
166
591 /55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A
592 child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother
[855] or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity.
Experience teaches that in another environment such
[861] naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally, these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form
[602] a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time. Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

158 To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations
● 865 can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however, another element of this culture must first be described; this is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

158
866 /55 cont./ he seems completely normal again. Such attacks were observed by me only with children. In both cases they were children spoiled by their environment. Everything they did was admired in an exaggerated fashion. They were allowed to do much more than other children; nobody forbade them anything. When the girl spilled a whole pile of paddy, the owner merely laughed good-naturedly. When the boy playfully broke a plate, this was excused and made out to be of absolutely no consequence. Only their own parents grumbled at them. But even this /56/ indulgence and interest came to an end. That is the moment when the child may have such a fit of temper (1).

[114]

1. Matthes (see Woordenboek, p. 420) translates adjallo' as "running amuck." Adjallo', in my opinion, is a designation for a certain mental condition which in effect does have a number of external characteristics in common with amuck, but so long as the internal impulses are not better known than at present, it seems to me incorrect to accept his translation. Matthes also gives as an example "tau andjalloki sarenna"; he translates this by "one who runs amuck with his lot" and makes this clear by adding, "that is, one who is always dissatisfied with his lot, for instance, he who demands today this, tomorrow that, position, and so on."

581 /139 cont./ feast, in which this purpose finds expression, and the difficulties which crop up on this occasion are the topic of the second part.

558 /140/ As a companion phenomenon, the vertical
562 tendency includes the sense of siri', that is, the sense of going down in social standing in relation to someone else. The fact that a woman must not go down in standing means that the slightest impairment of her social standing arouses the most violent reactions. There are various ways of escaping such a reaction. Marriage by flight is an example. It will be discussed extensively, among other things, in the third part of this chapter because it forms a spectacular phenomenon in Makassarese society, one that constantly leads to difficulties in the practice of administration and jurisdiction.

First Part

852 Immediately at birth a difference is made in the ritual between a boy and a girl. The parappo, the essence of the offering to be presented, differs with respect to the number of betel leaves of which it consists, depending on whether it is intended for a boy (6) or for a girl (7). Children play
857 together up to the age of eight to ten years. Informants
855 said that girls were always treated more gently than boys, for instance, that they were not beaten.

857 Not until the age of six years, so far as I was able to observe, were little boys taught that they are not allowed
867 other things than girls /sic/. Boys of that age accompany their father to the pasar; girls stay at home. Boys are sent away when young girls (tau lolo) are getting dressed and making themselves up. When little girls are naughty, they are threatened with: "I'll make you sit with the boys." Boys are not threatened with having to sit with the girls. They would find it momentarily unpleasant, so I was told, but they are freer in their movements and would therefore

857 /140 cont./ be able to run away again more easily. Little
867 boys are allowed to be somewhat rowdy and boisterous during a festival, but girls are forbidden such behavior: "Are you
[262] a boy?" an older girl then snaps at her. Little girls may not eat a certain kind of fish so that later, when they are grown up, they will not become man-crazy. At various festivities
[777] they receive "pitjuru," luck-bringing /141/ charms so that when they are grown up they will marry and have many children. The sexes are sometimes separated as early as the
[871] age of seven to eight years when children go to the religious instructor (guru ngadji), where they learn to recite the Koran. Then the girls receive instruction from the guru's wife in the back of the house.

One of the first frustrations of children after weaning
593 is caused by adult men, especially the father. When a man
867 enters the house, women and children withdraw to the back part of the house. When there are guests, care is taken that the children make no noise. When an important man is in the house, this rule applies even more strictly. Little children who then make noise are threatened with: "He is angry at you." An old woman repeated to a three-year-old who quietly sat next to her, "He sees you, he is looking at you." The importance of the situation was imparted in this fashion; and a certain fear as well as a certain veneration for the superior found expression in this way.

867 The difference in /social/ level between children is
554 revealed partly by what is less tolerated in one than in another. When a karaëng comes for a visit to the house of the adat community head, his little son may run around and perhaps even sit down behind his father, but the children of kinsmen and servants remain in the back rooms, and the women take care that they are quiet.

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858 /143 cont./ Boys seem to go through a difficult period
867 at the age of approximately eleven to fourteen years. Before that, despite small differences from the girls, they were considered to be children, and as such they quite naturally stayed in the women's rooms. But around the age of ten to eleven, the older women make it plain to them that they
561 no longer belong there. Compared to women, however, men have less unity. For them the difference in age plays a much
562 more important role. It prevents the smooth interaction between older and younger men, because the older expect
561 obedience and a certain respect from the younger. The young
855 boys therefore find no unity in the group of men which makes them feel at home. At the same time they do not possess
858 the sexual maturity to participate in the boasting conversations about conquests and sexual achievements that are customary in the circle of young men. They are physically not yet strong enough to participate in brawls and great work schemes, and therefore they cannot talk about their exploits. They do not count among the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds. At the same time these twelve-year-old boys have not yet had much opportunity to associate with each other. So they first look for their age mates. They roam around, they are little noticed, and they don't feel at home anywhere.

Division of Labor

462 The domain of the women is house and yard. There they cook, wash, weave, and take care of the children. They leave the house only to pay visits or to run over to neighbors, who are also the closest kinsmen. When male visitors arrive they withdraw into the back part of the house. There is the kitchen; there they have their own separate
462 entrance. One could regard the women as a group whose
476 members /144/ help each other with daily household problems,

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to
[562] see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
[626 without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the
558] younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

105 /239 cont./ the vertical tendency is strong, and integration is either not present at all or else in a very weak form. In kin groups like that of the adat community head, that of the kapala and that of Mangenre, the striving for integration is time and again interrupted through oppositional striving. The vertical tendency and thus, at the same time, the disintegration of the group can best be observed among the prominent members.

In a kin group where an ornament is present, integration can always be more clearly shown than in one where the ornament is absent. Kin groups lacking an ornament seem incapable of forming a power center of significance. Stability, on the other hand, is found only where the vertical articulation is fixed. The vertical tendency inherent in the /240/ kin groups constantly has as a consequence the renewed disintegration of these groups.

262 South Celebes is a land with a large surface, in relation to its population, suited to wet rice cultivation. If the rice harvest has failed, maize is available to take its place. There seems to be no fear of a threatening food shortage among the Makassarese and Buginese.

855 Small children are well cared for over a long period of time by their mothers and female housemates. By the same token, there seems to be no fear of receiving insufficient care.

867 155 One of the first things a young person learns is the fact that he is restricted in his movements and that he must be quiet when a man, even his father, is present in the house. Upon the arrival of a male guest the women and children withdraw from the front room, and the children are reprimanded if they make noise. This happens to a greater degree when a higher person comes to the house. Here are the first frustrations for the children (1).

155 /240 cont./ 1. For the ideas followed
●867 here, see A. Kardiner, The Individual and His Society, fourth edition, New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.
571 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same
578 descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle,
[685] and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but 000
this was no longer the case. Thus few people read. There are
no newspapers here, and only a few, for example, the teachers, 212
read papers from Makassar or from places like Java. Very 204
few indeed ever write. (The Minangkabau man said that there 538
are no creative writers here at all, but that in Java and
Sumatra there are many. He is probably right.) They do not
even write letters here. They did not know that their script [171]
came from India originally, and they were surprised when I [123]
gave a talk on old Indic script. As for Chinese, they teach
their own language to their children and the latter also learn 871
Buginese, as adults do. Nevertheless, Chinese children al- 868
ways have a decided accent. They go mainly to their own
school. The Toradja in Tolangi speak Toradja when their
relatives visit them, but speak Buginese well in addition.

As for the radio, there are only a few in the area and only 207
radio owners and their families listen to broadcasts. During
the Japanese time there was a central loud speaker for propa-
ganda which was set up in the market place at Watumpone.
They agreed that if they had one set up now many would listen
to it.

As for movies, they say that everyone loves them. Never- 517
theless, many never go at all, especially the poor and the 434
farmers who live in remote places. Those near Watumpone 546
go a lot. The prices are: f.2 for the first [i.e., best seats--
Analyst], f.1 for the second, and f.0.25 for the third. Most
people want the latter. Most of the films are from the United
States and England. They talk constantly about war films.
Later I learned that these are the ones which came out during
the war in the United States and which are just now getting
into Indonesia. Also I found out later that newsreels which
are amazingly old are also shown. It takes years for films
to get out here. In addition, they have some very old Malay
films, evidently made in Singapore before the war. They had
seen many cowboy pictures. Later on the old Sulewatang
showed me that he had learned much about the United States
from the movies. He was especially impressed by the ice-
]dancing Sonja Henie films. He could not understand why she
did not fall down. Children in particular love movies and [857]
Andi said they remember entire stories and tell them over
and over again. Later I heard a woman say that her maid
thinks movies are wonderful. People here talk about cowboy
(accent on the last syllable), chorus girl dancing, etc. Andi
said they liked the war films a lot and also the ones with fist
fighting.

857 /140 cont./ be able to run away again more easily. Little
867 boys are allowed to be somewhat rowdy and boisterous during a festival, but girls are forbidden such behavior: "Are you
[262] a boy?" an older girl then snaps at her. Little girls may not eat a certain kind of fish so that later, when they are grown up, they will not become man-crazy. At various festivities
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864 A little girl learns from early childhood that it is not good to show herself naked: "Where is your sarong?" she is asked. This applies to boys only one to two years later.

114 /255 cont./ estimates there appeared to be a clear preference
217 for certain numbers which, in my opinion, make it risky to
161 draw further conclusions from this. Eleven men were estimated as 40 years of age, 10 as 50, and 9 as 52; but according to this estimate, only 2 men were 39 years old, only one 41 or 42 years old, while there were supposedly no men of 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, and 59 years of age residing in the kampong.

School Registers

114 The school registers, which are kept very accurately by the
217 head of the school and checked by inspectors of the Department,
871 are in very good condition.

Each child is entered in the register according to name, sex, name of the father, and name of the person paying the tuition; date of entrance, grade promotions, date of leaving school, and reason for leaving school. The children's place of residence is not entered in the register.

Up to 1945 the public school in Bontomanai was the only school in the adat community of Borongloë with its more than 14,000 inhabitants. This school was established in 1923 but led a rather precarious existence until 1936. The number of pupils was small. In the second half of 1935 a new director of the school was appointed, and the number of pupils immediately soared steeply. The number of newly enrolled pupils numbered:

1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
12	70	37	78	64	17

Altogether, therefore, 278 children were enrolled, of whom 197 (72 per cent) were boys, and 81 (28 per cent) girls. The decrease in 1940 is due to the circumstance that the Inspector believed /256/ that there were too many pupils at the school and that the instruction was suffering from this.

For the instruction at this three-year public school there was, in addition to the school director mentioned, a single assistant instructor. The two men divided up the three classes in such a way that one class in turn was free or else worked by itself.

114 /256 cont./ Of these 278 children, 60 received a graduating
217 diploma. The rest left school for various reasons which are
871 recorded in the school's register. For 95 the reason given was laziness; for 49, their own request; for 29 illness; for 23, transfer to another school, for instance in connection with the parents moving; for 14, lack of money; and for 8, the fact that they were too small.

Laziness has reference not only to the achievements at school, but also to attendance at school, and children who live as far as two kilometers or more are with greater difficulty induced to cover this great distance every day, than those who live near by in the vicinity.

Under "own request" many girls are included who are regarded by their parents or other kinsmen as too big to walk on the street. Girls above twelve years of age, but frequently even those over ten, are preferably kept at home.

The poor payment of tuition was a reason for removing a child from school, particularly during the last two years. At that time the school had sufficient pupils. One does not need to jump to the conclusion that poor people's children were here especially prejudiced in the opportunities for development. Frequently, these parents are no poorer or richer than others, they just won't spare the tuition money.

The fact that pupils were too small was only given as a reason for leaving school in 1939. This must be regarded as due to the fact that the number of pupils was considered to be too large and because the Inspector believed that instruction was suffering from this.

125 In 1949 an attempt was made to discover the residence of the 278 pupils enrolled from 1935 through 1940. This attempt must be regarded as a failure. In 1949, 104 children were still living in the same kampong; 12 had moved to a kampong outside Borongloë, 1 to a kampong outside Goa, and 7 were dead. Of the great majority (154) the place of residence was /257/
[115] unknown. I assume that by far the greatest part of these no longer

/257 cont./ resided in the same kampong because my informant, the school director himself, was very well informed about local conditions and accordingly would have been quite familiar, in most cases, with the domicile if this had remained unchanged. But no positive answer was forthcoming to the question concerning the domicile of 154 ex-pupils. There was no time to investigate this matter in another way.

There is a certain correlation between the number of pupils who went to school in Bontomanai from a certain kampong during those years and the distance that these children had to cover. The numbers and the distances in kilometers follow here:

80 from Bontomanai itself
77 from Pakatto, about 1 kilometer
25 from Borong, 2.5 kilometers
24 from Songkolo, 2.5 to 3 kilometers
20 from Kotjikang, 2.5 kilometers
15 from Parang Banua, 4 to 5 kilometers
13 from Borongkaluku, 2.5 kilometers
8 from Bontoramba, 5 kilometers
5 from Bontoa, 5 kilometers
4 from Buttadidi, 4 kilometers
3 from Bolangi (1), 4 kilometers

1. Kampong of an adjoining adat community.

2 from Borongpalala, 3 kilometers
1 from Bonto Bonto, 6 kilometers

There were no pupils from two kampongs.

One of these kampongs is situated 7 kilometers from Bontomanai and 3 kilometers from another place with a school. The children therefore went there.

All the kampongs mentioned are connected with Bontomanai by means of good footpaths, with the exception of Borongpalala.

871 /257 cont./ The children who come from there must walk over muddy footpaths. Parang Banua and Bontoa are cut off from the other kampongs by a large river, the Djeneberang. The large number of children from Parang Banua is therefore striking. Here live many kinsmen of the adat community head who, as he said, always urged his kin group to send their children to school.

The total number of residents of a kampong, the communication routes, /258/ and the example set by a head thus constitute the less important factors influencing school attendance, aside from the distance that has to be covered. A new school provides direct proof of this.

In 1945 a new school was opened in Bontoramba. In July, 1949 it had an enrollment of 226 pupils, of whom a small number at that time already had left school again. Of these 226, there came:

from Bontoramba	60 (26 boys and 34 girls)
from Pagentungang	61 (40 boys and 21 girls)
from Buttadidi	53 (36 boys and 17 girls)
from Songkolo	35 (20 boys and 15 girls)

All three of the last-named kampongs border directly on Bontoramba. The new school director did not know the place of residence for 17 pupils. It is not recorded in the registers.

114 217 Herewith, the most important registers have been discussed. The most reliable and at the same time the ones that were best kept appear to be those registers for which a special service is responsible (school and land-tax registers). The least reliable and the ones that were most poorly maintained were those that had been put in the hands of the kampong head (overnight and community-labor registers). The condition of those in the hands of the religious officials (imams) or of the adat community heads is dependent upon the sense of neatness and order of the keeper concerned, upon the standing

S Then I remembered a night in Makale hearing Karaëng
691 Djongala (whom I met again, remarkably, on a trip in Makale,
683 and found to be not a bad fellow at all, and now speaking
578 Dutch) and de Boer comparing notes regarding legal cases.
828 De Boer said eighty cases a month was not at all uncommon, while the Karaëng said that in his place in Makale there were perhaps twenty, mainly knifings.

A police fellow and the Controleur said that there was much irrational knifing here too. The pattern seems to run something like this. First people become panas hati [literally, hot livered, i.e., hot tempered--Analyst],then they kill someone, and finally become all right. They consider themselves not to be criminals, but victims of unbearable emotion, and thus not really criminals.

M Regarding literacy, Andi said that the percentage of
212 literates here now is about 27 per cent, and this is used by
●871 him as a reason for not taking over democracy for a long
556 time. This in turn might enable them to maintain control just as the Dutch did. However, they are setting up schools rapidly, and so are slitting their own throats. Maybe they are sincere, but I look for trouble. As for schools I asked a number of questions today (my last day in Bone this trip). There are village schools for the first three years. Then students may go on to a continuing school in town, in Bukaka which is not far away. Or they may enter the sekolah agama [(Islamic) religious school], in which religion and Arabic are taught. The sekolah agama is located in the village. I got the feeling that these religious schools are losing out in competition with town schools. Only the rich can afford to go beyond the second year high school level, as it is necessary to go to Makassar. I asked about the poor and they said there were no scholarships, so they were usually only able to attend the desa schools. Beyond that they might possibly go to the sekolah agama. In Watampone the breakdown is something like this. There are six years of primary schooling offered followed by four years of middle instruction. After these ten years, if a further education is desired, students must go to Makassar. There is a normal school in Watampone for desa school teachers, but for higher normal training one must go to Makassar. Thus there seems to be the same problem as in the United States. There is a need for schools in every town and at all levels because the poor cannot pay room and
M board in big towns away from home. This leads on to the
556 question of the poor again (I always stress the factor of social
465 mobility in America). The village folks said there were
651 many poor people. They usually live with richer (though none
735 are really rich) people in the houses of the latter and work for
567

621 the border of wanua Palaka, kampong Tjabalu on the west,
it is four kilometers also. This western part is thus a
632 square. On the east side of the road, along the Watampone
101 border, it is only six hundred meters along the street to
131 the Ta border. But then the east border sweeps eastward in
102 a long curve so that on the northern side along the border of
Tjelapa, the northern border runs two kilometers from the
main road. (See rough map, page 46, field notes)[P.266 here]

•871 There are two schools in Bukaka, one a religious school
435 and the other a village school. They are near the Watampone
556 border on the main road, or just off it. There are also ten
private Koran schools. There are about six hundred hadjis
here. I met one, a smug young man. And I teased him about
being one of the few rich men in town, but he said that it was
perhaps, if the family resources were pooled, six thousand
guilders. He remarked that ten thousand guilders was really
a great fortune here. Incidentally, the Sulewatang said that
the high figures given for the old days were somewhat off.
Prices were overvalued.

131 In the wanua, running eastward to the sea from Bukaka, are
361 the kampongs Penyula and Ta side by side; then Paopao,
Tibodjong (very small) and Tamaüsing, side by side; then
Toro, Tjelu, Lapobatua, Biru, and Palingorung, all side by
side (the latter two jut out to the south); then Badjoë and Maloi,
side by side (the former on the sea, the latter juts out to the
south); and finally, along the curve of the sea, Rompe. I for-
got to say that these really do not jut out, as Watampone is
also part of the wanua and it is to the south of Bukaka, Ta,
Tamaüsing. Thus the appearance seems to be roughly that
621 of a triangle. Aside from Watampone, each of the fifteen
kampongs has a kepala kampong. And within each of the kam-
pongs there are varying numbers of hamlets. Thus Bukaka
has three, Penyula has one, Ta three, Paopao two, Tibodjong
one, Tamaüsing one, Lapobatua one. I could not get any
information on the other kampongs, but will find out later. The
biggest kampongs, in order, are: Tjelu, Bukaka, Badjoë.
Others are small. Bukaka is the oldest.

368 The big misigit [mesjid, mosque] is used by Bukaka, Ta,
and Watampone. Other kampongs having misigit are: Penyula,
Badjoë, Paopao, Lapobatua, and Palingorung, thus there are
six in all.

632 In Bone, Andi says, there are twenty-one wanua. Seven
565 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, how-
ever, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua
there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

159 are plenty of people in his house including the two very pretty young girls who do the fine weaving. Saleh said that they both had learned gold work too, and that during a rush they are able to help him and his cousin helper. When there is not so much rush, they weave. The old man said he was also a carpenter in the old days, and pointed out the houses he had built in the leprosarium. He said he was born in Laikang, where there is much salt making from sea water.

774 Saleh uses the word dewata for spirit in the animistic sense, and also understands the term sumangat.

000 Most of the day was spent in looking around. Tomorrow I will go through my notes for questions and further discussion.

●871 Balombaru, September 2, 1949: This third day I thought
157 I would go through my notes, but I got sidetracked onto
326 Saleh's answers to the schedule. This is all right, al-
159 though the going is very slow. One thing is very dramatic. Saleh told me about his personal tragedy as far as education is concerned. He said that he wanted to go to normal school, but that the fee was f.65. Neither he nor his father could afford this. They tried to sell portions of their rice fields, but times were bad then and there were no buyers. Saleh said that he then went to the teacher (I gather it was the superintendent) of the normal school and asked why he must pay f.65. The answer was that that was the price of board and room. At this Saleh offered to bring a mat and sleep on the floor and to get his own food. However, the superintendent said no. As Saleh told me the story, much affect could be noted. And he added that plenty of other boys have had the same trouble. He is truly an ambitious man and would have justified any help given him. He said that he had trained lots of young goldsmiths and that they were now scattered all over. He said that he had trained so many that often one found villages around here where there were formerly no goldsmiths at all and which now consisted of a good number of goldsmiths.

[535] One thing before the schedule: I talked about the dancing
584 girls. They told me that the Makassarese are very strict
834 regarding all girls. One might not approach a girl directly but only through relatives and always in a respectable fashion. In regard to the go-between in marriage, they said that many of the girls in school today are scorning the old practice. However, an old man, cackling, said that the padjoge in the Buginese country were different. He said

and the five days circulate around them. Then, another 443
circle runs east into the Tanette Riatang wanua, where there 366
are four markets in different kampongs. That circle gears
in with the big market at Watumpone too.

I asked whether the range of distance from which the people 489
come to market has increased with the use of buses. They 493
said that it probably had. They also mentioned bicycles as
another easing factor in getting to the market place.

As for education, much discussion resulted. Andi in 871
particular seemed to be critical of the educational possibilities 434
here. He said they would like to progress, but were unable to. 464
They have only lower, and I think, middle schools in Watumpone. However, they are building another school now. Up to this month schools have been free, and the children have thronged to classes. But Andi said that now they expected a sharp drop. He said that if they charged even five cents a month it would be too much for many. (Later Thierens said that he doubted this and also that there was so little money in the kampong. He added that they could get jobs as coolies as there was a big demand for this type of labor. For example, they could work on roads at f.50 a month. The point seems to be, however, that they do not want to. He has a dim view of their energy, and perhaps he is right.) No one in the kampong has attended the University. Some have gone to middle school and many have attended lower school. Quite a few (?), relatively speaking, have gone to Makassar, and they must do so if they wish to get further education, for example, by going to normal school (except for the teachers school for the villages in Watumpone). Evidently, few, if any, go outside of
Indonesia for education. There are Mohammedan schools in 871
the village. I asked about their support. They said that the 578
arus gave money from their own funds, and also got some contributions. They received no money from the Bone treasury. At this point they became irritated, saying that in South Celebes if schools are Christian they get a subsidy from the treasury, but this is not so if the schools are Mohammedan. (Maybe they meant that the government schools should be included too when they said, "why should not the religious (Mohammedan) schools get funds too, since this is a Mohammedan country?") Anyway, there is a great deal of feeling on this matter. Formerly there was much feeling against education, and there still is to some extent, especially by the lowers. But, increasingly, more and more want it. I told what I had heard about even the radjas not wanting their children to go to Makassar for more than a few years. They said that that was generally so, and Andi again said that Bone is quite backward.

123 I gave a speech on how Bone was to fall behind, and Java
544 and other places advance unless the people had better local
181 schools. I said something about the Toradja becoming masters and the Buginese slaves. They were grim at this point. I said that they needed business education, and they saw the point; but they really did not respond to any great extent. And Andi reiterated that the Bone folk know only hormat and adat. To illustrate he crossed his arms and bent over saying that that was all they know.

212 As for the non-official education, Buginese writing is said
871 to be taught in the homes by elders. Also the children often
797 teach illiterate elders to read and write. The Kepala kampong seemed to be much amused at this as he described it. In addition there are evening school sessions with teachers and school students instructing illiterates, in the desa.

There are no missionaries or mission schools here. I told them about the Javanese using these without giving up Mohammedanism, and although they could see the point they responded in their usual dead-pan fashion.

874 There is the usual apprentice training for artisans and a
463 tendency for sons to follow their fathers' occupation. This also applies to religious officers. And there is the padjoge training, although there are no such persons in this kampong.

212 As for literacy and knowledge of languages we can say that
191 everyone in the kampong speaks Buginese. This includes aliens.
562 Many speak Indonesian. Few if any speak Dutch well. None speak English. However, the schools are trying to teach classes in English. (Who in the world can do it here?) They saw the point when I said that English is favored in Java over Dutch because it is an international language. They said that all adults, and they repeated all (including women?) can read the Koran in Arabic, but few know the meaning of what they read. Many can speak Arabic too, and thus it is easy for them when they go to Arabia on the hadj. Few if any really speak Makassarese but they say it is not necessary as they can understand the Makassarese and the Makassarese can understand them. Relatively few can read and write in Roman characters or Arabic, but very many, and they tried to say all, and meant it, can read and write Buginese. Here again I wonder if the women are included. I asked repeatedly about this matter of literacy in Buginese and asked if even the farmers could read in the local script. They said yes, but

368 the people read very little. There is a bookstore in Watum-
212 pone, but there are not many people who buy books. However,
217 as there is no library, they must buy books if they want them
549 at all. They mentioned that Balai Pustaka had a traveling library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case.

library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but 000
this was no longer the case. Thus few people read. There are
no newspapers here, and only a few, for example, the teachers, 212
read papers from Makassar or from places like Java. Very 204
few indeed ever write. (The Minangkabau man said that there 538
are no creative writers here at all, but that in Java and
Sumatra there are many. He is probably right.) They do not
even write letters here. They did not know that their script [171]
came from India originally, and they were surprised when I [123]
gave a talk on old Indic script. As for Chinese, they teach 871●
their own language to their children and the latter also learn
Buginese, as adults do. Nevertheless, Chinese children al- 868
ways have a decided accent. They go mainly to their own
school. The Toradja in Tolangi speak Toradja when their
relatives visit them, but speak Buginese well in addition.

As for the radio, there are only a few in the area and only 207
radio owners and their families listen to broadcasts. During
the Japanese time there was a central loud speaker for propa-
ganda which was set up in the market place at Watumpone.
They agreed that if they had one set up now many would listen
to it.

As for movies, they say that everyone loves them. Never- 517
theless, many never go at all, especially the poor and the 434
farmers who live in remote places. Those near Watumpone 546
go a lot. The prices are: f.2 for the first [i.e., best seats--
Analyst], f.1 for the second, and f.0.25 for the third. Most
people want the latter. Most of the films are from the United
States and England. They talk constantly about war films.
Later I learned that these are the ones which came out during
the war in the United States and which are just now getting
into Indonesia. Also I found out later that newsreels which
are amazingly old are also shown. It takes years for films
to get out here. In addition, they have some very old Malay
films, evidently made in Singapore before the war. They had
seen many cowboy pictures. Later on the old Sulewatang
showed me that he had learned much about the United States
from the movies. He was especially impressed by the ice-
dancing Sonja Henie films. He could not understand why she
did not fall down. Children in particular love movies and [857]
Andi said they remember entire stories and tell them over
and over again. Later I heard a woman say that her maid
thinks movies are wonderful. People here talk about cowboy
(accent on the last syllable), chorus girl dancing, etc. Andi
said they liked the war films a lot and also the ones with fist
fighting.

M 6065 521 conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic l life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

M 602 565 212 601

M 602 171

M T 582 563 771

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs. Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc splits. 203 666 624 596

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave. As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-Heekeren. 778 565 574

The store hasa brick underwall, and a house above. It appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always accepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked between ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it appeared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling, but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong, [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa, and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later. That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general. He added that there was a press in Makassar. 872 346 494 198 435 212

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this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I 517
got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The 181
Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did 167
not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if 186
he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is 178
general and there is not much to say. The death punishment 681
is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the 796
common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even 805
included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They [241]
knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern.(In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: 574
I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and 852
two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of [562]
men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear
part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much 176
new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus 874
chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third 401
grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from 403
bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

176 with ingenious gears, and two spools. It also has a circular
401 shutter in front, and is fantastically clever. The Sulewatang
403 and Andi both said it was a great pity that he had no training.
● 874 He is a fine lad. He had three rolls of old newsreels and travel pictures and showed them after someone lent him a few batteries. One of the films was broken. Evidently he is called upon to show the same old films quite often and as a result they are wearing out. I was quite impressed with the Sulewatang's and Andi's strong statement regarding the lack of schools for such men here. Later I told Thierens, and he said he would see if he could not send the lad to Makassar for training. His machine really works well. He even has a wheel for a string arrangement if he gets a small motor. It reminded me of the old man in Balombaru who had made a match head cap pistol for his son and also a model Makassarese prau, with a propeller, with an auxiliary motor rigged up from an alarm clock. It could run over a hundred meters. There is certainly technical skill here that could be developed.

565 We left the party and the Sulewatang came with us to stay
574 at the local Sulewatang's house (Kepala wanua Tumurun,
431 which he was formerly). This lad, a young and quite bright
156 fellow, is his nephew. He was going to visit the Aru Tau in Watumpone, where his wife had recently given birth to a child. They evidently visit around with fellow nobles a lot, and this takes up much of their time. I tried to bring the Kepala kampong into the conversation at the Sulewatang Tumurun's house, where he was sitting to one side. However, the two uppers would not let me. They were uninterested in the Kepala kampong. This peculiar disregard for any human qualities in preference to rank is a pain to me. The old Sulewatang asked me to show him United States currency. I was sure he would want some for a souvenir. He asked me to get him a nylon shirt from the United States. I think it is because he has always been used to asking for what he could get for nothing from the poor people here. These nobles have only to ask for things from the masses and the latter dare not refuse (honor?).

696 Incidental: The Sulewatang said that the kampong where the feast is being held was not a former fugitive kampong, as Andi had told me. But at any rate they evidently had such kampongs at one time as both of them knew about the matter.

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875● 565 692

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. *He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it.* As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

M tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at
175 large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the
565 people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]
[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and
793 their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession
838 of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst]
231 This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any
●881 bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati.
304 But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there
574 for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the
182 Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I re-
771 minded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own
181 idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told 000
me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim [838]
had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were 304
killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, 881
boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, 574
and the like brought up further questions. 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here 565
is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and 562
are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds 527
of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At 574
feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are 548
padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The 435
former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the out- 567
side they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they 535
must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who 554
have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had 565
at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that 178
there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields 466
of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds 622
true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. 565
[obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a 533
feast.

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other
513 for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
682 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501] used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Neverthe- 178
less, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

I boasting pattern in the United States and Indonesian culture.
635 He said that they will give their "platform" in incidental
668 speeches and on wall posters.
6666 All of this is not too clear. Anyway, I see that Stefel, like Riekerk, thinks that the "radical" tendency in elections is encouraging. At least some Dutch officials seem to want to have "radicalism" here. Stefel says that the absence of political parties in general is a sign of political immaturity only; they will come.

M Makassar, October 11, 1949: I had a talk with Rahim. He
304 showed me photographs of circumcision, with tooth filing and
565 hair cutting as well, taken in kampong Borongkaluku of dis-
●881 trict Borolloe. This is under Gallarang, one of the nine bate
778 of Goa.. This kampong is eighteen kilometers east of Makassar
852 on the way to Malino. In the pictures there were three chil-
535 dren being fixed, all of nobility. Two of them were girls, one was a boy. Also their youthful lower-class followers participated, wearing very elaborate, decorative dress too. Only nobles can afford to have these great feasts. There is a big procession, with people carrying all sorts of magical objects. This goes to the holy stone of Songkolo' (there are only three in all Goa), which is near Borongkaluku in the district of Borolloe. The stone is in a fenced-in bamboo place, like the stone at Kalé Goa. Here a man does a kris dance before an open door of the flat stone sanctuary. A woman does a holy dance in the same place. These are fine photographs. They also show a mother having her first teeth filing. This is done ceremonially only, with a gold ring. She has clamped between her teeth a piece of wood. A fowl is being held by the operator who smears the blood from it on her teeth. Then there are photographs of the boy and the two girls (look to be about 8 to 5 years old) being "filed". (Here again it is only mock filing with a gold ring; after a few years they will get the real filing with a stone). They also have pieces of wood clamped in their teeth. Other photographs show these same children getting their hair locks cut off. There is a wonderful picture of a boy's penis being clamped and cut (supercision) and another showing the bloody scar on the top of the penis. This is done with a steel knife. There is also a photograph of one of the girls being cut, but her vulva is behind a cloth sheet and the operator is working on it underneath, so that from the picture one cannot see what is going on. Another photograph shows the Mohammedan prayers being offered at one side and a pagan stick offering on the other.

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs. M 304 881 852

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heaven ones. This explains a difficult point. M 565 173 793

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace. M 778 793

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former. M 562 609

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjatapanang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime. C 669 643

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 181 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 171 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 764 179 771 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb, he said that he had heard from informed men that they had formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence

586 585 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kampong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 ●881 565 343 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in [342] Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

behind where there were many houses for his many slaves. That house had horns on the gables. The sunat feast lasted six days and five buffaloes had been killed for food as well as many fowls. Many fancy cakes were served which had been left over from the feast. I saw the boy who had been cut and he is said to be thirteen, although he looked much younger. I asked about the repeated cutting, up to seven times, and Saleh said that this is usual. He looked wise at this moment, and sizing up the boy, said, "I think it isn't finished with this fellow and that he will have to be cut again!" M 881 [342] 304 565 343

I asked about the gaukang, and they agreed that the radja and the nine bate must have them. As for the others, for example the karaëng, some have them and some do not; but formerly they must all have had them. M 778 565

I asked about the charms, the djimat, and they said that there are still plenty being used in the kampong. M 751

We finally drove to the seaside where there was a bathing beach and bath houses. They say that there are many Dutch who come here and pay a fee. It is owned by the local karaeng. M 529

I had a talk with Emanuel, a student of van Voll, and ter Haar's former assistant. He looked like an Indo [i.e., Eurasian]. He is trying to get through a uniform marriage law for Christians in all of East Indonesia. He admitted that this is a difficult task because the families are so often mixed, and the settlement of property is likewise very confused. 000

I asked Emanuel about the divorce pronouncement by a man. He agreed that it was normal for a man to say it three times in order for it to become a full divorce. If it is said only once or twice the couple can remarry, but if it has been said three times it is final. He said, however, that there are two other forms in Indonesia (he said that ter Haar mentioned this). One form is when a woman gets a man to agree to give talak by offering him a settlement. This is in line with true Mohammedan law. The other kind is peculiar to Indonesia. It occurs when a woman complains to the judge that she has offered a man settlement for the requested talak, but the man has refused. The man is then called to the judge, and if he is still unwilling and all is in order, the judge himself may pronounce talak. I 586 592 C 586 592

I had a talk with engineer Resink, who is here for the Economic Affairs Department. He is an "Indo" and talks about "us" Indonesians. I get the impression he is a radical I 668

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese 535
in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and 181
there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead- 152
pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the sim- 832
ple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the 292
local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have
much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light
banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was
when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected
because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face to-
ward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward
prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The
high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And
the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under
them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in
festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and 124
finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Moham-
medan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living 163
children per woman was three, but that the average number
of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average
number who die to each woman is two. They say there has
been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not
much if any difference according to class. This I do notice,
that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is 861
the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. 828
I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that
they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says
there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a
child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex]
(and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted
that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary
people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. 562
They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, 584
women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women 883
never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) 181
If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or some-
one else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not
usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders
doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change
noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional
pair coming from school together, but this is carried out
for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal, and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

Batak OD5
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

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[51 cont.]

It is not difficult to answer the question as to what the origin of this ornament is. It is reported of the Batak that this object is definitely used now as an amulet that the children wear in front of the genitals (7), from which, we believe, one can conclude

7. Neumann, Tijdschr. Ned Aard. Gen., 1886, more extensive articles, 2, p. 30.

[52] that formerly the other tribes among whom we found it also attached this meaning to the object. In my study on the ithyphallic images of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago, I noted the fact that among the most civilized peoples the penis, and among the more highly developed peoples a representation of the penis, is used to drive off evil spirits, particularly the pontianaq, whereas the imitation of the penis serves primarily to counter the influence of the evil eye (1).

1. Wilken, Bijdragen t.d. T. L. en Vlk. v. Ned. Indië, Vol. XXXV, p. 393 ff.

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The first garment worn by the children of the more highly developed peoples, the Javanese, Malays, Makassarese, and Buginese, is the chest-protector, which is fastened around the neck and stomach with bands. The name of this garment is oto or otoh, in Javanese oto, and in Makassarese and Buginese otó (2). Among

2. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 603. Van der Tuuk and Van der Wall, Maleisch woordenboek, see oto. Matthes, Makassaarsch and Boegineesch Wrdb., see otó.

the less civilized, as well as among the still wholly uncivilized, the children are dressed as adults as soon as they reach marriageable age.

838
743/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

178 The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance
838 of the bissu institution, however, At present, insofar as they
548 did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

114 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and
589 women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced
● 885 men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

1. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 54.

114 /159 cont./ on one reads that "if sexual maturity of the girls
589 is regarded as the criterion of marriageability and thus also of
885 adulthood" they would be adults at the age of about fourteen
or fifteen years (2). In South Celebes the tendency exists to

2. Ibid., p. 55.

regard boys as adults if they have their own kampong pass (soera' kampong). This implies that they are also called for community labor. At that time they are approximately eighteen to nineteen years old. As a result of these criteria, which differ according to sex, the men are regarded as adults at a later age than women.

114 In the 1930 census report a high percentage of unmarried
589 men and women is registered for the province of Goa (28.2 per cent and 28.8 per cent respectively). It is explained that the average age at which marriages are contracted is higher than elsewhere (3). This age, however, is not known.

3. Ibid., p. 66.

So long as the birth registers do not make possible a check of the age at which people are married, an explanation like this is premature.

The high percentage mentioned is, in my opinion, rather
589 to be explained by the fact that a large number of men and women never marry.

In order to ascertain this number, I asked two informants /160/ at different points in time, with respect to each unmarried person, one by one, whether according to them they still had chances to marry. The result was that for 15 men and 24 women, it was assumed by both informants that they would never marry. Their opinions were divided on 4 men. These 15 men were all approximately thirty-five to forty years or older. The 24 women were thirty to thirty-five years or older.

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten.

Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
584 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
602 who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia' tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free companionship, it seems to take very little to make a Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
571 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
834 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
848 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang
583 cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

585 /180 cont./ The higher guests come at this point and stand before the bed, one after the other. They take some karuntigi between their fingers, mix this with oil and powder, and amidst the mumbling of a spell, they smear this mixture on one of the fingers, on the arm, sometimes on the forehead or the neck of the bride. The place where the mixture is applied and the [777] manner have their significance. However, this ritual is not [554] performed by all the guests, but only by the higher and by a [887] number of older ones who themselves have many children and many sawahs, in other words people who seem to possess much "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means) and who now, on this occasion, want to transfer something of this to the bride. When a great [554] number of guests come "akkaruntigi," this raises the social standing of the host.

In the afternoon of the day following the "akkaruntigi," [178] the bridegroom leaves -- according to a very old, but at present no longer observed, custom from the lap of his mother --, amidst a great deal of lamenting on the part of his relatives, for the bride's house in order to arrive there around sundown. Only men are present on this occasion. On the way and especially upon arrival at the bride's house, a loud dikir is heard. It is said that formerly at that moment a greeting of welcome was addressed to the bridegroom by one /181/ of the wife's relatives who for this purpose stationed herself at the top of the ladder in front of the door opening. The only time [178] that I experienced this a certain embarrassment could be sensed. This was considered very old-fashioned. The number of those in Borongloë who are familiar with this address is small. The Pinati of Bontoramba gave me the text here reproduced, independent of any festival. The four-line verses reported at the end, in which bridegroom and bride are introduced speaking, were actually incorporated into the address, according to him.

126 The text was checked for uniformity in spelling with the 585 assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes. The

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times
they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thousands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

585 /196 cont./ ordinary life. In reality, however, they all
833 hope that bridegroom and bride will be "good" with each other as soon as possible, that is to say, that coitus will take place. The old women listen at the walls.

If the young man expressly refuses to enter and join his wife, the older people rest satisfied, at least for the time being.
[626] But they show their disapproval and renew, possibly even the following evening, their attempts to make him go in. The same situation obtains if the bride resists once the bridegroom has been led in to her. If she knocks violently on the door, she is let out.

The older people talk to the marriage partner who seems
585 to refuse sexual contact with the other. They point out that in
833 previous marriages young married couples again and again
626 submitted to what is now demanded of him (her). The bride is told in such a case that all women have at one time undergone this experience, that her mother was also married in this way. The end of the conversation frequently consists of the questions so difficult for younger people to answer: "Surely you don't want to make your aunt (that is, the speaker) ashamed?" (namely, by sticking to the refusal /197/ and thus causing to fail the marriage that she is trying to bring about). To
[838 contradict an older and sometimes at the same time a higher
576] person is discourteous. The individual who does not wish to capitulate in such a situation can do nothing but remain silent.

Because of the strictly maintained separation of the sexes,
834 young unmarried men and women live in separate worlds.
585 When they are brought together, it is to be expected that it
521 will be difficult for them to talk to each other. Whatever they have learned and applied up to that point is no longer of any use. The prepared questions and answers thus serve, one could say, to facilitate the very first contact. Formally, they are an element of the ritual to bring man and wife together and to get them used to the fact that now other forms of social intercourse obtain between them than before. In

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
● 888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evidently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they
587 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
586 and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
153 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
152 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with
[565] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas, the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said that this will mean very little in this area except for the formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to receive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect, too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean further insecurity for his position. There are great preparations being made for this event at the present time. There will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge. This is merely a generic term. At the top are the ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here (though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng, descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depending on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only